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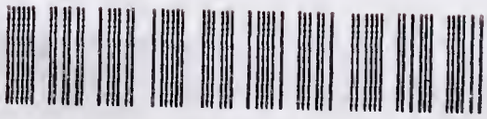
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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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"Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Gründen und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen."—LUTHER.

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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. IX.

JULY, 1851.

ARTICLE I.

BIBLE INFLUENCE INDISPENSABLE TO SOCIETY AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF LIFE.

By Rev. L. Eichelberger, A.M., Winchester, Va.

Man, conscious of a higher dignity, is ever seeking to attain it. Dissatisfied with the present he grasps the future, and presses on in its attainment Success, if success he has, animates only to renewed exertion; and increased efforts, each still greater than the former, characterize human pursuit. Still, in the expressive words of the poet, "*Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei,*" something, I know not what, is always wanting to success.

Such is man as developed in life, and such being human nature, his character must remain essentially the same. Happy is he, therefore, in the language of some writer: "*Cui Deus obtulit parca manu, quod satis est.*" Human nature, however, is not satisfied, and never will be, except only as controlled by a nobler and diviner principle. Like the troubled water it is restless, and presses onward in its course, sometimes realizing its objects or fancying it has done so, but in the end too often reaping bitter disappointment. The object recedes in proportion to the eagerness of the pursuit, till finally it vanishes altogether, or leads the incautious pursuer into a labyrinth so dark and difficult that escape is impracticable. Only imagined good, if not fatal error, is the consequence.

As is man, so are communities and societies at large. Compounded of individuals, it must partake of the characteristics inherent in the elements composing it. It is itself but the aggregation of united constituents acting in the mass. What attaches therefore to man as a constituent, must attach to society itself. The one is but the type and representative of the other, and what is predicated of the former must be true of the latter; consequently, if analyzed, no other result can be produced. Society, then, itself is as restless as the elements that compose it, and wanting fixedness and stability, it is tossed to and fro, vibrating as contingent breezes may direct it. The wind that is most boisterous generally controls its course and decides its destiny.

The view of human nature we have given, whether of man in his isolated condition or associated in society, is not too highly colored. What is here predicated of him, is but the history of his race however partially exhibited, and is but too sadly confirmed by experience. It is seen in every department of life, and in reference to all its objects. You need but turn to the record of past ages, and you find it abundantly confirmed. Greece and Rome, with the nations that preceded them, are but so many illustrations of its truth, and should stand as monuments for the instruction of future ages, could their lessons be discerned. Then in letters, in science, in the arts, in government and religion, the human mind had pressed on its conquests, till like Alexander and his victories, there seemed no more worlds to subdue. Its advance in letters and science, at the period referred to, was but the effort of a boundless ambition to get knowledge, and to be wise above what is written. Even the more ancient cycles of time had their magi, learned in the knowledge of the East, long before Greece itself emerged from darkness, or the first dim rays of civilization dawned upon her horizon. History tells us that Africa herself, in that distant age, was not unlearned, and that some of the most abstruse of the sciences were there cradled and reared to full maturity. But Grecian soil seemed most congenial to the growth of literature. Here, fanned by its sunny breezes, and watered by refreshing streams from consecrated hills and groves, it struck deep its roots, and spread out its branches till it overshadowed the land. In poetry Homer, the first and last in his line, by inspiration of the muses, tuned the lyre to strains that have remained the admiration of all succeeding ages. Orpheus, too, gave inspiration to nature bending in listless attention to song, whilst Amphion, by its magic power, is said to have reared the walls of Thebes, subsequently not

less illustrious for the patriotic virtues of Epaminondas, than for her poet Pindar. But not less renowned were her orators than her poets, and the fame of her Demosthenes and Pericles can never perish. In philosophy, metaphysical and moral, she had her Lyceum and Academy, and the systems of Aristotle and Plato have divided mankind to the present day, forming the basis of all subsequent investigation and governing in its results, the one the sensual, and the other the ideal, as the source of all human knowledge; and so complete in theory that it remains to be determined, whether modern schools have done more than carried out the principles of the systems referred to.

In government also, her progress was the same. From savage life and simplest forms of association, we see republics reared by Grecian states, the model and admiration of all succeeding ages. If governments, as the result of human skill and the embodiment of the best principles of political science, would abide, surely the republics of Athens and Lacedemon should have remained; the one founded on the wisdom, and the other upon the rigid virtues, of their respective legislators. But the wisdom of a Solon and the integrity of a Lycurgus, with the keen researches of Aristotle superadded, could not make them endure.

In religion it was the same, and exhibits the same restless and onward movement of the human mind, but here more dark and obscure from the moral darkness that enshrouded it. Still its efforts were remarkable, and were bounded only by the veil of impenetrable mystery that fettered it; for not retaining the knowledge of the true God as revealed by himself, idolatry and superstition would be substituted in its place. Here the mind could not exert an energy it did not possess, and powers it had lost. The crude forms of Paganism were therefore the best results it could produce, and however improved its theories, it was but Paganism still. The most refined mythology could go no further, and conscious of the fruitless task it was forced to confess its ignorance. Whilst Socrates assumed the being of a God, he could know nothing with certainty of the immortality to which he aspired.

The history of Greece, in the particulars and aspects referred to, is but repeated in the progress of the Roman empire, and the development of human nature, as again exhibited in its experience, need not be repeated. Still the lesson it teaches must not be forgotten. It must not be forgotten, that Rome stood for centuries the proud mistress of the world and controlled a boundless empire. She had, too, her poets and her

orators, her schools and her philosophy, her statesmen and her victorious generals, but Rome fell and her mighty empire with her.

As was the progress of the human mind, and its development in ancient days, so is it now. Our own age bears testimony to the same restless ambition and onward effort in all the departments of life, and makes its impress upon all the institutions of society. Tossed to and fro, like a ship at sea, we are carried along by countless breezes that fill the sail, and, made presumptuous by the boldness of past experiments, we press on in the march of enterprise and improvement without regard to consequences, provided only our progress be not impeded. And who will not say, that the advance we have made is not astounding, both in boldness and experiment and in its actual results, ours casting into the shade and sinking into insignificancy the ages that have preceded it? So great and so rapid are the developments of the day we live in, that a new era seems to have dawned upon the world, and the human intellect, as if aroused from the slumber of ages, and strengthened by past inaction, starts anew in its onward course of improvement. In letters and the various departments of literature and science, we seem to have reached the utmost heights to which the wildest ambition could aspire. Despising the ancients, even as jejune and insipid, and their best productions no longer as suitable models for imitation, the age has formed a literature for itself, and now literally "to the making of books there is no end." In the arts and sciences new theories and new systems have followed on in such rapid succession as to bewilder, by their novelty, boldness and pretensions. In the philosophy of life and mechanics, invention is added to invention, and improvement to improvement, till piled like Ossa upon Pelion, the utmost stretch of human discovery seems to have been gained. To the age we live in it was reserved to understand and control the elements of nature, and, by governing them aright, subdue nature herself. Land and sea are now traversed successfully by the force of an element adequate to the utmost wants of life, and limited only by inadequate strength in the material supplied by nature to confine it. Time and space and distance are annihilated altogether, and kingdoms and continents, disjoined by nature, are again successfully united by the magic of art. Whether human admiration will be bounded by the wonders of electro-magnetism as now developed, or whether triumphs remain for science to achieve, time only can reveal.

In government, and morals and religion, we have made the same onward progress. Investigating minutely the principles of the former, and trying them by the fixed maxims of a sound political economy, we have reared the foundations of a government that we judged must be commensurate with time itself. Based upon what was deemed the broadest principles of political union, and surrounded by the best safeguards the wisest heads and purest hearts could give it, we rejoiced over it as perpetual. In morals and religion we have developed all the resources of human contrivance, refining and improving even upon revelation itself, till surely the very acme of ethics and theology is attained. We have now systems, and rules, and dogmas and doctrines, good and bad, rational and absurd, *multiplied ad infinitum*, till surely the wildest fanatic can be accommodated, whilst of *sects and tribes and parties and isms* the proper name is *legion*, for you cannot number them.

Such as we have now exhibited is the progress of the age we live in, and its supposed advance upon the past. Its triumphs, compared with ages gone by, may be such indeed as to give complacency to the mind studious of contrivance, and flatter human pride to its utmost desire. In some departments of life the progress may be real, and certainly is. Science, guided by the utilitarian spirit of the age, has doubtless added to the advantages and benefits of life. But how far society as a whole, especially in its moral and religious aspects, is advanced, remains to be seen. Every discovery may not prove a blessing in its results, and developments for evil as well as good must be expected, as the one usually will be found an attendant upon the other. But assuming the progress made to be real and fraught with the benefits expected — assuming that in literature, science and the arts of life, we have advanced as is supposed, and that in government and religion we have reached the utmost perfection, which we should hesitate to admit, are the results such as to make them abiding? Will they stand the test of experiment, and be adequate to control the adverse influences of life? Will they be sufficient to meet the wants of society, and the mutations, in its social, civil and moral relations, to which it must necessarily be exposed? Are these results of advanced civilization and refinement, these deductions of improved science and experiment, fixed upon a basis broad and firm enough to resist the angry and turbid current of opposing elements beating against them. And if not; if they are without adequate strength in themselves to endure, if they are unable to resist the overwhelming torrent of antagonistic principles that time and its revolutions

must array against them, what additional element is requisite to give them durability? It is to the candid and impartial consideration of the questions here propounded, we propose to invite attention in the following pages.

I. The first question that presents itself is, whether society and its institutions, as now constituted and developed, *have in them the requisite principles of durability.* In considering the inquiry here presented, we assume in behalf of the institutions of society the utmost progress they are said to have made, and give to them the benefit of all the advantages directly or indirectly resulting from their utmost improvement. We allow them the highest degree of perfection claimed as resulting from the deductions and discoveries of past and present ages. We ascribe to them all that the utmost refinement and civilization can demand, and thus fortified and supported, we press the inquiry referred to, *will they abide?* Have they the requisite elements of durability to preserve them? We believe they have not, and that a free and candid examination of the question will establish this result, however painful and mortifying its admission may be.

1. We see nothing *in the progress of letters, and the influences of a refined taste and literature to secure such result.* Whether, in this department, we have made any great advance upon the ancients is a question that might admit of discussion. Whether in elegance and purity of style and force of language, if not in other important requisites, they are not still our superiors, is undetermined. But allowing to modern literature all that it can claim, we question greatly if it has not lost in precision and power of expression, all that it has gained in taste and a refined diction. Have the sublime verses of Homer, the sweet songs of Anacreon and Pindar, the Æneid of Virgil and the odes of Horace been really surpassed in some of the elements of perfection as writers they possessed, and if so, by whom? Have not Demosthenes and Cicero, in some perfections of the orator and forensic eloquence, remained unrivalled? Have Herodotus and Xenophon and Livy and others been greatly surpassed in the department of history and the essential requisites of the historian, and have the rules of a sound and correct criticism been greatly improved upon, in their elements, since the days of Longinus and of Cicero? But admitting our progress in literature and its varied departments, and also its more general diffusion, what is there in it to give durability to the institutions of society that Grecian and Roman literature did not possess? Assuming, too, in our favor the invention of the art of printing, the multiplication of

books, and the greater diffusion of learning as its consequence, still such is the wide spread mischief of an impure and vicious literature, tainting with its pollution the fountain of life, that we know not which most preponderates from the discovery referred to, the good or the evil. But allowing the former to prevail, still what is there in the productions of the age, and in the mass of its refined and varied literature, to preserve society and save its institutions from decay, that the more solid instructions of the ancients did not possess. We fear there is nothing and that time will so reveal it.

2. But *in the theories of an improved philosophy*, may we not find the security we are in search of. If by an improved philosophy we mean an absolute knowledge of mind and matter, and of the laws by which they are impelled and act upon each other, we fear that modern skill has but little to boast of or arrogate to itself. Apart from revelation and its sublime teachings in this department of knowledge, the absolute certainty is, that but little advance has been made upon the ancients, and wherein progress has been made, its tendency too often has been in support of principles evidently vicious, immoral and disorganizing in their influence. From their conservative power we think society has but little to hope, and if not held together by other and stronger cords than those formed by the modern theories of an infidel philosophy, like a wrecked vessel upon the shoals of a tempestuous sea, without revelation as a pilot to direct its course, it must soon go to pieces.

We have heretofore said, that the systems of Aristotle and Plato have divided between themselves the speculations (for they merit no better name) of philosophy to the present time. "Whoever," in the language of a late writer, "believes that all our ideas are derived from external sources through the senses, and all real knowledge from experiment; that God has given man the peculiar faculty of reason, as the only safe guide through the perilous paths of life; and that to do the right thing in the right place, Το Ευ *και* ΚΑΛΩΣ, is the highest human wisdom,—he is a follower of Aristotle. Whoever, on the other hand, yields himself to a belief in innate ideas; whoever confides in the exalting faith that there is 'a Divinity that stirs within us,' and that despite 'this muddy vesture of decay that hems us in,' the Author of our being holds direct communion with our souls, regulating our impulses, guiding our instincts, and infusing into us that 'longing after immortality,' which sustains the struggling spirit through the great Μαχη Αθανατος of the universe,—he is a disciple of Plato the divine."

The fact that both systems have remained to the present day the subject of dispute and controversy, proves that neither is correct, and that the one cannot claim absolute truth to itself independent of the other. "The truly wise, the genuine Christian," in the language of the same writer, "will perhaps endeavor in his practice to unite the virtues of both systems, and, in conformity with the Apostolic injunction, perfect his faith by his works, and thus consummate the civilization of mankind." Apart from this, and as the results of philosophy alone, the nature and objects of which have so sadly been perverted, society and its constitutions, as we have said, have at best but little to hope for. Abused as it has been, and ever may be, its tendency is too evidently adverse to the teachings of revelation, and its conclusions, under the guidance of an infidel age, too insecure and uncertain to base upon it the hopes of man. Tortured as it will be by corrupt minds, and perverted to the ends of vice and irreligion, especially in an irreligious age, the virtuous and good have nothing to hope from it. Deism, Fourierism, Socialism, and other *isms* as expedients in opposition to revelation, may be strengthened by it, but whether, if successful, they will answer the ends of society and be adequate to preserve its institutions, time will reveal. In these remarks we have of course considered the teachings of philosophy apart from and independent of revelation, and have reasoned accordingly.

3. But may not *science and the arts of life*, as now improved and perfected, prove a sufficient basis for society and its interests to rest upon? We admit the unprecedented progress of physical science, and its successful application to the arts of life. Its achievements have been such as to dazzle and bewilder, and the mind, in its amazement, is at a loss which to admire most, the intricacy of contrivance and magnitude of machinery and of power, or the results that are produced and their influence upon the operations and business of life. Passing by other improvements, the successful application of steam power, as a motive agent, to almost all the departments of mechanics, in itself is destined to effect a total revolution in the various branches of industrial pursuit, requiring heretofore the joint labor of man and beast to perform them. It has in fact already done so. The products of the soil and of commerce, however gross and cumbrous, are now transported without either, and not only the remote portions of the same country, but distant ports and continents are joined together by its magic force. Time and labor are now measurably dispensed with, and that which once was the work of

ages, is now as it were but the business of a day. Magnetic induction, too, has been brought in to perfect what the motive force of steam had not effected, and under the control of science is made subservient to the communication of thought with a velocity equalled only by the rapidity of thought itself. It now only remains for man to think, and time will show whether the next onward movement, in this march of improvement, will not be some *machine* for this, so as to relieve both mind and body from the drudgery of labor. These, however, cannot give durability to the institutions of society, nor do they claim to do so.

4. Another power also has been brought into requisition, too important to be overlooked, we mean the *power of associated intellect and wealth.* What was too difficult for individual enterprise, or too slow in its accomplishment for the electric speed of the age we live in, is now readily effected by this almost boundless power of combination. If knowledge and wealth are both power, how irresistible, then, their united energy! By its potent touch barren hills are made fertile plains, mountains are cut down and levelled with the sea, and mount Athos no longer stands solitary and alone on the page of classic history, to excite the admiration of the world. The sea itself is now made to recede, and where "its proud waves lashed the shore," commerce claims its soil as her own.—Towns and cities spring up as by enchantment, their stately palaces are reared in a day, and the Pantheon and Parthenon, the perfection of ancient art and the pride of both Greece and Rome, are no longer adequate models for the imitation of modern grandeur.

These, all these are the results of modern science, and of our progress in its application to the arts of life. Will the institutions of society and society itself find in them the conservative power they require? Will they save them from final decay, and will civilization itself ultimately be the gainer by them? We trow not. We fear they have not the power of durability, and that considered in themselves, apart from other influences, they may not only perish, but society and its interests, now so proudly eminent, may perish with them. Thebes once had a hundred gates and her golden towers. Babylon was once the proud mistress of the East, defended by massy walls and adorned with palaces and gardens floating in the air. Athens and other cities of Greece were renowned for all that was elegant in literature and the arts, and Rome stood the queen of empires and mistress of the world; but the tooth of

time has crushed them all. They wanted something more than the perfection of art and marble to make them abide. Becoming "vain in their imaginations, their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient." Their downfall, consequently, was inevitable, and Paul, speaking by inspiration of God, assigns the reason for it.

5. But if neither letters, science nor the arts of life, however developed and perfected, can give security to the interests of society, may not *government and the laws under it be so modelled and constructed as to supply the defect.* In the structure of government, and a skilful analysis of the social compact, the human mind has not lagged behind in its progress to perfection. Here, as in other things, the utmost possible advance has been made. Aided by the experience of the old world, which had tested the power and strength of government in all its forms, having too the advantage of a thorough knowledge of their benefits and defects, their sources of strength and grounds of weakness, in what they had legislated too much, and in what not enough — analysing also the principles of the science, so as to incorporate into it only that which was essential to stability, and not incompatible with the rights of the governed, we have sought to rear the fabric of government so that nothing should be wanting to its complete structure, that we might present it to the world as a model for the imitation of all succeeding ages in the science of civil economy. We have framed the model, and have now tested its operation for more than half a century. Perhaps it is a just advance upon all former efforts, and as perfect as human skill and contrivance could make it. At least it is so regarded and no doubt justly. It was the work of an age purified by the sacrifice of the blood and treasure of the country, spent in defence of human rights and in resistance to oppression. It was put together by the wisest heads and best hearts that age had produced. It was subjected to the rigid scrutiny of men who sought to secure by it not their own, but their country's good. They have left it as the best legacy they had to bequeath to posterity, and the experience of half a century proves that they were not mistaken in their estimate of its worth. It is probably then the best that human skill could devise, or human contrivance frame. But will it abide? Will it be strong to endure? Will it be able to stand the test of time

and the fearful experiment that time will require? Are its elements such as to enable it to resist the terrible shock of antagonistic interests from within, as well as resistance from without? We trust it may. For it we would all most fervently pray, and to preserve it in its purity would sacrifice our all. But in what is our hope? Is it in the perfection of government in itself considered? Is it in the skill of political science, or the exactness with which its principles have been understood and combined? In these respects we may not be much in advance of the ancients. Athens and Lacedæmon imagined the same. They had incorporated the same elements in their systems, and employed the same skill in their construction. Lacedæmon especially sought to give durability to its system by superadding the stern virtue of its citizens. But did it abide? Did either Athens or Sparta, with all the polish of the one and rigid virtue of the other, remain? They did not and could not; not because of the imperfection of government, but because of the imperfection of virtue. Theirs was not the virtue of a pure religion. It was but submission to authority, the submission of the weaker to the stronger power. *It was rigid virtue from necessity.* They required a purer motive to obedience and the principles of a purer morality. Their theology imparted no true knowledge of God, the practice of which would be pleasing in his sight, but substituted for it the licentiousnes, and superstitions of a degrading mythology. Their civil economy was therefore doomed to pass away, being inadequate in itself without the aid of a pure religion. and ours without a similar support must ultimately do the same. We must have the religion of the Bible to perpetuate it, and the virtues it enjoins to sustain it. We must have its divine teachings and solemn sanctions as adequate motives to obedience. Without these our experiment will be in vain and fruitless, however strong the cords of government otherwise cemented.

6. *Nor will morality alone in itself be sufficient.* It must be the *morality of the Bible.* It must be a morality springing from just views of God, and the obligations due to him. The divine law itself must be our standard of right and wrong, and not the crude and loose teachings of men. Systems of moral ethics are easily framed and digested, and as easily accommodated to the character of the times they are intended to subserve. They may be good or bad, virtuous or licentious, according to the character of the source from which they spring. "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree

bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." The morality of Hume, of Gibbon or Voltaire, would be very different from the morality of the Bible, and their ethics would be accordingly. Their systems might be plausible and suited to the moral sense of infidelity, but not that of a religion "pure and undefiled before God and man." Nor is it the morality of antiquity that we need. The teachings of Zeno, of Socrates, of Cicero or of Seneca, might justly be commended for the age in which they lived, and the dim light of nature on which they were based, but the christian world has given to it a better revelation, even "the sure word of prophecy," and its principles of morality are to be governed by it. We need, therefore, the moral teachings of the Bible, and not the ethics of men, to guide our course, and to govern equally in the duties we owe both to God and man.

But if neither literature, science and the arts of life, nor yet the best systems of political economy or morality will give to society adequate security, what is there that can supply it? Is there such conservative principle for the institutions of time, and whence the source from which it can be derived? This brings us to the next general step in our inquiries, in answer to which we reply:

II. That there must be such conservative power for society, and that its institutions cannot abide without it. God doubtless designed man in his social condition, as a constituent of society, to be the subject of his government as fully and completely as in his individual character. The personal relations man sustains to him as such are neither forfeited nor destroyed. They remain in full force, and with all their binding obligation, as fully as before the social compact was formed. This cannot be doubted for a moment, and if it were, this fact itself would be adequate proof of idiocrasy in the subject of it, and of his fitness for an association with lunacy rather than with the society of rational beings. If the force of these anterior obligations remain then binding as fully as before, and man's new relation as a member of society cannot destroy them, and as society itself, as heretofore shown, is but the aggregation of individuals in the social compact for their common good, it follows, necessarily, that the mass itself must be bound as a whole. And this is just the position of society, and of communities in their social and moral relations. In passing from their individual to their social condition, as members of society and subjects of government, they have surrendered nothing in regard to God and his requirements, whatever they may have

given up in regard to each other. Communities and governments, therefore, are as much subject, morally, to divine law, as were the individuals composing them. They must be so from necessity and the nature of the case. Any other supposition would be an *argumentum ad absurdum.* Besides, the Creator intended man for his social and civil relations, and would not be likely to annul the divine relations under which those relations alone could be adequately guarded and sustained. This is self-evident and needs no argument to illustrate or defend it.

Such, then, being man's position as a member of the social compact and of society itself, resulting as a consequence from man's social being; and communities and governments themselves being formed in obedience to the divine will, it follows that they are not left without the possibility of some adequate power to preserve them. This doubtless was given from the beginning, and fully and clearly revealed to man; but "loving darkness more than light," he chose to close his eyes against the truth, and resist its power, because his deeds were evil. In Gen. 6: 5. God says of man: "That every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." This was his character, as Jehovah himself testifies, almost from the beginning, at which time already it is added: "That the wickedness of man was great in the earth." This fearful account of human depravity, and the rapid increase of wickedness in the earth, even at this early period, is given by God himself, and plainly intimates that the conservative restrictions and sanctions ordained by him were soon obliterated from the human mind. The Apostle says of them: "That when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness." Rom. 1: 18–32. This is the Apostle's argument, and shows that the Gentile nations rejecting God, and consequently the sanctions He ordained, were given up by him to reap the fruit of their own doing. These divine sanctions were such, we believe, as fully to meet all the wants of man, social, civil and religious, and secure human happiness. These being lost sight of, we must go back to God again, and seek in him and in his appointments the security we need. It can be derived from no other source, and society and its institutions can find safety on no other

basis than that of conformity to his will. The wisdom and perfection of human organism, however great in itself and of itself, cannot give it. Infinite wisdom alone is adequate to supply it. But this God has manifested only in his word. Hence we add:

Finally, That the Bible alone gives this adequate security, and that human organism, however complete, can possess it on no other basis. This *a fortiori* must necessarily be inferred. It follows, also, from the views already presented, the arguments they have embodied, and the conclusions they involve. The facts exhibited in regard to the past history of man, and the institutions of society in all ages of the world, abundantly establish it. They are the melancholy records of time; the sad monuments of imperfection marked upon the wisest efforts of man that never can be effaced. They are God's own witnesses of the folly of man guided by himself. These facts, then, we desire the reader to retain, whilst we proceed to illustrate further the conclusion before us. That the Bible, then, is the only basis adequate to give security to the institutions of society, and human organism in general, we infer:

1st. From the fact *that God did not sanction its existence independent of himself.* This follows from the sovereignty of God. As King of kings and Lord of lords, above all men and over all, his own will would ordain the law under which his creatures should exist, and the authority by which they should be bound. That law would be in accordance with the nature of his own being, and would be based upon it. The nature of the case would require subjection to it on the part of man. In fact he could not escape from it. God would necessarily institute such requirements as infinite wisdom would dictate as essential, and his position as a sovereign would require their enforcement. This would follow from the relation that had been instituted. Hence we read, that when God created man, he allowed him the use of all the trees of the garden in which he had been placed, except "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," and in regard to it added the penalty: "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Gen. 2: 17. But previously we read, that "God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which he had made." This sanctification of the day implied in itself the obligation to its observance, and God's requirement as such. Again, after the transgression, God says to Adam: "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded

thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field: In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." Here we learn, even in the case of Adam, that his Creator not only had enjoined restrictions, but had added suitable sanctions to enforce them, and that it was the violation of these restrictions that caused his punishment. With the nature and justice of these restrictions and the punishment of the violation, we have nothing to do. We only refer to the facts recorded, to show that even in the case of Adam, and the favored circumstances of his position, God regarded him as under obligations to obedience and punished his disobedience. In other words, that as sovereign he did not leave Adam independent of divine authority, but bound him to its observance. Much less then, subsequently, when Adam had fallen and his position in regard to God was changed from a state of innocency and holiness to that of transgression, would God leave him or his posterity to act independent of his control.

Subsequently, when Cain and Abel had offered gifts unto the Lord, and Cain was angry because the offering of his brother had been accepted and his not, the Lord said unto Cain: "Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Here we see that the posterity of Adam were likewise under obligations to obedience, and that the divine favor in their behalf was made to depend upon their conformity to his will. Again, God says to Cain: "If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door," which imports the same. When God determined to destroy the world by the flood, we read in regard to it, that it was corrupt and filled with violence. "And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them: and behold I will destroy them with the earth." Here we have given the cause of man's destruction, implying both divine authority and obligation to obedience. The same condition is observed in the terms of the covenant made with Abraham: "*Walk before me and be thou perfect.*" The same condition is again observed in the renewal of the covenant with Abraham's posterity. To Isaac at Gerar the Lord said: "I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these coun-

tries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed: *because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes and my laws.*" Here we are more specifically informed that Abraham's obedience was involved in the covenant God had made with him, and that on account of his obedience, to which God testifies himself, not only his posterity, but all the nations of the earth should be blessed. The condition was still the same, as again and again verified by God to Moses, through whom he more fully revealed the law itself, and the extent of its requirements. At Sinai he said to him: "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel, *if ye will obey my voice and keep my covenant*, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me," &c. Exod. 19: 3–5. Paul, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, already referred to, proves that the Gentile nations were under a like obligation to acknowledge God and walk in his ways; that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness;" and that "*they are without excuse*," because "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are already seen, being understood by the things that are made, *even his eternal power and Godhead.*" This acknowledgment of God, therefore, and conformity to his will, under every possible form of human existence, God's sovereignty requires and cannot by man with impunity be rejected. But,

2. The Bible is the only secure basis of society and its interests, because it alone imparts to man *just views of his relations to his fellow-man and the duties they impose.* These relations have been created by God himself, and are independent of man's influence or control over them. They are such as infinite wisdom saw fit to institute, and created by God himself, like all his orderings, they must be right in themselves, and essential to the well being and happiness of man. They are doubtless so, whether thus recognized by man or not, and instituted by God, he exacts obedience to them without regard to man's appreciation of their importance. They may tend, as they doubtless do, to promote the best interests of man for time and eternity; nay, they may be essential to his very being, under the varied circumstances of his existence, and society in its diversified interests may depend upon their rigid observance, yet man in his rejection of God and general opposition to his will, may choose to disregard them all together. Men have done so in all past ages of the world, and except so far as controlled by the grace of God, will do so unto the end.

But as the Apostle says in regard to circumcision among the Jews: "What if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?" Rom. 3: 6. So neither can the unbelief and wicked opposition of men, affect in the least the importance of the relations social, civil and moral, God has ordained, or impair their binding character. God has instituted them for purposes best known and understood by himself, and the fact that He has ordained them is the best evidence of their wisdom, and that he means to insist upon their binding obligation. Let us advert for a moment to some of these relations, and the divine view of their importance, however slightly regarded by man himself. And first:

a) The marriage relation, which is of God's own ordering, forcibly illustrates the point in question. That the marriage relation is of divine origin is not questioned, because it is given us by express appointment of God himself. Gen. 2: 18–25. Christ in the Gospel adverts to and confirms the same, and adds: "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Matth. 19: 4–6. According to the beautiful and expressive language of the church, recommended to her ministers to be used by them in the solemnization of marriage: "It is the union of one man with one woman for their joint happiness, and for the pious education of children where God gives them, and by the original appointment of the Almighty, confirmed by our Saviour, is to be dissolved only by death." God, however, not only instituted marriage, and annexed to it its binding obligations, but, by express command, determined the degrees of consanguinity by which it was to be regulated, and within which marriage was not proper, the law of Moses forbidding it between all more nearly related than cousins. Lev. 18 and 20. Sometimes more special directions and prohibitions in regard to it, were given by God to his people, and their obedience enforced by suitable sanctions and rewards. The Hebrews, for example, were forbidden to marry with the heathen, and especially with the Canaanites, Exod. 23: 32. and 34: 12–16. Such marriages being against the law and in violation of it, they were null and void; and hence Ezra and Nehemiah, in restoring their religion and its institutions, required the Jews to put away their Heathenish wives, as by the law their marriage was unlawful. Ezra 9 and 10.

God having thus instituted marriage and determined the degrees of consanguinity that constitute its legality, prescribed also the duties of both man and woman when thus solemnly

united, and the obligations growing out of it. These by Moses were specifically and minutely detailed, and the punishment annexed which God enjoined upon their violation. Christ recognizes the same duties and obligations in his answer to the Pharisees, Mark 10: 2–12. Tempting him they asked: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? He answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? They said Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement and put her away. Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept: but from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife. And they twain shall be one flesh," &c. Paul, Eph. 5: 22–23, refers to the same, and specially illustrates the great principle of love that should govern the marriage relation, commanding that husbands love their wives, "even as Christ loved the church and gave himself for it;" and again adding, "Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband."

Such is the institution of marriage as God ordained it, and the divine law of love that should govern and control it. As prescribed and contemplated by him, it is doubtless designed, in the highest degree, to promote human happiness and prevent the multiplied evils to man the absence of the marriage relation would entail. Yet men, as is too often unhappily the case, may choose to disregard the obligations altogether, or if they so far recognize them as to secure the sanction of marriage, it is regarded only as a formal ceremony, and submitted to out of respect to society and the custom that prescribes it, whilst its binding obligations, as God has instituted it, are wholly disregarded. And even the little respect for it as God's ordinance that remains, the refinements of modern Socialism would renounce altogether, and give unrestrained license to crime and the untold evils to society that must follow its subversion. God, however, by the institution of marriage and the obligations it imposes saw fit to control and regulate the relations of society in this respect, and the Bible will perpetuate it, and enforce its sanctions whether appreciated by men or not. But if with the Bible, and all its sacred influences superadded, the marriage compact and the duties it creates, are so slightly regarded as they are by thousands, what would be the result under the teachings of Socialism without it? Who can calculate the consequences to human happiness, or measure the extent of human wretchedness, had not God thus wisely provided to prevent it? The Bible and its sanctions

are essential therefore to the well ordering of society in the important relation referred to, and could not be dispensed with without results fatal to human happiness.

b) Again, the parental relation is among the most important in society, and fraught with the most important consequences to man as a social and moral being, both for time and eternity. Who can calculate the benefits resulting from a proper and faithful discharge of all the duties it enjoins, or fathom the depths of crime and misery resulting from their neglect? God knowing and foreseeing these results, wisely ordained that this relation should be associated with such obligations as would make it contribute to the benefit of society and the happiness of man, and not add to human misery. The Bible is full of the most solemn injunctions to parents in regard to their children, the manner in which they should be taught and governed, and the great ultimate end for which life was given them. It was made specially obligatory upon Jewish parents to instruct their children in the divine law and God's covenant with them. God said unto Abraham: "Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou and thy seed after thee, in all their generations. This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee; Every man-child among you shall be circumcised; and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations," &c. "and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant." Gen. 17: 9–15. Hence, in the full and perfect knowledge of this covenant and the obligations it enjoined, they were carefully to instruct their children, as well as give them, when eight days old, the outward token of it in the flesh by circumcision. It was this knowledge of God's covenant with them and their obedience to its requirements, that constituted them the people of God and entitled them to his favor. "For," says the Apostle, "he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit," &c. Rom. 2: 28–29. The perpetuation of this covenant from generation to generation, the outward sign of which was circumcision, depended entirely upon parental faithfulness, and hence the care with which God enjoined it. Of many professing Christian parents, wholly neglecting the moral and religious instruction of their children, and bringing them up in utter ignorance of God's covenant with them, and in ignorance even of the outward sign of it, we might pause to enquire how their neg-

lect in this respect corresponds with the duties they owe their children as parents, enjoined upon them by the word and ordinances of God. There is resting here a responsibility of the most fearful nature, and woe to parents, in this our day of light and knowledge, whose children in judgment shall rise up and condemn them, appearing on that awful occasion as swift witnesses against them.

Paul refers to the same subject, and the solemn responsibility of parents when he says: "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," Ephes. 6: 4. Yet notwithstanding the orderings of God here referred to, and the awful consequences that must ensue both to the parent and the child, how many parents are not criminally neglectful as to duty in this particular, whilst multitudes are wholly obdurate as to God and conscience, and seemingly wreckless as to consequences. The beauties of modern Socialism may here be seen which allows to parents the abandonment of their offspring altogether. If these things, then, are true, with the Bible and all its penalties superadded, well may we ask, what would they not be without it? How essential, then, is not the Bible and it sanctions, to the interests of society in this respect, and how indispenable to human happiness!

c) Other relations of society might be referred to in confirmation of the same great truth, but our limits admonish us to forbear. There are some, however, too important to be entirely unnoticed, and to which we must briefly refer: among these we notice the *relation of our common brotherhood and of social life.* In the circles of social life and its business arrangements, we are all from necessity associated together, and are made dependant upon each other. Rich and poor, high and low, bond and free; the man of letters and the grossly ignorant, they that govern and the governed, all in this respect are joined together by a common lot, a common necessity, and a common interest. The one here is dependant upon the other, a part upon the whole, and the whole upon its integrant parts. This is strikingly illustrated by the fable of the "body and the limbs," familiar to the classic reader. This relation includes in it also the business interests of life, and all the countless little offices of duty, propriety and affection, growing out of it. How important in regard to these, that all should be governed by at least the common law of justice and of equity, if by no higher principle! But even this, so essential to the interests of society, would be wanting without the Bible. It is God's word that supplies it, and not only supplies but enforces it.

Apart from all the divine precepts to this end elsewhere given, Christ has furnished a summary of the whole in his sermon on the mount, and especially in his commandment: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," adding by way of confirmation, "for this is the law and the prophets." How different this from the maxims and teachings of the world! Its morality is absorbed by the principle of self-love alone, and knows no law, either of duty or of charity, save such only as interest may prescribe. Self, not charity, is the motive power of all its impulses and governs all its actions. It knows no kindness, no gentleness, no mercy. It seeks only its own, and literally exacts "its pound of flesh." Its law of love is covetousness, which is idolatry. It has no pity, no compassion for suffering humanity, and drops no tear over the misfortunes of life its charities might have relieved. Such is man without the Bible and uninfluenced by its teachings. What, then, would be society unblessed by its influence, and governed alone by the principles we have referred to? Who can estimate its evils or calculate the sum of human wretchedness that must ensue? Infinite wisdom alone could tell it, and foreseeing it, divine goodness interposed to prevent it. God has spoken in his word, yea, and as the Psalmist says, "Thou has magnified thy word above all thy name." It will abide forever, and knowing that every jot and tittle of it shall be fulfilled, the wicked stand in awe of its authority, and tremble at its thunderings. Bad as the world may be, society finds in it a conservative power to bless and save. It feels that its teachings are divine, that its requirements are right, that its threatened judgments are just, and under the shadow of its wings it rests securely. The Bible, then, is not only essential to its well being, but is in this respect, to poor suffering humanity, heaven's best gift. How blind the ignorance and how wicked the philosophy that would reject it!

d) Again, the social compact is involved in the relation man sustains to his fellow-man and grows out of it. This implies the science of government and is based upon it. It assumes man's capability to constitute such government, and to discharge the duties it imposes. On this subject, viz. man's capability for self-government, much has been learnedly said and written, especially in support of it. The arguments employed, however, are too often based upon assumption alone, and attribute too much to the force of reason and mere human philosophy. They assume that enlightened reason, assisted alone by experience and a more perfect knowledge of government, is adequate to the task, and our own government is re-

ferred to as demonstration of its truth. Of the wisdom and patriotism of its venerable framers we have no doubt, and we share in the regard their memories deserve. They fondly hoped that they had achieved the object of their wishes, and in the structure they reared imagined they had found a basis for it, deep and broad enough to endure forever — "*monumentum perennius aere.*" But what says experience, even the experience of less than a single century? Does this sustain the fond hope indulged in regard to it? And as we have already asked, will it endure? Will it withstand the corroding tooth of time? Is it strong enough, and are its several parts sufficiently compacted and joined together to resist the current of opposing forces that beat against it? Has it provided amply for any and every emergency thas may arise to test its power of endurance? We fondly hope so; but our best hopes sometimes deceive us. We believe our venerable fathers not only did the best they could, but the best that was possible. They were actuated by the purest motives, and had the experience and history of the world to aid them. Their struggle for freedom had been the struggle of desperation, and having finally achieved it, they determined to secure to posterity the fruit of their hard earned labors. To this end the government they formed, it is just to assume, was the best that was possible, and is the best certainly ever framed by man. But still it was the work of men's hands, and as such necessarily imperfect. So must every other government be, formed by man. However much improved compared with such as have preceded it, it cannot be absolutely perfect, or provide to meet all the possible contingencies that may arise under it. How then shall these necessary and admitted imperfections be remedied? How shall their deficiencies be supplied? We answer, the only adequate remedy is in the virtue and piety of its citizens. Their purity, integrity and uprightness, must supply the defects of human legislation, and make up the deficiencies that mark all human compacts and the theories upon which they rest. But this moral purity in the citizen the Bible only can secure. Its divine and heavenly influences alone can produce it. Divine authority is essential to this result, and God speaking through his word, by virtue of such authority, alone can effect it.

The success of government, therefore, however wisely framed, depends upon the Bible and the conservative and purifying influence it exerts. Still there are those who hesitate to admit it. The statesman looks to the head and not to the heart. He builds his hopes upon the intelligence and as-

sumed virtue of the people, and argues from these alone their capacity for self-government. But how is this assumed virtue to be produced? What is to secure and perpetuate it? Philosophy cannot do it. The teachings of a loose and superficial morality cannot do it. Human theories, however refined and plausible, are inadequate to the task. The Bible, as we said, alone can do it. Destroy this, and you take from government the firmest pillar upon which it rests. Impair its influence, and in exact proportion, you weaken its moral power and diminish its chances of success. As citizens, therefore, and anxious alone for the success of the institutions of society we prizé so dearly, we should deprecate that refined infidelity of modern times which, warring against the Bible, seeks to destroy its power, and having done this, would leave us, in the storms of life, to the mercy of the winds and waves, without aught but human reason to guide us in our course. The loose and licentious theories of our day, especially as now developing in Europe and elsewhere, show but too plainly what unaided reason would do, and in France especially, is giving sad evidences of her power to guide aright the destiny of man. If to reject the Bible and its teachings, denying the sanctity of its divinely appointed institutions, and among them the obligations of the marriage contract; if to upturn at once the settled order of society, denying all personal responsibility, except so far as the grossest licentiousness may choose to sanction it; if a reckless rejection of the rights of others and the denying of all morality; if these will bless society and give hope to man, then may the Bible be rejected and reason substituted in its place.

In regard to the social compact, therefore, and man's relations under it to his fellow man, as well as all the associations that grow out of it, they are dependant for their success and permanency upon the moral force given them by the Bible and its sanctions. Remove these and you destroy effectually their power of endurance. We have no faith, therefore, in the institutions of life, whether social, civil or religious, except so far as God is acknowledged in them and his word made the ultimate basis upon which they rest. We have no confidence in the capacity of man for any thing that is for the glory of God and the final good of man, except so far as God may guide and govern it. We regard the Bible as essential to success in all the institutions of life, involving man's relations to his fellow-man, and contend that no teachings of mere human philosophy can be substituted for it. Its absence, sooner or later, would prove fatal to the whole, however profound the

skill by which the fair fabric had been erected. Other relations, growing out of man's social being might be referred to, but the above we deem sufficient as they involve the rest.

3. But, apart from the relations sustained by man to his fellow-man thus far considered, the Bible is essential to the institutions of society, because it alone imparts *right views in regard to God and the relations we sustain to him.* These relations, and the duties that grow out of them, are more important than all others. They involve man's happiness both now and hereafter. His interests are affected by them in a twofold form, and in a higher degree they claim his regard. Between virtue and happiness, and vice and misery, God has fixed such inseparable connection, that human interests are bound to regard it and more or less will be governed by it. That just and right conduct tends inevitably to success in life, instinctively leads to the practice of it, and consequently to the good of society in general. Society is benefitted in proportion to the extent that this principle extends and regulates the acts and conduct of men. It is the Bible, however, that assures us of the principle as fixed by God himself, and urges to its observance. Under its influence men are led to the practice of virtue for the sake of the benefits thereby secured to themselves, and society by it is made a gainer with them. Its institutions are thus strengthened and preserved by the fixed relations of morality God has instituted, and which the teachings of his word enforce.

But there is another and a higher sense in which society derives a conservative influence from the Bible acting upon man's relations to God, and the proper knowledge of them as taught in his word. In it man is made responsible directly to God himself for his doings in life, whether affecting others or confined to himself. And that he may not plead ignorance of this responsibility to justify its violation, God has been careful to make known his commandments, involving to the fullest extent man's duty to himself as his Maker, and to his fellow-man. These commands, though specific from their nature, are yet so broad and extensive, as to include all of human conduct and govern in all the acts of life. They extend not only to the conduct of life and man's overt acts, but to the heart and motives that control it. Paul says: "It is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart;" Heb. 4: 12; and the Psalmist says: "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." When Christ was asked by one

of the Pharisees, which was the great commandment in the law, he answered: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself: On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets," Matth. 22: 25–40. We may see and infer from this, not only the extent of the decalogue, but its spiritual nature. It requires love to God as the impelling motive to obedience, for it alone can secure his favor, and provides for justice and charity to all men, by requiring that we love our neighbors as ourselves. Man's personal responsibility under the divine law also gives additional force to it and secures obedience. God has not only proclaimed the law, but has annexed the most solemn penalties to enforce it. The transgressor, by these divine sanctions, is constantly excited to conformity to its requirements so as to escape the penalties God has threatened against the evil doer, and thus the Bible, in which these penalties are set forth and enforced, is daily and hourly exerting its restraining influence upon society, and aids in sustaining it. The extent to which this influence is exerted, acting as it does directly on the hearts and consciences of men, and the benefits by it secured to society in all its interests, eternity only can reveal. Time cannot know them. They therefore who systematically seek to disparage its influence, and, if able, would destroy it altogether; who vainly imagine that the interests of society are secure without it and would have the institutions of life independent of God's control over them; who would cut loose society, if they could, from all association with religion and sacred things—such men, with all their pretensions to sincerity, in the language of holy writ, "know not what they do," and are "blind leaders of the blind." But we have no faith in their sincerity. They aim to exclude the Bible and its divine requirements from the associations and affairs of men, only that they may indulge in licentiousness with less restraint, and secure to crime a greater license. In regard to the ultimate consequences, either to others or themselves, they feel no concern, and as to the institutions of society and the well being of their fellow men under them, they are ready to reply as did Cain of old: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Again:

4. The sanctions of the Bible are essential to secure to society *proper and adequate evidence of guilt and thereby it operates against the commission of crime.* In the dark ages, when the human mind was buried in the rubbish centuries of

ignorance and superstition had imposed, and the Bible had become a sealed book to the world, society resorted to the most horrible and revolting methods for determining the guilt or innocence of those accused of crimes. Among others, besides that of *single combat*, the accused was thrown fettered into water, or made to walk, blindfold and with his feet naked, over hot bars of iron. The absurd presumption was assumed that, if innocent, he would be miraculously preserved, and escape unharmed. This they called *the ordeal*, or trial by judgment of God, and the accused, however innocent, was doomed to suffer its horrible exactions. As the name imports, it was truly a judgment upon their own ignorance and folly. Among the Greeks and Romans, equally absurd and superstitious modes prevailed for the same purpose. Compared with these, how humane and yet effectual, the modes of trial secured under the sanctions of the Bible! The accused here has secured to him the benefits of a fair and impartial investigation, his peers being his judges, and his fellow-men the only witnesses against him, who, on oath and under a full conviction of its sanctity, render their evidence accordingly. And in the multiplicity of trials that take place in our courts thus conducted, it seldom happens that the innocent are made to suffer, or that the guilty escape conviction, except where doubt still remains, which is properly allowed in favor of the accused, on the humane principle that ninety-nine guilty persons should escape, rather than that one innocent should suffer.

It is the Bible, however, and its divine sanctions, in our courts of justice, that secures to these forms of trial their sanctity and importance. The witnesses on oath testify as before God, and in view of the awful penalties God has annexed to perjury. Solemnly sworn to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, the witness thus testifies in the fear of God, and under a sense of his awful accountability, and although by false evidence he might save his fellow-man, yet knowing that he is guilty, the fear of God, inspired by his word, compels him to speak the truth, and he testifies in accordance with it. But take from the witness, the consciousness of responsibility to God referred to, as inculcated in his word, and you divest at once your modes of trial of all their solemnity and certainty, however regular their forms in other respects.

But the security of society rests upon the certainty that innocence will be protected and the guilty punished. "Rulers," says the Apostle, "are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." Rom. 13: 3. All government is designed for this end,

and the legislation conducted under its authority is intended to effect it. On its success depends the prosperity of all its interests. If in this it fails and crime should go unpunished; if the reckless and vicious have no authority to control them, and commit with impunity their deeds of outrage and violence, no other advantages can make amends for its defects in this respect, and sooner or later society would return to its elements and its best institutions perish. The Bible is, therefore, the foundation of its strength, the key-stone that binds the whole together and gives it durability. Without its solemn sanctions, its organisms, however well intended and skilfully contrived, could not exist, except in the rude and uncertain forms that characterize the associations of life where the Bible is unknown. Destroy then, its influence, and refuse its teachings; undermine its authority and remove its sanctions, and you unhinge society, and exchange its institutions, now securing the best interests of life, for the horrors of anarchy and the refinements of Paganism. You get rid of the Bible, but with it the blessings also God has designed it to impart. These are solemn truths, and more solemn from the fact, that if you reject the Bible you can substitute nothing in its stead that can impart to society the security it requires; nothing that can give durability to the institutions of life. This we have already shown, and we believe conclusively. We have seen it illustrated in the experience of all antiquity. The histories of Greece and Rome, with all the progress towards perfection made by them in learning and the arts of life, confirm the same. Philosophy, we have shown, has already exhausted all her powers, and can do no more. Moral systems, and the theories they reveal, as men have devised them, are impotent to enforce obedience, because no divinity is inscribed upon them. You turn then to reason as your last and final hope, reason enlightened but *not inspired*, and reason bewildered confesses that here her light is only darkness and that she cannot save you. The only security, then, society and its institutions can have, it must get from the Bible. Its authority is essential to sustain its varied interests, its divine sanctions are required to uphold them, and in rejecting it you reject the only hope its perpetuity can have. Finally:

5. *The retributions of the Bible are essential to the well being of society, and human organisms cannot be sustained without them.* By the retributions of the Bible we mean the *divine judgments* it reveals, appointed by God, as the portion of evil doers. We use the term *divine judgments*, because the retributions of God are his settled purposes in regard to the

wilfully disobedient and all workers of iniquity. They are already revealed, that the guilty may be warned, and by timely reformation and repentance may escape the wrath to come.

These retributions are not only eternal and affect man's condition hereafter, but are often temporal and so designed. Of this we have the fullest assurance in the word of God.—The history of the Old Testament is but a narrative of the special dealings or God with Israel and the nations with whom they were associated, especially those who dwelt upon the borders of Judea. Not only the Canaanites, expelled from Judea for their wickedness and idolatry, but the Assyrians, Persians, Medes and others, had often fearful evidence given them of the dealings of God with the nations of the world, and of his judgments which, says the Psalmist, "are in all the earth." Sodom and Gomorrah were utterly destroyed, and destroyed by God's direction as a judgment for their wickedness, as the Lord said to Abraham, who entreated God for them: "Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great and *because their sin is very grievous.*" That ten righteous persons could not be found among them, upon which condition God had consented to spare them for his servant Abraham's sake, is sad evidence of their guilt. "Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of those cities, and that which grew upon the ground." Gen. 19: 24–26. This is the simple narrative as recorded by the pen of inspiration, and shows that God's judgments are executed even upon the earth, when the measure of human wickedness is full. That righteous Lot was saved from the burning city also shows that God is not indifferent to the actions of men, and that He deals with nations and individuals as they respectively deserve.

Concerning Nineveh we read as follows: "And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the second time, saying, Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee. So Jonah arose, and went into Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord. (Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey.) And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried and said, Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For the word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he

caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh (by the decree of the king and his nobles) saying, Let man and beast be covered with sackcloth and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not. And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them and he did it not." Jonah 3: 1–10. We have given entire, or nearly so, the history of the event here recorded, because it illustrates the character of God's dealings with men, and shows that his threatened judgments, in the case of nations as well as of individuals, are executed or withheld as their deeds require. The final destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus, the Roman general, and the circumstances that attended it, especially the deliverance of the Christians among them from the impending ruin, is another confirmation of the same truth and of the teachings of revelation in regard to it. The Jews themselves, scattered and dispersed throughout the world, and disowned and persecuted every where, though once the favored people of God, and depositaries of his word, to whom for forty years in the wilderness, he was "a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," whom he fed also "with bread from heaven," whom he suffered not their enemies to harm, and for whose deliverance one hundred and eighty-three thousand Assyrians were destroyed in a single night, to whom the Ark of God's Covenant with them was a refuge and defence; we say their subsequent and continued dispersion throughout the world, though favored as they once had been, is another and effecting illustration of the same great principle, and yet strictly in accordance with the teachings of God's word in regard to his providences, and the lessons of instruction to the world they are intended to teach. Other illustrations of the same great truth might be furnished, but those given are amply sufficient. If they hear not these, and the Bible is full of them, "neither would they be persuaded though one should come unto them from the dead." We have been thus particular, because we belive the judgments of God threatened in his word, are designed to act conservatively upon society and the institutions of life, as well as govern the conduct of men with reference to eternity. That they refer to nations as well as individuals is ample proof that they are so designed. That these retributions involve the interests of men for eternity, and tend to regulate human conduct with reference to man's happiness hereafter, only gives to

them additional force in their beneficial influence upon life and the institutions of time. But we depend upon the Bible for the influence they exert. Destroy its power, as the growing infidelity of the times aims to do, and you cut off society from its strongest safeguards, and remove from beneath its varied associations the firmest pillars upon which they rest. Nay, but weaken its moral influence upon man, the influence its just and righteous retributions exert, and you impair the foundations of society, and all the valued institutions of life to the same extent. Of the truth of this we are most firmly persuaded, and we warn our fellow men, especially those who have control in human affairs, to ponder its solemn reality. We warn the people of God, in these times of growing evil and iniquity, fraught with danger to all the interests of man both for time and eternity, to cleave more firmly than ever to the great truth in their holy religion which acknowledges a divine providence in human affairs, and we warn worldly men aud ungodly statesmen, of the folly of all their theories which aim at substituting the perfection of human reason for "the wisdom that cometh from above," and at excluding God and divine influences from the affairs of men. These the Bible alone imparts. It alone has adequate sanctions to enforce them. Its moral agencies are the agencies of God himself exerted through his word; its retributions are his solemn judgments designed to govern the conduct of men as well in time as for eternity, and we add again, upon their remedial and conservative influences the best hopes of society depend. Nay, it cannot subsist without them.

We have attempted thus to show the dependance of society and its institutions upon the word of God and the varied influences it exerts. We have been more tedious than we intended, but could not have said less without weakening the force of reasoning depending upon its connection, to exhibit the conclusions it legitimately presents. We believe they establish fully the points intended, and hope they will prove as convincing to the minds of our readers as they have been to our own. We are among those who believe that, in reference to the affairs of time and the institutions of life, we depend upon God and the teachings of his word, as well as for eternity. We have no heart to sanction the growing idea of a God in religion, but the rejection of his influence in the government of human affairs. We believe man is as dependent upon his guidance and control in the one case as in the other, and the fact that practical infidelity too often controls in the institutions of life, by no means justifies the principle. Men may

choose to reject God altogether, both as to divine and human things, but their doing so will neither exclude God from the exercise of his rightful authority on the one hand, nor on the other exempt them from its control. It would only argue the blindness of human reason and the utter perversion of the human heart.

In conclusion, we add that we have no desire to disparage the force of human reason, or impair in the least the dignity of the human understanding. We attribute to it all it can justly claim. But we deny its sufficiency as a rule and a guide for man, either in human or divine things, independent of divine teaching and the guidance of him who made it. We have patiently traced its development in ancient and modern times, and under circumstances the most favorable for the exertion of its influence. We have seen its progress in letters, in science, in philosophy and in the arts of life. The ages of Grecian and Roman literature, as we have shown in the former part of these remarks, were eminently and deservedly distinguished. As already stated, we doubt whether, in the cycles of time that have succeeded, they have even been equalled, not to say surpassed. In the ages referred to, the human mind exerted its native vigor, and depended upon its own energies for the results it produced. It acted for itself, and was independent of the teachings of earlier ages to direct it. What it attempted, it attempted on its own authority, and not on that of intellects that had preceded it. It was eminently the age of invention in every department of learning and the arts, and wherein it failed, it still had the high merit of originality to commend it. Subsequent ages have enjoyed the benefits of its labors, and withal have seldom done more than copied, or at most elaborated the principles it established. But after all its advances, in the ages referred to, the mind failed to develop any theory for society, by which with certainty its objects could be secured or its institutions perpetuated. In the progress of time, and of ages reaching from a remote antiquity, we are met by the rise and fall of nation after nation and kingdom after kingdom. The mightiest empires of the world seem only to have been formed to give in their downfall a more striking illustration of the want of inherent power to endure and the instability of human things. The Assyrian, Persian, Medean and Egyptian, are named among the first great kingdoms of the world, and were succeeded by others no less powerful than those that preceded them. But we only read of them, that they rose and flourished and passed away. Their mighty cities, with all the monuments of genius

and art they contained, though adorned with palaces and temples, with obelisks and statues that seemed imperishable, have passed away with them. Nineveh, even the great city of Nineveh referred to, that God spared because it repented at the preaching of his prophet, has long since crumbled into dust, and its name only remains registered among the things that have been. Babylon, the Great, the queen city of the east, distinguished alike for her opulence and power; whose Semiramis reigned and Sardanapalus revelled in luxury and wontonness; whose palaces the riches of the east adorned, and whose breezes were perfumed by odors wafted by gardens floating in the air; whose fortresses were impregnable and her walls made strong by mighty towers—in time she ceased to be, and nought but desolation marks the spot where once stood the proudest city of antiquity. But the prophets of God had foretold her doom, and it was executed most fearfully.—Isaiah thus predicts her melancholy end: "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses; and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Isa. 13: 19–22. The readers of history need not be told how true to the letter, is the terrible description given by the prophet here, of the utter desolation of this once mighty but devoted city. But the cause of it they may have overlooked. The same Prophet has recorded it. God says: "I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible." Paul says: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," and all history confirms it. Shall we not learn instruction, then, from the teachings of the past, and make the sad experience of other ages and of nations long since overthrown for their iniquity, available for our security? But what was their iniquity for which they were destroyed? The Apostle, by inspiration, gives the true answer: "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed

the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beasts and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness," Rom. 1: 21–24. Their sin was their rejection of God and his government over them. They did not like to retain God even in their thoughts, much less acknowledge him in the affairs of life. And as they first rejected him, so God finally rejected them, and when the measure of their iniquity was full, he gave them over to destruction. As it was with the nations and cities of antiquity already named, so it was with the rest, and so it will be again to the end of time. Rejecting God and the counselings of his word, human reason could not save them. No progress in letters or in the arts could make amends for this or supply its place. Much less, when these only tended to darken the understanding in regard to God and lead it further from the truth.

For these reasons, therefore, as already stated, we have no confidence in the sufficiency of human reason for any thing tending to the honor ot God and the good of man, where it assumes to act independently of God and the influences he has ordained to govern it. Our trust is in his word alone, as much so in human as in divine affairs; in things temporal as well as in thing spiritual and eternal. He is to be acknowledged in all man's ways, and success can attend his pathway in life alone when this is done. His word is to be his shield and buckler—his "pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night." It is to be his rule of duty as well as of faith — of practice as well as hope — his guide for time as well as for eternity. Apart from it he can hope for nothing. Without it he will grope his way in darkness; and rejecting it, sooner or later, the just retributions of an avenging God will be his portion. God will speedily cut him off, and that without remedy. Our help is then here and not in man; not in the multitude of his counsels, or in the works his hands have formed; not in governors, kings or princes. But our trust is in the Lord, and with David we add: "*Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.*"

ARTICLE II.

THE NATURE OF THE SAVIOUR'S PRESENCE IN THE EUCHARIST.

By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg.

WHEN the Divine Author of our holy religion, gave us an inspired, written record of its sacred principles, precepts and institutions, through the men whom he had personally instructed; he also taught us to regard this record as a sufficient rule of faith and practice, as able to make us, individually, "wise unto salvation." Through these same honored instruments he informs us, "that all scripture was given by inspiration," for the express purpose, "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." To the close of the whole canon, that is, to the last (as we believe) of the inspired books, the Revelation of St. John, the Saviour appended this solemn warning, speaking in his own person: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. If any man shall add unto these things, God will add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the *tree* (var. lect. for Βιβλιω, book) of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." Rev. 22: 18, 19.

From these solemn declarations it is evident, that God will hold every man to strict responsibility for the conformity of his religious opinions to the teachings of the inspired word; and therefore in forming our doctrinal views we ought to study the utmost possible objectivity, ought to labor to divest ourselves of all preconceived opinions either for one or other interpretation of a disputed point, and let the Scripture as much as possible be made to interpret itself. These remarks are peculiarly applicable to the doctrine which is at present to claim our attention. It has been a bone of contention in the Protestant church, with but little intermission, ever since its origin, until about fifty years ago, when the Lutheran church almost universally abandoned the views, which Luther and his co-laborers, with few exceptions, entertained. We therefore feel the deepest obligation, in endeavoring to investigate this subject,

to be governed entirely by the word of God, interpreted according to the correct principles of common sense, which is the only true system of Historical Exegesis.

Let us *first* briefly recall to mind those principles of Hermeneutics, which particularly come into question in these passages of Scripture on this subject.

§ 1. *General Principles of Interpretation.*

1. The general nature of language implies, that the words of a speaker be regarded as definite signs of his ideas, and that the signification of these signs is *conventional:* that is, the signs or sounds called words derive their meaning, not from their intrinsic structure, but from the current practice or usage of the people at the time they are employed. Thus, Σῶμα signies body, σὰρξ flesh, and αἷμα blood, ἄρτος bread, and οἶνος wine, simply in consequence of conventional usage. The few words in different languages, which express sounds not unlike that of the words themselves, such as roar, crash, &c. are, like some of the admired lines of Virgil or Homer, in which the sounds of the whole sentence bears some analogy to the idea expressed, but exceptions which confirm the general rule.

2. The language of Scripture and of inspiration, does not differ from other language in its general principles. That this would be the case, might *a priori* be expected: for if it were otherwise, such language would not be intelligible. As words in any language convey to the hearer, not whatever ideas the speaker may choose, but those of which conventional usage has made them the authorized exponents: the inspired writers could be intelligible on no other supposition. Accordingly it is admitted by all enlightened exegetical writers, that the language of Scripture must be investigated on precisely the same principles which are applied to uninspired language.

The actual examination of the Scriptures *a posteriori*, proves the above expectation, or supposition, to be correct. The diversity of style, of literary excellence, and of psychological peculiarity, belonging to the different books, incontestably establishes the homogeneity of the language of the Bible with that of uninspired writers. Generally, the Scriptures have been interpreted on this supposition by the great mass of christians in all ages, and found to be intelligible.

3. The rules of Sacred Hermeneutics must therefore also, like those of Hermeneutics in general, be based on the nature and general principles of language, and arise out of them.

Thus we must study the historical import of the individual words employed: the context and scope of the passage must

be investigated, the circumstances and design of the writer are to be examined, and in short all the light of archæology is to be employed, to ascertain what ideas the passage in question would have conveyed to the persons of the age and country, to whom they were first addressed. The sense thus acquired is to be regarded as the true one, and is termed the historical sense. Luther himself in most instances practiced on this system, and termed the signification thus acquired the *literal* sense.

4. Experience however proves, that in fact, general usage has, in all languages, given different significations to many words. The causes of this fact, we will not here stop to discuss; its reality is undisputed, and familiar to all.

That signification of a word, in which it is most commonly employed, is usually termed its natural or *literal* import. The others are called *figurative*.

The *figurative* meanings of words are of various kinds, metaphysical, typical, allegorical, &c. &c.

5. Yet the great mass of men ordinarily employ words, in their natural, most obvious, and *literal* sense.

Therefore, a sound rule of interpretation is, that *the literal sense must be adhered to in the interpretation of all authors sacred or profane, until reasons occur to justify us in deviating from it.*

6. Such reasons, however, often occur both in sacred and profane authors, and then a deviation from the literal sense becomes necessary.

These reasons are 1) When the passage literally interpreted *contradicts natural reason, common sense*, or the testimony of our senses.

Thus, when in Psalm 18: 2. and elsewhere, God is termed "a *rock*, a *fortress*, a *buckler*, a high *tower*:" when the Saviour says, (John 15: 1.) "I am the true *vine* — ye are the *branches*" — or "I am the *door*," 10: 9.: or when Paul says, 1 Cor. 10: 4. "That *rock* was Christ," or "Christ our *passover*," was slain for us, &c.; or Matth. 13: 38, 39: "The *field* is the world — the *seed* is the *word*, &c. the enemy is the devil." See also Matth. 8: 22.; or in Gethsemane when Jesus says, "Father, if it be possible let this *cup*," this trial of affliction, pass away. This rule is based on the universally conceded proposition, that the testimony of our senses fairly and fully ascertained, is stronger than any other evidence, which might seem to overturn it; and that the obvious and conceded teachings of common sense and reason are also true.

2) We must depart from the literal sense, when the passage literally interpreted, *contradicts the well known opinions of the author*, or in regard to the Bible, contradicts some other portions of Scripture, and the passage naturally, in accordance with the laws of language, admits another meaning, that does not labor under these difficulties. Thus, the command of the Saviour: "If thy hand, or foot, or eye offend thee, cut it off, or pluck it out," &c. Matth. 18: 9, 10. literally interpreted contradicts the command in the decalogue, "thou shalt not kill," and therefore the literal sense cannot be retained.

3) The deviation from the literal sense is the more natural and allowable, when the composition is *poetic*, in which figurative language naturally abounds, in all languages and among all nations.

4) Also, in popular discourses and even narrative compositions, when the speaker is in the habit of employing figurative style.

Thus, after we know from the discourses of the Saviour in general, that often, very often, he speaks in parables, and employs various kinds of figurative expressions; it is the more probable, that his meaning in a disputed passage is figurative also, and it is the more obligatory on us to adopt a tropical interpretation, when a literal one labors under difficulties. We need not enumerate the parables of the Saviour. It is well known that his discourses are more frequently parabolical or figurative, in some form or other, than literal.

This is also very frequently the case in regular historical and didactic composition in all languages, although the figures occurring are of a more modest nature, are metaphysical, rather than allegorical. The tropes are rarely kept up through a whole narrative.

Such a figurative mode of speaking, is more usual among the orientals in general, than among the other civilized nations.

Having thus sketched out the general principles of hermeneutics, so far as they have an immediate bearing on the portions of Holy Writ relating to the Supper of our Lord; we proceed in the *second* place, to their application. We shall inquire what is the literal import of the words of the institution; whether sufficient difficulties oppress the literal sense to justify its rejection; what are the several tropical or figurative significations of which the words in question admit; and which of these commends itself most strongly to our judgment and conscience, as most accordant with the legitimate principles of interpretation.

§ 2. *The Literal Sense of the Words of the Institution.*

What is the literal sense of the Gospel narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper? Matth 26: 26. (Mark 14: 22. Luke 22: 19. 1 Cor. 11: 23, 24.)

Ἐσθιόντων δε αὐτῶν, λαβὼν ὁ Ιησους τον ἄρτον, και εὐλογήσας, [or according to a various reading, ἐυχαριστήσας] ἔκλασε, και ἐδίδε τοις μαθηταῖς, και εἶπε· Λάβετε, φάγετε· τετό ἐςι το σῶμά με. Literally this means, "But whilst they were eating, Jesus took the bread (or loaf), and having offered prayer or pronounced a blessing, (but not blessed *it*, the bread, "it" not being found in the Greek,) he break and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this (bread) is my body (that is, is no longer bread, but is my body, and having been bread when I took it up, and being now my body, it must have been changed from one substance into another, that is it must have been transubstantiated)."— We therefore see, that the Romish doctrine is really the literal, and only literal one. And it cannot be consistently denied, that if we are to disregard the testimony of the senses, and to suppose a miracle in the case, the doctrine of papal transubstantiation is the legitimate sense of this passage.

The same remarks and inferences are equally appropriate to the language of the Saviour touching the wine, as given by Matthew 26: 27–29. Πίετε ἐξ αὐτου πάντες· τετο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μου, &c. That is, literally, *Drink ye all out of it (out of this cup), for this (bowl or cup) is* (no longer a cup, but) *is my blood.* Hence as it was a bowl or cup when he took it into his hands, and was thereafter no longer a cup, but was his blood, it must have been changed from one substance into another: and here again we have the papal transubstantiation as the legitimate and only result of the literal interpretation. Yet after all even the papists do not adhere faithfully to the literal import here, as they suppose the "cup" (ποτήριον) to be used *figuratively* for the wine contained in it.

This Romish interpretation is wisely rejected by the whole Protestant world, for the following satisfactory reasons:

a) It is contradicted by the clear and indisputable testimony of our senses, which demonstrate that no change has taken place in the nature and properties of the bread and wine. We have this testimony not of our senses only, but of sight, taste, smell and touch. Nor the four senses of one individual only, but of all men, of every generation and country, where the rite has been celebrated. But no testimony is so strong as that of the senses; because on it rests our belief even of the Scriptures.

b) It contradicts the universal observation of mankind, that all bodies (material substances) must occupy definite portions of space, and cannot be at more than one place at one time: for according to this interpretation, every portion of consecrated bread is really the whole material body of the Saviour; hence the whole body is locally present in many different places at the same time, which is absurd.

c) The Apostle still calls the symbols bread and wine, *after* their consecration; which he would not have done, if they had been transmuted into the body and blood of the Saviour. 1 Cor. 10: 16. 11: 26.

d) Because the bread and wine are subject to the same law of decomposition and corruption as if they were not consecrated.

e) Because it was a comparatively recent doctrine, unknown in the Christian church generally, until about a thousand years after this ordinance was instituted.[1]

§ 3. *The first figurative interpretation (by Luther.)*

What is the first *figurative* interpretation of the words of the institution?

It is that of Luther, and his coadjutors in the sixteenth century, retained by the great mass of the Lutheran church till half a century ago from some apparent scriptural authority aided by respect for Luther, and the penalties which followed the rejection of a material feature of the state religion. It amounts to this: The words of the Saviour, "Take, eat, τουτο ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου," (take, eat, this is my body) mean, "*Take eat this bread, which is not my body, and remains bread, but which is the outward element, in, with or under which my true body is truly and substantially present, and is distributed with the bread, and received by the mouth, by all communicants.*"[2]

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[1] See the writer's Popular Theology, 5th edit. p. 296, &c.

[2] That there may be no doubt in the minds of those unacquainted with the symbolical books, as to the accuracy of our representation of the views taught in them on the subject of the real presence, we annex several proof passages:

1) The Augsburg Confession says (Art. X.): "The *true* (*wahre*), or *real* body and blood of Christ are *verily* (assuredly, truly, "*wahrhaftiglich*) present, and distributed and received by the communicants, &c.

2) The Apology to the Confession Art. X, states: "The tenth Article (of the Augsb. Conf.) is not objected to by our opponents, in which we confess that the body and blood of the Lord are *truly* and *substantially* (vere et substantialiter) present, and tendered and received, *as the Romish church has hitherto believed* (wie man bis anher in der Kirchen gehalten hat). That is, the Augsburg Confession was intended by him who wrote it, and was under-

The language of Jesus relative to the wine, Drink ye all out of it (the cup), τϐτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μϐ, &c. (for this is my blood), is to be thus interpreted: "*Drink ye all of this wine, which is not my blood, and remains wine, but which is the outward element, in, with, or under which my true blood is truly and substantially present and is distributed with the wine, and is received by the mouth by all communicants*"

The objections to this interpretation, are very similar to those which oppress the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation.

a) It contradicts the clear and indisputable testimony of our senses. This theory requires us to believe, that the true body of Christ is actually and *substantially*, or as the German copy says, *essentially* present, and yet it cannot be perceived by our senses. The body of Christ, whilst on earth, was always perceptible by the senses like other bodies: and even after his resurrection and glorification, whenever he was present at any place, his *glorified body also* was perceptible, even the nail prints in his hands and the wounds in his side. This glorified body, like that of believers in general, will still be a body, however elevated and refined in its properties; and being a body, it remains matter, and like all human bodies, visible and tangible.

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stood to teach the actual presence of the real body and blood of Christ, in the sense in which it had been taught by the Romish church generally, and also by the Greeks.

3) The Form of Concord Pars I, § VII, De Cæna Domini, employs the following language, affirming that the body and blood of Christ are *truly* and *substantially* (or, as to the German copy states, *essentially*) present: "Quæritur an in sacra Cæna, verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi vere et *substantialiter* sint presentia, atque cum pane et vino distribuantur et *ore* sumantur ab omnibus illis qui hoc sacramentum utuntur—Cingliani negant—nos vero asseveramus." "Ob in dem Heiligen Abendmahl, der wahrhaftige Leib und Blut unseres Herrn Jesu Christi *wahrhaftig* und *wesentlich* gegenwärtig sei, mit Brodt und Wein ausgetheilt, und *mit dem Munde* empfangen werde, von allen so sich dieses Sacraments gebrauchen.—Die Sacramentirer sagen nein, *wir sagen ja.*" We are aware, that the Form of Concord rejects the idea of a gross *Capernaitish* eating and drinking in the eucharist, according to which the flesh of the Redeemer is manducated by the teeth, and digested like other food. Müller Symb. Books, p. 543. It would therefore be the height of injustice to charge the adherents of the symbols with believing these consequences. Yet, if they properly flow from their doctrine, they may justly be alledged as objections to the doctrine itself, by all who regard them as its legitimate consequences.

They further pronounce the mode of eating and drinking to be a "*spiritual*" one, to which, in its natural import, we would not object; but they also add, we believe that the body and blood of Christ are received *not only spiritually* by faith, but also *by the mouth;*" and those are condemned who affirm that this reception is "*only* spiritual by faith," and not *oral.* The symbolical books also claim for the glorified body of Christ, by virtue especially of the hypostatic union, the possession of properties different from those of other

It cannot indeed be denied, that God by *a miracle* might so interpose as to make the body of the Saviour invisible on sacramental occasions; but where is the intimation in any part of the narrative, that there should be a miracle wrought? Or is there the least shadow of evidence, that the apostles thought any thing miraculous had occurred? Do they manifest any surprise? Certainly not, and we have therefore no authority to suppose the existence of a miracle.

b) It also contradicts the observation of all ages and nations, that all bodies, (material substances) must occupy definite portions of space; and cannot be at more than one place at the same time. According to this view, the body of Christ must be able to occupy different portions of space at the same time. It must be here, and in New York and Boston, and London and in Africa, and in Asia, at the same time, if Christians are simultaneously celebrating the holy supper; and yet his body was a human body like our own, whilst on earth, and even after its glorification, was confined to one place at a time as it had been before. When the glorified Redeemer appeared to Mary Magdalene at the tomb, he was not also with his disciples in Jerusalem. When he appeared to Cleopas and another disciple on the way to Emmaus, he was not simultaneously among the apostles in Jerusalem. When he appeared to the assembled apostles in the absence of Thomas, Thomas did not see him elsewhere at the same time. When he was on the mount in Galilee, or at the sea of Tiberias, or finally

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matter, and even of other glorified bodies. Yet as this assumption is regarded as gratuitous by those who reject this doctrine, they, of course, do not admit its force. And it deserves to be ever remembered, that only fourteen years after the Form of Concord was published, Duke Frederick William, during the minority of Christian II, published the VISITATION ARTICLES OF SAXONY, in 1594, in order to suppress the Melanchthonian tendencies to reject this and other peculiarities of the symbols, the article on this subject, framed by men confessedly adhering to the old symbols, and designing to reënunciate their true import, and enforced upon the whole Church in Saxony as symbolic, gives the most objectionable view of this doctrine: I. "The pure doctrine of our Church is, that the words *Take and eat, this is my body: drink, this is my blood*, are to be understood *simply and according to the letter*." II. That the body (which is received and eaten) is the *proper* and *natural body* (der rechte natürliche Leib) of Christ, *which hung upon the cross;* and the blood (which is drunk) is the *proper* and *natural blood* (das rechte, natürliche Blut), *which flowed from the side of Christ*." Müller's Symb. Books, p. 847. Now we cannot persuade ourselves, that this is the view of a single minister of the General Synod, or of many out of it; and yet these are the views they are obligated to receive, if they avow implicit allegiance to the former symbolical books of our Church in Europe. If they adopt the modification received by many of our distinguished divines, such as Mosheim, Reinhardt and others, they do not faithfully embrace the symbolical doctrine, and should not profess to do so.

at Bethany, whence he ascended, he was seen no where else. In short, his body seems to have been as much confined to one locality at one time after his resurrection, as before his death. Since, therefore, we have no intimation in the Scriptures, that glorified bodies in general can occupy different portions of space at the same time, and since the body of Christ after his resurrection did in every instance appear under this restriction to one locality, and there is no intimation of a miracle in the Eucharist; the evidence all seems to be against the doctrine of the real presence of the body of Christ at the eucharist, at different places, at the same time.

Nor can the assumption of the Form. of Concord (Müller p. 667–8.), that the *body* of Christ possesses two other modes of presence, beside the local presence, be sustained, either by reason or the word of God. The alleged "*spiritual*" presence of the Saviour's *body*, is a contradiction in terms. And the other, the "*divine* or *heavenly*" presence, which is attributed to his body in common with the Deity, is wholly unscriptural as well as opposed to the essential unchangeable difference between the creature and the Creator, the finite and the Infinite.

c) This interpretation cannot be correct, because the glorified body, which is said to be received with the elements, had actually not yet any existence, and therefore could not have been given by the Saviour to his disciples at the Holy Supper. The idea, that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time, is not only an immutable law of all created things; so far as the human mind can perceive, it is applicable to the Deity himself, and it is usually admitted, that things contradictory in their nature, are not embraced in the range of the divine omnipotence. Hence if Christ had intended his supper for this purpose, he would have told his disciples, "Ye cannot indeed now receive this supper in its proper import, nor receive my body in it, as I am yet alive and amongst you;" or rather if it had been the intention of Christ to give us his real glorified body in the eucharist, he would have deferred the institution of the ordinance till after his resurrection, or have left it to his apostles to institute it, after he had wholly left this world, and ascended to his heavenly glory.

d) The eucharist could not have conferred the *broken* body to the disciples at its institution; because it was not yet broken, crucified, dead: nor to the followers of Christ after his resurrection, because it no longer exists in a broken, dead state, but in a risen, reanimated, glorified condition. Therefore the words τουτο εστι, "this is," must of necessity have been figura-

tively understood by the disciples at the time of their delivery, in the institution of the supper.

e) The old Lutheran theory cannot be correct, according to the language of Christ; because he says, Luke 22: 19. "Do this in *remembrance* of me," εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, i. e. in mei recordationem, (Schleusner,) in commemoration of me; but we perform an act in remembrance of any person or event, only when it is *past* and *absent*. We deliver a sermon in commemoration or memory of the Reformation, or of General Washington, only because they are past and absent. Even when we commemorate the deeds of living men, those deeds must be past, which are to constitute the burden of our eulogy.

f) That the doctrine of the *real presence* cannot be true, is proved by those passages of scripture, which represent Christ as having left this world, as having returned to the Father, and as being seated at his right hand in heaven; John 16: 28. "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go the Father." Matth. 26: 11. "For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always." John 16: 7. "It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you." We are told by the Saviour himself, not to yield credence to such as say, "Lo, here is Christ or there." Matth. 24: 23.

When he took his final leave of his disciples, Luke tells us, "he was carried up into *heaven*." And although the Saviour left on record the delightful promise, that he would be always with his disciples till the end of the world; it was in his *divine* nature, which is omnipresent; and his next *visible* appearance, the angels informed the men of Galilee at his ascension, would again be from heaven in like manner, as they had seen him ascend. Acts 1: 11.

In Acts 3: 21, Peter declares, that "The *heavens must receive him until* the times of the restitution (ἀποκαταστασις, fulfilment or accomplishment) of all the things which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, since the world began." We are told by Paul, "That the Lord will descend *from heaven* as with the voice of an archangel," 1 Thess. 4: 16.; and again, the same inspired writer exhorts the Colossians, "Seek those things which are above, where Christ *sitteth* on the *right hand of God*." 3: 1. Now whilst all these passages and many others, teach us that Christ has left this world, and is now seated in heaven, we know of not a single passage which intimates that he is present at any sacramental celebration. But if it were true, that his body, which was last seen

ascending to heaven, is all the while present on earth, at one or other place where the supper is commemorated, and often at thousands of places at the same moment; is it unreasonable to suppose, that such a remarkable fact, such an almost incessant miracle in the church of all ages, would at least be alluded to in a single instance in the New Testament?

g) Again, whilst the idea, that Christ is figuratively represented as the *spiritual food* of the believer, is a delightful, consoling and becoming one; the supposition that the believer is to eat the actual flesh of his best friend, and drink his real blood, is a gross, repulsive and unnatural idea, which nothing but the clearest evidence would authorize us to adopt. The eating of flesh and *blood* even of beasts was forbidden by the Jewish law, Gen. 9: 4. with how much more horror would the disciples of the Saviour have been filled, had they understood him as enjoining on them habitually to eat and drink his body and blood? Yet they exhibit no indication of such horror or surprise, and therefore did not understand the Saviour as requiring such a repulsive act. Yea the council of apostles and elders, at Jerusalem, after the Saviour's death, prohibit the eating of blood; Acts 15: 28. Hence it is not surprising that, amid the long catalogue of Protestant creeds, of every denomination, there is not a single one, which adopts this doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, except the Augsburg Confession and the other former symbolical books of our church. Several Protestant symbols do indeed employ language seemingly implying this doctrine, but they explain it away in other passages, so that this doctrine is not understood to belong to any other church. We know the Form of Concord rejects the idea of gross Capernaitish eating; but it at the same time denies that it is mere figurative eating, eating by faith alone, and between literal and figurative eating of a real body of flesh and blood, there is no third or intermediate mode of eating conceivable. The term "*spiritual*" is used by the Form of Concord; but applied to eating and drinking material flesh and blood, it must signify figurative eating, or it signifies nothing intelligible at all.

But are there no arguments in favor of the doctrine of the real presence?

There are several expressions, in the portion of Scripture discussing this subject, which have been supposed to favor Luther's interpretation. At first view, and especially in our vulgar version, they may seem to possess the appearance of force; yet on close examination, this will disappear, especially before the mass of contrary evidence, pervading the whole passage.

1. 1 Cor. 11: 29.: "Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup (wine) of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," ἔνοχος ἔσται τῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίυ: "shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord;" that is, "shall commit sin in regard to the body and blood of the Lord," namely, by treating the solemnly appointed commemoration of them, with levity or irreverence. It has been said, "How could we be guilty of the body of Christ, if it were not present?" We answer: To be guilty of the body, means in the original, to be guilty or commit sin in reference to the body; that is, to make the body of Christ the occasion of committing sin. And must not all admit, that we can and often do commit sin in regard to absent persons or things? May we not sin, or be guilty in regard to an absent friend, by slandering or even thinking ill of him, just as well as when he is present? Do we not insult the majesty of an absent king, when we treat with indignity a monument or other memorial which has been established in honor of him? And the unworthy communicant is specifically said to have been guilty in reference to the *body* of Christ, because it was his body, which was specially represented by the symbols which he treats irreverently in the Lord's Supper. He is guilty of treating with irreverence, that sacred institution, which the Saviour appointed under the most affecting circumstances, to commemorate the breaking of his body and shedding of his blood upon the cross, and thus commits sin in regard to the body and blood of the Lord. Thus, James 2: 10. the phrase "*guilty of*" ἔνοχος, is used in the same general acceptation: Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet shall offend in one point, is guilty of all (γεγονε παντων (νομων) ἔνοχος), commits sin in regard to them all.

The reason of their guilt is further described by Paul thus, "*not discerning the Lord's body*," that is, not distinguishing between ordinary bread and these consecrated symbols of the Lord's body and blood. *Ernesti* justly remarks,[1] that this use of the term employed by the Apostle, ("discerning" διακρινων), originated from the Jewish habit of distinguishing clean from unclean meats according to the law of Moses.—Those were said not to discern or distinguish the meats, who ate indiscriminately both clean and unclean or forbidden meats. See Ezek. 44: 23. This remark is the more important, as the Apostle Paul had, in the previous context (10: 18 & 27.), spoken of things offered in sacrifice both by the Jews and Gentiles.

[1] Opusc. theol. p. 136.

2. The other passage is 1 Cor. 10: 16. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? "ουχι (το ποτήριον) κοινωνία τȣ ἄιματος τȣ Χριȣ ἐστι;" — "(τον αρτον) ουχι κοινωνία τȣ σώματος τȣ Χριȣ εστιν;"

Κοινωνία. The term κοινωνια, *communion*, has several significations in the N. T. 1, communication or bestowment of a benefit, beneficence. See Rom. 15: 26. 2 Cor. 9: 13.

2, conjunction, society, spiritual communion. Acts 2: 42. And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and *fellowship*, (κοινωνια). 1 Cor. 1: 9. God is faithful by whom ye were called to the *fellowship* (κοινωνια,) of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

2 Cor. 6: 14. What *communion* (κοινωνια) community of interest, or adaptation for close union, hath light (the children of light, christians,) with darkness, (the children of darkness, "unbelievers").

2 Cor. 13: 13. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God, and the *communion* (κοινωνια,) *of the Holy Ghost*, be with you all.

Gal. 2: 9. And when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of *fellowship* (κοινωνια).

Ephes. 3: 9. And to make all men see what is the fellowship (κοινωνια) which hath been hid in God.

Philipp. 1: 5. I thank my God — for your fellowship (κοινωνια) in the Gospel from the first day until now.

—— 2: 1. If there be — any fellowship (κοινωνια) of the Spirit, — fulfil ye my joy, &c.

—— 3: 10. That I may know the power of his resurrection and the fellowship (κοινωνια) of his sufferings.

Phil. v. 6. That the communication (κοινωνια) of thy faith may become effectual.

1 John 1: 3. 6. 7. That ye also may have *fellowship* (κοινωνια) with us, &c.

As to the Lutheran and Romish interpretation, which supposes this passage to teach the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ, it is liable to all the objections above enumerated in regard to that doctrine. But a moral signification, as is evident from the passages just quoted, is far more agreeable to the usus loquendi, and is perfectly easy and natural. The cup of the blessing — is it not the communion, does it not bring us *spiritually* into communion with the body of Christ, &c. In the same sense it is said of the Jews in v. 18:

"are not they who eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar? ουχι – κοινωνοι του θυσιαστηριυ εισι, in communion with the altar? here we find *the very same word* κοινωνοι employed, and yet who would infer, that the Jews ate the God whom they worshipped, or the altar on which they sacrificed, or any thing more than the outward offerings? In like manner in the next verse (20.), "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils or demons, — and I would not that ye should have fellowship, communion (κοινωνους των δαιμονιων γινεσθαι) with devils. Who would suppose, that the Gentiles in their sacrifices had communion with the bodies of the dead heroes and demigods whom they worshipped? Yet if the word κοινωνια and κοινωνες in the one case means the actual participation of the flesh and blood of the being commemorated, what reason can be assigned for its having so different a signification in the other? The language in both cases is substantially the same, yea the identical word, only in one case used substantively, and with the other adjectively. If then the words mean, that the sacramental communicant receives the flesh and blood of Christ, in addition to the outward elements, they also teach, that the partakers at heathen altars, likewise eat the flesh and drink the blood of those heroes and demigods to whom they offer sacrifice.

In addition to the scriptural passages in favor of the presence of the body of the Saviour in the Lord's Supper, there is a theological argument or theory, which though in part rejected by Luther himself, was adopted by some of his followers, and about a quarter of a century after his death, was introduced in its full development into the Form of Concord, which became the standard of Lutheran orthodoxy in some parts of Germany. Luther's view of the personal union of the two natures in Christ he thus judiciously expresses: If it should be objected on the ground of reason, "That the Godhead cannot suffer nor die; you must answer: That is true; nevertheless as the divinity and humanity in Christ constitute one person, therefore the Scriptures, on account of this personal unity, also attribute every thing to the Deity, which occurred to the humanity, and vice versa. This is moreover accordant with truth; for you must affirm that the person (Christ) suffers and dies. Now the person is the true God, therefore it is proper to say, the Son of God suffers. For although one part (if I may so speak) namely the Godhead does not suffer; still the person, which is God, suffers in its other part, that is in its humanity (denn obwohl das eine Stück (dasz ich so rede) als die Gottheit nicht leidet; so leidet dennoch die Person,

welche Gott ist, am andern Stücke, als an der Menschheit). Thus we say, The king's son has a sore, and yet it is only his leg that is affected: Solomon is wise, and yet it is only his soul which possesses wisdom: Absalom is beautiful, and yet it was only his body that is referred to: Peter is gray, and yet it is only his head of which this is affirmed. For as soul and body constitute but one person, every thing which happens either to the body or the soul, yea even to the smallest member of the body is justly and properly attributed to the whole person. This mode of expression is not peculiar to the Scriptures, but prevails throughout the world, and is also correct. Thus the Son of God was in truth crucified for us, that is, the person which is God; for this person, I say, was crucified according to its humanity." (Luth. Works, Jena edit. vol. 3. p. 457.) Yet Luther also sometimes employed language inconsistent with the statements which he here makes. The theory above referred to was claimed by its advocates as a legitimate sequence of the hypostatic union of the two natures of Christ, and is known as the *Communicatio Idiomatum*, or supposed reciprocal communication of attributes between the two natures of the Saviour, one result of which is to be, that his body now possesses *ubiquity;* and therefore can not only be present simultaneously wherever the Holy Supper is administered, but actually is present every where else in the universe. In support of this opinion several Scripture passages are alleged:

Coloss. 2: 9. For in him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead *bodily*," σωματικῶς. This passage we think naturally signifies, In Christ the real not imaginary, the full divinity and not an inferior deity dwells; that is, with his human nature the truly divine nature is really not figuratively, or typically, but actually united σωματικῶς personally, that is, into one person. This signification of the term σῶμα, as signifying person, is found both in the N. T. and in classic Greek. James 3: 6. So is the tongue among our members that it defileth the whole body, i. e. person (ὅλον τὸ σῶμα), for certainly the fact, that "the tongue is a world of iniquity," does not consist in its polluting the literal body, but the person, the character of the individual. Thus also Xenophon uses σῶματα ἐλευθερα for free men, free persons. Lycurgus and Aeschynes employ σῶμα in the same sense, to signify a person. The same usage meets us in the Latin language: Longeque *ante* omnia *corpora* Nisus emicat. Æneid v. l. 318, where the reference is to the person in general. And even in our own tongue, the term body has the

same meaning, in such phrases as "some body," "no body," &c. for some person, no person, &c.

John 3: 34. "For God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him," (but ἀμετρως). This may signify, that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit did not rest on the Saviour, only at particular times and in a limited degree, as it did on the prophets of the Old Testament; but at all times and in an unlimited degree. Or the idea may be, that the actual or entire divinity dwelt in him, i. e. was personally united with him. But there is certainly no intimation in it of the transfer of the divine attributes to the humanity of Christ.

Matth. 28: 18. "All power (πασα ἐξουσια all *authority*, not πασα δυναμις) is given unto me in heaven and on earth." This certainly does not signify power, omnipotence; but all or full *authority* to command and direct all things on earth to the accomplishment of the purposes of his mediatorial reign.

In this sense the word (ἐξουσια), translated *power* in the passage under consideration, is often employed in the New Testament. Thus, Matth. 21: 23. the chief priests and elders came to him, when he was teaching and said: "By what *authority* (ἐξουσια) doest thou these things?" And (7: 29.) the people were astonished at his doctrine, "For he taught them as one having *authority* (ἐξουσια), and not as the scribes." In the same general sense, as signifying authority, liberty, &c., having no reference to omnipotence or physical power, this word is employed in many other passages, so that the declaration of the Saviour, "All power or authority is given to me," has no necessary reference to physical power or omnipotence. See Matth. 9: 6. Mark 2: 10. Luke 5: 24. 1 Cor. 9: 4, 18. 2 Thess. 3: 9. In perfect accordance with this import, is the classic usage of the word ἐξουσια, as signifying "licentia, potestas, auctoritas, jus sive facultas *moralis*; at δυναμις vis activa, seu facultas *naturalis*," licence, power, authority, a moral right; whilst δυναμις signifies a physical or natural faculty or power.

To this doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ, numerous and formidable objections present themselves.

1. The idea that the properties of one substance can become the properties of a different substance, is a philosophical absurdity.

2. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that the infinite properties of God, the uncreated one, should be communicated to any creature. The difference between the creature and the Creator is an infinite and unchangeable one. Yet, if the hu-

man nature of Christ acquired possession of divine attributes, it must itself be divine.

3. Wherever any one divine attribute is found, there the others must also be, and that is God. If then the body of Christ, or his humanity in general, possesses one divine attribute, it must possess them all and must be God. Yes the finite has become infinite, the creature has become the Creator, and a feeble mortal like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, has become the immortal God!

A distinction has been made between mediate and immediate communication, and it has been affirmed the attributes of Deity have been communicated to the man Jesus only mediately. But mediate communication in reference to this subject is no communication at all, and can only signify, that the divine nature of Christ is at all times ready to exert his divine attributes for the accomplishment of the purposes of the associated humanity, and this no one denies, but this cannot with propriety of language be styled communication of attributes.

4. If the hypostatic union in Christ implies a communication of attributes, it must be reciprocal, and whilst the humanity of Christ is clothed in the attributes of divinity, his divinity must also have assumed the attributes of humanity: have become human; which the opponents are unwilling to admit.

5. If this hypostatic union is attended by a transfer of attributes, it necessarily involves a confusion of natures, which error was condemned by the ancient church in the Eutychians. And if it was such as to preserve the attributes of each nature distinct, then there can be no real transfer of attributes.

6. The doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body instead of conferring more importance on the Eucharist, actually robs it of all special interest, and gives no more to the sacrament than to every other object and place. We may upon this theory, as well say that Christ's body is in, with or under, every apple and pear, peach and cake, as in the consecrated bread.

7. Nay this doctrine is not entirely exempt from liability to the charge of favoring *pantheism.* If Christ's *body* is omnipresent, we are in him and he in us, whether believers or unbelievers we are one: especially as all bodies must have extension, and occupy space, and exclude other bodies. The idea also that Christ's *body* nourishes our *souls* has a similar tendency, by leading to the supposition that soul and body are ultimately identical, or of the same substance.

8. If the glorified body of Christ is really in, with, or under the bread, it will be very proper to direct our worship towards

the bread, and thus adore the present God-man who is somehow connected with it. For we know that his divine nature is there, as it is omnipresent: and therefore we would have as much reason to worship towards the bread as if he were personally and visibly to appear in connexion with it.

9. It will be admitted that the union of the two natures in Christ, was just as real and intimate during his life on earth as it ever will be; (for it is decided by the Form of Concord, to have commenced at the moment of his conception by the virgin Mary). Now as this union produced not even the shadow of a *communicatio idiomatum* (transfer or communication of attributes) on earth, it is not probable that it will hereafter. It certainly proves, that such communication is not the natural result of the hypostatic union in Christ, and therefore it cannot be true, unless the Scriptures expressly teach that this union will produce very different results in eternity from those which attend it in this world, which is not contended.

Finally, the discourse of our Lord to his disciples at Capernaum, recorded in John 6: 25–55. has sometimes, though contrary to the example of Luther and the other principal reformers, been supposed to refer to the holy supper, and to teach the literal manducation of the Saviour's body and the drinking of his blood. It is true our Saviour here employs the language, "I am the bread of life," as he elsewhere does the expression, "I am the vine," and "I am the light of the world," &c. John 8: 12. Again, the Saviour also says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," &c. v. 54. That these and similar expressions in this discourse, can have no reference to the Lord's Supper, is evident from the fact, that no such ordinance as the eucharist then existed, or had been heard of. This discourse according to the most probable chronological arrangement of the evangelical narrative, was delivered about a year before the Saviour instituted it, and before his disciples could possibly have had the least idea of such intended memorial. Of course they could not understand these words, as referring to an ordinance of which they had never heard, and to the future institution of which there was not a single allusion in the discourse itself.

Again, that the Saviour in this entire discourse had reference to his being the food of believers, is abundantly evident from the phraseology employed. 1) In v. 35. to the words, "I am the bread of life," he immediately adds by way of explanation, "he that *cometh* to me, shall never hunger, he that *believeth* on me shall never thirst," showing that it is by *faith*,

that he becomes the bread of life to us. 2) v. 40. "He that *believeth* on the Son, hath everlasting life," showing the necessity of *faith* to the enjoyment of this spiritual food. Also, 3) v. 47. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that *believeth* on me hath everlasting life — I am that *bread* of life." 4) v. 51. "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," i. e. which flesh I will give, not *to* believers to be eaten; but *for* them on the cross; and not for *believers only*, who receive the holy supper, but for the "*world*," many who reject my atonement and never celebrate the supper, which I shall institute in commemoration of my death. If sacramental eating were intended, it must have been limited to his professed followers, who celebrate the ordinance; and could not have been extended to the world at large who neglect it. 5) v. 56. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him." If this passage teaches a *physical* eating and indwelling of the Saviour's body in the communicant, it also affirms that the communicant's body dwells in the body of the Saviour, which is absurd. 6) v. 63. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life." Here the Saviour seems, in the closing words of this discourse, expressly to teach that the *literal* eating of his flesh would profit them nothing; that it is the Spirit that quickeneth, and that his words are spirit, are to be *spiritually* and not literally understood. This interpretation is moreover confirmed by the succeeding remark of Christ: 7) v. 64. "But there are some of you that *believe* not," some who have no faith, and therefore cannot thus spiritually feed on my flesh and blood. From all these considerations, we cannot but coincide with the judgment of Luther and the most distinguished divines of ancient and modern days, as expressed by the learned Lutheran theologian Gerhard: "*The passage, John 6: 53. does not treat of sacramental but of spiritual eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ, which is essential to salvation for all.*"[1]

§ 4. *The second tropical Interpretation (by Calvin).*

The *third* interpretation of these words is that of *Calvin*, which though generally abandoned by his followers in Europe and America, is deserving of a passing notice. That distin-

[1] Dictum John VI. 53. non de sacramentali sed spirituali corporis et sanguinis Christi manducatione et bibitione tractat, quæ omnibus ad salutem necessaria est. Loci Theol. de Sacra Cœna.

guished Reformer, animated by a noble desire to prevent a schism in the Protestant church of Europe, though he could not adopt the view of Luther on this subject, labored hard to come as near it as possible, without making himself liable to the grosser objections which lie against the Lutheran dogma. He supposed the words of the institution to teach, not that the body and blood of Christ are present at the celebration of the eucharist; but that they remain in heaven, and from these a supernatural influence emanates from the glorified body of Christ, by which the soul of the believer is animated and strengthened in a mysterious manner.

This interpretation is indeed free from the charge of conflicting with the testimony of the senses; but it seems so entirely different from either the literal or the figurative import of the Saviour's words, as to bear evident marks of having grown out of extraneous theological considerations.

Calvin's own language on this subject is: "I therefore maintain, that in the *mystery* of the supper, by the emblems of bread and wine, Christ is *really exhibited* to us; that is, his body and blood, in which he yielded full obedience in order to work out a righteousness for us; by which in the first place, we may as it were become united with him into one body; and secondly, being made partakers of the *substance* of himself, also be strengthened by the reception of every blessing."[1] The entire opinion of Calvin is thus stated by Dr. Bretschneider, a very distinguished late writer of Germany: "Calvin's spiritual reception of the body and blood of Christ, is indeed a real but not an oral one, and consists in this, that in the moment in which we partake of the bread and wine, if our hearts are by faith elevated to him, a *supernatural* influence emanates from the substance of the glorified body of Christ (which is in heaven and remains there), by which the sould of the believer is animated and strengthened in a *mysterious* manner. But the unbeliever receives nothing more than bread and wine."[2]

It may perhaps be regarded as a striking coincidence, that the views of the two most illustrious reformers on this subject have been almost universally abandoned by their followers;

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[1] Dico igitur in coenæ *mysterio* per symbola panis et vini Christum *vere nobis exhiberi*, adeoque corpus et sanguinem ejus, in quibus omnem obedientiam pro comparanda nobis justitia adimplevit; quo scilicet primum in unum corpus cum ipso coalescamus; deinde participes *substantiæ* ejus facti, in bonorum omnium communicatione virtutem quoque sentiamus. Institut. Lib. IV. Cap. XVII. II.

[2] Dr. Bretschneider's Systematische Entwickelung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommender Begriffe, p. 721. ed. 3. 1826.

even whilst they adhere to nearly all the other features of their doctrinal system. Yea, the view of Calvin, though the subject of much less controversy, has been more universally rejected by those who bear his name, than has the view of Luther by his followers.

§ 5. *The true, Historical and Pauline interpretation of the words of the Institution.*

We come now, in the last place, to attempt an unbiassed, impartial examination of the words of the institution, according to the fair principles of historical interpretation, as laid down in our introductory observations.

Was there any thing peculiar in the occasion and the circumstances, attending the utterance of these words, calculated to illustrate their meaning?

The Saviour and his disciples had just celebrated the Passover, an institution appointed of God to commemorate an important event of the Old Testament history, at which it was not unusual to use language similar to that of our Saviour. At its institution, though it was expressly appointed to *commemorate* the passing of the angel of the Lord over the Israelites in Egypt, whilst he destroyed the first born of the Egyptians; yet Moses uses language similar to that of the Saviour: "Ye shall eat it in haste, for it *is* the Lord's passing over," i. e. it *signifies* the angel of the Lord's passing over the house of the Israelites, &c. Exod. 12: 26, 27. No one imagines these words to mean: "The lamb that was slain at the passover, was the passing over of the Lord's angel." All admit that "*is*" here is equivalent to *signifies*.

This ordinance, whilst it commemorated the divine favor to the Israelites in Egypt, also, as Paul tells us, was typical of the Saviour himself.

Now it was at the close of this mnenomic or commemorative and symbolic pascal supper, where symbolic ideas prevailed, and figurative language is usual among the Jews,[1] even to this day, that the Saviour uttered the words under consideration.

1. After the pascal supper, "Jesus took *bread.*" It was *natural* bread, not miraculously furnished. He took the bread, which happened to be prepared for the passover, and which, according to Jewish law, must be unleavened bread. Yet it is equally certain, from the New Testament, as the primitive

[1] See Levi's Forms of Prayer for Passover and Pentecost, among the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, p. 20.

christians received the Lord's supper every week, and often more frequently, that on some occasions they used leavened bread, as no other was at hand.

2. Jesus "offered a prayer." Mark, and perhaps Matthew, use the term εὐλογήσας, which signifies "to bless," or pronounce a *blessing*. But neither of them says, that he blessed "*it*" (τϐτο), as our English version has it. Very good manuscripts read εὐχαριστήσας "having given thanks," in Matthew. Luke and Paul both say, "he gave thanks," ευχαριστησας. There is not a syllable about his effecting any *change* in the bread, as Romanists pretend, nor of his making those elements the conductors or means of imparting his body to us. In short, according to the original, he did not specifically bless the bread or wine, nor do any thing at all to them. He offered thanks, as it was also customary to do at the beginning of the paschal supper, and as is in itself always appropriate, and invoked the blessing of his heavenly Father upon the whole ceremony, of course also including the elements employed.

3. No change had been effected in the bread. It was still natural bread, as the Saviour broke it; which he would not have done, if his prayer had transubstantiated it into his own body, or in any way made it the vehicle of his material body. It was still natural bread, because the disciples exhibited no evidence of having the least idea, that they received any thing but bread.

4. "He gave it to them and said, *Take, eat, this is my body*," λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μϐ.

That the literal interpretation of these words by the Romanists, as well as several others, which, though professedly literal, are really figurative and inconsistent with the context, cannot be sustained, we have endeavored to show in a former part of this discussion. What, then, is their true interpretation? Let us, if possible, derive our guide for the true meaning of these words, from the declarations of the Saviour himself, and of his apostles.

1) Let us inquire, Does the *breaking* of the bread throw any light upon our investigation?

It must have been done by the Saviour, so far as we can judge, from one of two reasons; either because the cake, or loaf of bread, was too large to be conveniently handed around, or because the Lord intended it to possess some significance, either symbolic or other, connected with the design of the whole institution. It seems not to have been the former, because the bread was then, as is still customary among the Arabians, baked in cakes of moderate thickness, easily baked

through, and convenient for breaking. (See 'Leidensgeschichte Jesu,' p. 45.) But that he had another and important design in breaking the bread or cake, is evident from the fact, that the Saviour expressly states, that this *broken* bread is, or represents his "*body broken*," that is, represents the *breaking* of his body, his crucifixion, or death upon the cross. Here then we have the infallible declaration of the Lord himself, that the *broken* bread in the eucharist, represents the breaking or crucifixion of his body. To represent this fact, the breaking of the bread was very appropriate; but to designate the future *presence* of his glorified body, it would have no significance or appropriateness at all. The *broken* bread must be a representative of the *dead*, the *crucified* body, and cannot in any way, be designed to indicate the presence of the living body either glorified or not. The accuracy of this interpretation is confirmed by the fact of the Saviour's also mentioning that the wine signified not only his blood, which would have been sufficient, if the mere presence of the Lord was to be indicated; but his blood "*shed*," the *shedding* of his blood on the cross. Should it be said, if the breaking of the bread was significant, then also something should have been done to the wine, to indicate its being shed; we reply: This was not necessary. The fact that his body was broken, already indicates that his blood was shed. Besides, the representation of the blood, as separated from the body, also implies the same fact.

2. This is or represents *my body* "*given*," says Luke, and "*broken*," says Paul, "for you." That by these terms, "given" and "broken," the crucifixion of the Lord is indicated, cannot be denied, and we believe is not. But if the Lord himself teaches us, that to represent his death upon the cross, is *the* object of the Holy Supper; then we are certain of being correct in supposing and teaching this truth; and if others suppose this ordinance was instituted for a *double* purpose, it devolves on them to exhibit proof of the *other*, in the same way as this is established, by declarations of Christ or his apostles. Here the *onus probandi* most justly lies on them, and if they fail to prove a *second* object, then this remains the only one, namely, to represent in all coming time that all important, amazing fact, which "angels desire to look into," the death of the Son of God upon the cross, an event which happened about eighteen hundred years ago. As the Holy Supper was certainly instituted to commemorate this eternally important occurrence, an event sufficiently momentous to justify the institution of a standing rite for its commemoration, it is not probable *a priori*, that another very different object (the pre-

sence of the living, glorified Lord) would be joined to it; and as we find no clear indication of the fact in Scripture, we are compelled to doubt it.

If the Saviour's object had been to represent the *presence* of his body in the eucharist, the bread entire would have been more suitable, and if, in that event, he had even broken the paschal cake or bread merely incidentally, there would have been no object in his stating the fact. But he himself informs us, it signifies his body "*broken*," the breaking of his body, his crucifixion, his death upon the cross. The same remarks are equally applicable to the language of the Saviour in reference to the wine. "Take and drink, this is my blood," and as Paul and Luke says, "this cup is the New Covenant in my blood '*which is shed*' for you — for many, for the remission of sins." The wine therefore most undoubtedly commemorates the *shedding* of the Saviour's blood on the cross.

3. "*Do* this *in remembrance of me*," says the Saviour, according to Luke and Paul. Luke has τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, do this in *remembrance* or in commemoration of me; Paul has the same words, only adding, ὁσάκις ἂν πίνητε, *Do this, as often as ye drink it*, in *remembrance* or commemoration of me. Now the very fact that we are called on to do any thing in remembrance of any person or event, implies two things. *First*, it presupposes the priority or antecedence of the event, it implies that the event is *past*. Even when we commemorate any actions of a living person, those actions must be past. The very import of the word remember, necessarily implies that the thing to be remembered is a something past. *Again*, the term "remembrance" implies the *absence* of the person or thing to be remembered. When our friend is with us, we do not need any rite or ceremony to remind us of the fact. Nor can we, in propriety of language, be said to "*remember*" a *present* object or friend. The very necesssity of such a rite, if our friend were with us, would convey a reflection on our attachment to him. It is, when about to separate, that friends bestow on each other mementos; or agree on the stated performance of some act to keep alive the remembrance of each other during their separation. Now, both these implications of the Saviour's words, "Do this in remembrance of me," accord perfectly with the object of the eucharist as explained by himself. At the celebration of this standing rite of the church, in commemoration of the breaking or crucifixion of his body, the fact would be past and his body would be absent. The glorious fact of his atoning death on the cross, would from

century to century be receding farther and farther into the past, and as objects are in danger of being forgotten in proportion as they recede farther from us, nothing could be more appropriate than the institution of an ordinance, to keep alive in the forgetful memory of his disciples, that fundamental fact in the history of redemption, which is the ground of every believer's hope, and on which the salvation of a world is suspended.

But, if the design of the eucharist is a twofold one; if in addition to the commemoration of the crucifixion of the son of God, that ordinance was, as some suppose, also appointed for the purpose of commemorating the Saviour's presence with us, and the communication of his body to the communicant, the language "*in remembrance of me*," appears not only strange, but inappropriate. It would have been more natural for him to say: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye do celebrate my *return* to your midst."

The Pauline Interpretation of the Saviour's Words.

Such are the intimations concerning the design of this solemn ordinance, furnished by the words of the Saviour himself. If we had no other, they would incontestably establish the fact, that it is a *mnemonic* rite, instituted to *commemorate* the death of Christ on the cross. But we have still another inspired narrative of this institution, from the distinguished Apostle of the Gentiles, twenty-four years after the establishment of this ordinance, and the Ascension of the Saviour to heaven, 1 Cor. 11: 23–30. And what did Paul regard as the design of this holy feast of love?

1) He also declares the bread to stand related to the *broken* body, to signify the *breaking* of Christ's body, as above intimated. "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he *brake* it and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is (or is to be) *broken for you.*"

2) He expressly pronounces the design of this rite to be *mnemonic*, "this do in *remembrance* of me," the force of which words we have above illustrated, as equivalent to "Do this in order to keep alive the recollection of a *past* event and of an *absent* person."

3) But he adds two other important indications, which are not contained in the gospels. "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup (the wine in it), τὸν θάνατον του κυρίε καταγγέλλετε "ye do show forth, or publish, *the death* of the Lord." Here then we have the plain, literal declaration of the

inspired Paul, as clear as language can make it, that the result of the Holy Supper is to commemorate, not the Lord's presence, nor his bestowing his body and blood on the communicants, but to *show forth the Lord's death*, that amazing display of divine love on the cross, which is the foundation fact, the central doctrine of Christianity, and the recollection and full appreciation of which, is essential to the christian character. This declaration of the Apostle is of incalculable value. The greater portion of the language of Christ is or may be figurative, and therefore admits of a diversity of interpretations, and it may remain questionable which is their true sense. But this lauguage of Paul is literal, nothing figurative about it, and therefore in its import all agree. All admit that he designs to say, as often as ye celebrate this holy supper, ye commemorate, perpetuate the memory of, revive your recollection of the death of Jesus on the cross.

It is certain, then, that this was the object of the Saviour in this sacred institution. It is certain also that, in the view of Paul, this was its great and principal design, if not its only one. And it is probable, that he regarded it as the only one, since he mentions no other. The expressions from which some would deduce another design, "are not the bread and wine *the communion* of the body and blood of Christ," have been explained above, we think, satisfactorily. They teach that the bread and wine bring us into solemn, spiritual, mental communion, or recollection of and reflection on the Saviour's body and blood, broken and sed for us on the cross.

4) But this illustrious apostle adds another expression calculated to reflect light on this subject. He adds, "Ye do show forth the Lord's death" ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ, "*until he come.*" This solemn declaration clearly teaches three facts; *first*, that the Lord is himself absent at the celebration of the supper, as well as generally after his ascension; and *secondly*, that he will continue absent personally, as long as the supper is to be commemorated; and *thirdly*, when he comes, his personal presence will supercede the necessity of any further observance of a commemorative ordinance.

About twenty-four years had elapsed since Jesus had ascended to heaven. In the mean time he had been seen by no one of all his friends or enemies on earth. Whether he had appeared unto Paul, fourteen years before this time, when wrapped in holy vision, he was elevated to the third heavens, Paul does not state: yet it is highly probable. Once he had certainly seen him, during his journey to Damascus. But then he appeared to him in the clouds of heaven evidently

from another world. At other times he received special communications from him, but it is not certain that he again appeared to him personally. All the experience of the Apostle therefore, had connected the present residence or local existence and manifestation of the Saviour with another world, and taught him that Christ was absent.

These words of Paul also imply, that so long as it is obligatory on Christians to celebrate this holy feast, the Saviour will continue absent; for they are commanded to repeat its celebration often, *until* he comes; which involves the consequence that when he does come, this celebration shall cease. And finally as this celebration, or commemoration of the Saviour's death, is to cease on his personal return to earth, it seems a natural supposition, that it was appointed to preserve in constant memory something which in his absence we would be prone to forget: and Paul tells us, this was the grand and cardinal fact in his mediatorial career, his vicarious death upon the cross for the sins of the world.

Since it is certain that the commemoration of the Lord's death is the object of the sacramental institution, the question arises, whether there is any reason to suppose, that the Lord had a double object in view. The only arguments in support of such a supposition are found in the supposed necessity of a literal interpretation of the phrase τουτο ἐστι το σωμα μου, "this is my body," and the phrase of Paul, 1 Cor. 10: 16. οὐχὶ (το ποτήριον) κοινωνία τȣ σωματος τȣ Χριστου ἐστι; "is it not (the cup) thecommunion of the blood of Christ?" &c. και τον ἄρτον, οὐχὶ κοινωνὶα του σώματος τοῦ Χριστου ἐστι; and "the bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" But as we have already proved, that the literal interpretation of the Romanists is utterly untenable; and that the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ "*in, with, or under*" the elements, is not a literal one, but figurative and unnatural, and at the same time, liable to many of the objections, on account of which all Protestants repudiate the Romish literal interpretation, we need not repeat them. And having already presented our view of the import of the term κοινωνια, "communion," in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the only thing which remains, in order to vindicate the Pauline interpretation, which we adopt as our own, namely the *mnemonic* import of the rite, its appointment to perpetuate the memory of the Lord's death or crucifixion, is to show that this figurative or tropical interpretation of the phrase τουτο ἐστι το σῶμα μου, "this is my body," is perfectly sustained by the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament.

a) Even those who receive the doctrine of the real presence, concede that these words do admit of the figurative meaning for which we contend. The learned and pious Dr. Storr remarks: "The words of our Lord, 'This is my body' &c. may indeed be explained figuratively without violence to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. The figure assumed would not be an uncommon one. Nor can it be said that the nature of the case altogether forbids the supposition of the language being figurative. For it cannot be denied that some of the language used in the institution of the Holy Supper is figurative (tropical)."[1] Nor is this admission made without cause. The reasons sustaining this opinion are numerous and most satisfactory.

b) The Hebrew language does not contain a word to express the idea, *signify*, and therefore the Hebrews always conveyed that idea by other terms, usually by the substantive verb, הָיָה, to be. Or perhaps more frequently the phrase is elliptical, and the verb entirely wanting, and to be supplied from the context. But the inspired evangelists have given us the verb ἐστι, "is"; and it is the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament in regard to this term that we are to investigate.

c) That this method of using the term "*is*" for "signifies," is a very common one among different nations, is well known and the idiom of the Old and New Testament is in this respect the same. Thus it was customary for the Jews when interrogated by their children concerning the import of the Passover, to reply: "This *is* the body of the Lamb which our fathers ate in Egypt," that is, it *signifies* the lamb, &c. The Psalmist says, (Ps. 18: 2.): The Lord *is* my rock and my fortress — *is* my buckler, — *is* the horn of my salvation, — *is* my high tower. Ps. 23: 1. The Lord *is* my shepherd, &c. &c.

But the Scriptures abound in cases of the very same figure, which we are now considering. Gen. 40: 12. Joseph says, "the three branches *are* three days, i. e. *signify* three days. 41: 26. The seven good kine *are* seven years. Danl. 7: 24. "The ten horns out of this kingdom *are* ten kings that shall rise." v. 17. "These great beasts which are four, *are* four kings." 8: 21. "And the rough goat *is* the king of Greece." In all the above cases, though the language is elliptical, the substantive verb is understood, which is expressed in our English Bible. Paul says, (1 Cor. 10: 4.) "That rock (that followed the Israelites in the wilderness) *was* (ἦν) Christ." Gal. 4: 24. "For these (Sarah and Hagar) *are* (εἰσιν) the two cov-

[1] Storr's Biblical Theology, § 114. Ill. 6. p. 537 of 2d ed. of the translation.

enants," i. e. signify them. Luke 12: 1. "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees ἥτις ἐστιν which *is* (signifies) hypocrisy." Heb. 7: 2. "King of Salem, ὅ ἐστι, that *is* (signifies) king of peace." Mark 4: 15. And these *are* they by the wayside — and on stony ground, — among thorns, &c., that is, these *represent* or signify them. 2 Peter 2: 17. These (the false prophets) *are*, that is, *signify*, without water.

But did the Saviour himself employ such figurative language, in reference to himself, on any other occasion than at the sacramental supper? *He doubtless did on various occasions.* John 5: 11, 14. I am the good *shepherd.* 6: 35, 41, 48, 51. I *am* the *bread* of life, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ αρτος. 8: 12. I *am* the *light* of the world, ἐγώ ἐιμι το φῶς τοι κοσμου. 10: 7, 9. I am (ἐγω ἐἰμι) the *door* of the sheep — "I am the door" 14: 6. I am the *way*, the truth and the life. 15: 1, 2. I am the vine, ye are the branches. I am the resurrection and the life – I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. Here then we perceive that the Saviour was in the habit of speaking of himself in this tropical manner, calling himself bread, a shepherd, a door. That he should also compare his body to bread and his blood to wine, is therefore perfectly accordant with his habits; and the figurative use of the phrase "this is," τουτ ἐστι, is perfectly accordant with the usus loquendi, and therefore we are at perfect liberty, according to the sound principles of interpretation, to give to these words, "*this is my body*," "*this is my blood*," the meaning, *signifies* my body, *signifies* my blood, as required by the design of the ordinance as taught by Paul and by the Saviour himself, namely to show forth *the Lord's death until he come.*

In view of all these facts, it seems evident that the words of the sacramental institution as uttered by the Saviour, recorded by the evangelists and explained by Paul, are to be understood, so far as the mode of the Saviour's presence is concerned, as follows:

"And as they were eating (the paschal supper), Jesus took bread (the unleavened bread or cake which had been prepared for the passover), and having given thanks and pronounced a blessing, he gave the pieces of bread to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this (bread, which is and remains bread and) signifies my (natural, not glorified) body, which is (to be) broken for you (on the cross, crucified), do this in (order to cherish the) remembrance of me. Likewise he took the cup, after (the paschal) supper (was ended), and when he had given thanks he gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it (of the wine which was ordinary wine that had been prepared for the

Passover): This cup (the wine in it) is (signifies or represents) the new testament in my blood (represents the new covenant ratified by my blood), which is (to be) shed (on the cross) for you and for many for the remission of sins. This do ye as often as ye drink it, in (order to cherish the) remembrance of me. For as often as ye (reverently and devoutly) eat this bread and drink the wine in this cup (consecrated by prayer for the sacramental celebration) ye do show forth (perpetuate the memory of) the Lord's death (upon the cross) until he returns (at the latter day, at the close of the present dispensation). Whoever shall eat this bread and drink this wine unworthily (irreverently and without faith and a due regard for the solemn design for which they were appointed,) is guilty (in respect to the) body and blood of the Lord (guilty of treating irreverently or profanely the emblems or memorials of the Saviour's broken body and shed blood and thus guilty of casting reproach on the Lord himself). Let a man therefore examine himself (as to his knowledge of the design of the institution and his moral qualifications to receive it); for he that eateth or drinketh unworthily (in an irreverent manner and without faith in Christ), eateth and drinketh (judgment, κριμα, not) damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body (not distinguishing between ordinary bread and these elements, instituted and consecrated as emblems of the Saviour's crucified body and blood).

According to this view of the sacramental narrative, it follows, that in the Holy Supper of our Lord, there is

1. A *real* presence of the Saviour as to his *divine* nature.
2. A *spiritual*, that is, symbolic presence as to his *human* nature, and
3. An *influential* presence, as to the blessings flowing from his death and mediatorial work in general, from his work as God-man (θεανθρωπος).

Hence, the view of the Lord's Supper, which is most Scriptural, and also most generally received by the great majority of the Lutheran ministry and churches in this country, is summarily the following:

That there is no real or actual presence of the glorified human nature of the Saviour either substantial or influential, nor any thing mysterious or supernatural in the eucharist; yet, that whilst the bread and wine are merely symbolic representations of the Saviour's absent body, by which we are reminded of his sufferings, there is also a PECULIAR *and special* SPIRITUAL *blessing bestowed by the divine Saviour on all worthy communicants, by which their faith and Christian*

graces are confirmed.[1] The further development of the nature and evidences of the various blessings resulting from this ordinance, does not fall within the design of the present discussion. Having thus presented the view of the Saviour's presence in the Holy Supper, which we find clearly taught in the records of inspiration, we close with the remark, that whilst we vindicate to ourselves the right to believe and profess what we regard as the Scriptural view of this subject, we consider the Protestant diversities in reference to it as of minor moment, and can cordially fraternize with the Zwinglian and all others on the one hand, who attribute to this ordinance no *peculiar* spiritual blessing, beyond that of the other means of grace, and with the rigid adherent of Luther's view on the other, who believes in the real presence, the eating and drinking of tbe body and blood of the Redeemer in this Holy Feast of Love.

ARTICLE III.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES.

By Rev. Charles F. Schaeffer D. D., Easton, Pa.

THE intellectual activity of the present age in every department of science frequently leads to the investigation of the truth of principles which had, at an earlier period, been supposed to be incontrovertibly established; while, too, the progress of discovery has introduced many new technical terms, it has discarded some as unsuited to the present advanced state of science, and assigned new definitions to others that have been retained. In the departments of human knowledge not occupied by the exact sciences, many inconveniences are still occasioned by the use of terms, the sense of which is not positively fixed or distinctly apprehended. Of this fact various religious terms, that are now frequently employed in the discussion of doctrinal and ethical questions, afford illustrations. When teachers or disputants have exerted all their powers in unfolding and establishing their views, the result of their labors is, sometimes, the unwelcome discovery that their meaning has

[1] Popular Theology, p. 303, 5th ed.

been entirely misapprehended. They have not enlightened but clouded the minds of those whom they addressed, and, in place of convincing others, are themselves charged with self-contradiction or error; while they sincerely attempt to promote among believers the cause of Christian union, they perceive, with unspeakable grief, that they have, involuntarily, become the authors of discord, and have occasioned new alienation of spirit. To avoid these painful consequences, no remedy is more efficacious in certain cases, than a distinct expression of the sense in which a theological term is used, particularly, if after an honest investigation of first principles, that sense may be expected to be recognized as just and true. Until this course be generally adopted, all efforts to effect that union of believers which we yet hope to be accomplished, but which has hitherto found so many obstacles in the prejudices of men, will continue to result in mortifying defeats.

Amid the disappointments which we encounter in this noble cause of Christian Union, we are often soothed and cheered by the kind language which dissentient brethren employ.—The polemic cry is sometimes hushed, the controversial panoply is laid aside, the sectarian scowl is relaxed, the Bible, which had become grievously contorted in all its parts, during the contest, is partially restored to its former position, and the wearied combatants salute each other, not simply as allies, but as brethren. Why should they longer contend? Do they not agree in "fundamentals"? The angel of peace seems to descend and to illume a scene not now disfigured by wrath and bleeding wounds, but hallowed by the sweet influences of brotherly confidence and christian love. Why can they not "agree to differ"? "Do we not," the delightful chorus repeats, "do we not fully accord in essentials?" Charmed by this unexpected issue of the struggle, we indulge in the most pleasing anticipations; we apprehend no renewal of the contest; we bear with us a talisman, which, wherever it is applied, will surely banish the demon of discord; let us merely pronounce the mystic words: *We agree in fundamentals*, — and harmony is secured. Alas! it is a dream. We return to actual life; we approach those whose names indicate a difference of theological views, and we discover that these shadowy "fundamentals" existed only in our night-visions. When we inquire into their nature, we find that, practically, each religious opinion is assumed to be fundamental. We propose a union, we suggest that certain views may be safely permitted to recede, and we entreat those whom we address, to confine themselves

to "fundamental doctrines," assuring them that therein all the orthodox agree. To our dismay, the contest recommences; the definition of the word provokes jealousy and prejudice; we ultimately arrive at the conclusion, that nothing is explained, nothing gained, not a step to an actual union taken, until we all adopt the same views of the nature and power of "fundamental truths;" then, and not till then, we can agree, and calmly permit minor differences of opinion to remain without an advocate.

What are "fundamental doctrines," or "fundamental Articles of faith"?[1] The answer is, confessedly, attended with serious difficulties. Every intelligent Christian feels competent to state the general basis of his belief, or the doctrinal foundation of his Christian character and life, and may even wonder that a question apparently so simple is proposed. When he, however, proceeds to *specify in detail* the doctrines which essentially constitute that "foundation," he will no longer be surprised by the embarrassment that even distinguished divines, on attempting to furnish an answer, have candidly confessed. The difficulties attending the solution of the problem proceed from various sources: — the vagueness attached to the term "fundamental doctrines" itself, in consequence of its figurative character, which unfits it for scientific purposes — its singular complexity or involvedness and tensibility, which seem to defy analysis—the absence of a scriptural or authoritative definition, combined with the uncertain exegesis of the texts which have apparently suggested it — the undetermined nature of the *superstructure* erected on these "fundamental doctrines." The fluctuations of the meaning of the term appear in every discussion which occasions a recurrence to the great landmarks of the Christian faith. When the doctrine of the Atonement of Christ, for instance, is denied, we refer, perhaps, to passages

[1] This expression originated in the 17th century, when certain efforts were made either to re-unite Lutherans, Reformed and Roman Catholics into one ecclesiastical society, or to secure a virtual union, by the recession of doctrines that were diametrically opposed to each other, and the adoption of the meagre confessions of the earlier centuries. The eminent Calixtus, to whose movements the term *Syncretism* was applied, was, unfortunately, led by his zeal in the work of accomplishing a great and noble design, as it appeared to him, to assume the position that "the Lutherans and Roman Catholics did not differ about the *fundamental doctrines* of the Christian faith," as his candid apologist Mosheim (Church Hist. Cent. 17. Sect. II. Part II. Ch. I. § 23. note f.) admits, while he regrets the circumstance. It was in reference to such preposterous attempts at union that our admirable "Church Father," Nicholas Hunnius, published in Wittenberg in 1626 his celebrated Διάσκεψις theol. de fundamentali dissensu doctr. ev. &c. consisting of 632 pages, without the index. This work, which is scarce, and to which we have not access, introduced or gave currency to the term "fundamental articles."

like 1 Cor. 3 : 11. or Matth. 16 : 16., without precisely defining whether such a text specially regards the divinity, or the person, or the work of Christ, we have a general impression that the "doctrine concerning Christ" is *the* fundamental doctrine. But the opponent may be a Trinitarian Universalist, such as we personally know, and appear to deviate from our system specially in reference to the doctrine to which he owes his name.[1] At once we expand the definition of the term, and it now embraces an eschatological doctrine far removed from the soterological or christological portion of the system to which the doctrine concerning Christ belongs. When the Papist adores the *Host*, he adapts flour to one of many miscellaneous uses, precisely as the idolater so graphically described by Isaiah, ch. 44 : 9 – 20. applies a forest tree. "He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; . . . . . and the *residue thereof he maketh a god.*" One part of the precious wheat which God had given, he employs for food, another, he converts into a god. We instinctively feel, as we look with scorn and abhorrence on this heathenish worship which a *Christian*, as the Papist terms himself, renders to the Son of God as he alleges, that this idolater, with all his professed implicit[2] faith, which fully admits the divinity of Christ, differs fundamentally in doctrine from ourselves. Do *fundamentals* concern not only the essential differences of doctrines among Protestants, but also those in which "Catholicity"[3] deviated from Protestantism? Can we *now* proceed to designate *fundamental* doctrines with precision? An affirmative answer would, perhaps, afford a tangible result, but it is given with great hesitation; for, surely, the Mufti, the Brahmin and the Fetichist differ fundamentally from us as well as a Rabbi or a Pope.

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[1] In the 17th Cent., the Arminians and others, who held their views on the subject of the divine decrees, were termed either absolute and categorical or hypothetical *Universalists;* the former regarded the grace of God as offered absolutely and universally, the latter imposed certain restrictions upon it. Both were distinguished from the *Particularists* (Calvinists and Jansenists). The *Arminians* of our day, probably disown the name of Universalists, in its more recent sense, as applied to a sickly sect. These appellations were bandied in the French and Dutch or Holland Reformed churches, but, we believe, were never either adopted or indeed needed by the Lutheran church.

[2] "Fides *implicita* seu *informis*, i. e. assensus, qui omnia, quamvis ignota, quæ ab Ecclesia probantur, amplectitur."

[3] This favorite term of papistical writers is as amusing as the

* * * * * "molossici,
Odiosicique et multum incommodistici,"

of Ergasilus, Plaut. Capt. I. 1. 18.

This vagueness of signification does not occur solely in religious discussions. We quote an illustrative passage from an eminent writer, who is not advocating any system of faith, but speaking historically of a past age; and we introduce it rather than any other passage, because it chances to be the last and the most accessible in which we remember that we have found the term. "The greatest and most popular dramatists of the Elizabethan age treat religious subjects in a very remarkable manner. They speak respectfully of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But they speak neither like Catholics nor like Protestants, but like persons who are wavering between the two systems; or who have made a system for themselves out of parts selected from both. They seem to hold some of the Romish rites and doctrines in high respect. They treat the vow of celibacy, for example, so tempting, and, in after times, so common a subject for ribaldry, with mysterious reverence," &c. (Review of Nares' Memoirs of Lord Burghley, Edinburg Review, 1832—p. 123, Vol. 2 of Carey and Hart's edition of Macaulay's Essays.) Macaulay has certainly not weighed the expression with his usual accuracy. Are the "fundamental doctrines of Christianity" so few in number, so exceedingly abstract, so indefinite, that a writer can refer at all to them without betraying popish errors, or revealing the splendor of principles that are Protestant in the lofty sense of the name?[1] The existence of a God, the death of the theanthropic Redeemer, the personality of the Spirit—are such doctrines alone fundamental? The term is so evanescent that, when we think we have secured the meaning, Proteus himself does not more successfully elude our grasp. It occurs absolutely in a gaseous state in Dumesnil's fanciful work "De l'Esprit des Religions," the *Discours Prèliminaire* prefixed to

[1] We entirely disavow that sense of the term *fundamentals*, in which some writers have proposed to employ it, viz. that each distinct religious denomination may have its own fundamental doctrines by which it is essentially distinguished from the rest. We recognize only one Lord, one faith, *one Church*, according to the Scriptures. To speak of the fundamental doctrines, respectively, of Christianity and of Mohammedism, is really to degrade the former to the level of a false religion; the two cannot be compared on equal terms; the former alone is true — the latter is only one of a thousand forms of error, combined, at best, with some rays of light originally derived from revelation. It is not usual to call both *the* Sun and a dim telescopic comet or a meteoric stone, by the common name of *suns*. Thus too, we cannot speak of the fundamental doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as being distinct from those of any other ecclesiastical organization and claiming only co-ordinate rank. The doctrines of *the Church*, as set forth in her Confessions, are identical with those of the Bible, and we decline the task of elevating any opposite doctrinal system, or any sect, to parity of rank with that which stands alone as—*the Church*.

the second edition, in which he replies to certain strictures that appeared after he had published the first edition: "Mais est-il un impie," he indignantly asks, "celui qui ne rassemble sous les yeux du lecteur toutes les religions du monde que pour montrer par-tout une même croyance fondamentale, et fairè voir la vérité dans ses différents états de degradation?" His "croyance fondamentale," or, "contexture essentielle de toutes les religions connues" as he terms it, p. 25, appears to have been as undefined in his mind, as the outlines of a vapor, that is slowly moving over a western prairie. In absolute despair of obtaining satisfactory information from men, whose opinions are liable to continual modifications, we apply to the fountain of all truth, and hope to find our difficulties removed, by searching the word of God.

When the sacred writer enumerates in Hebr. 6: 1, to which passage we shall afterwards recur, the titles of several elementary doctrines, and even uses the word 'foundation," he intends, by no means, to give a catalogue of fundamental doctrines, in the current sense of the term. It is, however, usual to regard that passage as a guide, in any attempt to effect a union of sects, and, as the titles there mentioned, while their naked form allows the utmost latitude of interpretation, nevertheless occur in a canonical book, they are sometimes assumed to constitute the sum of our fundamental doctrines, with perhaps a short appendix directed against Universalism, Popery and similar ecclesiastical excrescenses not known in the apostolic age. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory. Each individual will find some favorite doctrine or favorite aspect of a doctrine omitted in the short list, and real union is not accomplished. We propose to arrive at a point of view from which we can indicate specially the true fundamental doctrines, by another path, more circuitous and less frequently chosen, in this case, but, possibly, rewarding us by some results that are tangible and distinct; that is, if we can ascertain the nature of the *superstructure*, as far as it is the work of the Holy Spirit, we may, perhaps, be enabled to explain the nature of the *foundation*, which is also divine. The former, if correctly ascertained, will indicate the materials and extent of the latter.

The original word "foundation"[1] occurs in the New Testament sixteen times, and the corresponding verb "to found,"

[1] Θεμέλιος, ου, ὁ, ἡ — ον, το. It is found in the following passages either in a literal sense, or in one not appropriate to the present question: Luke 6: 48, 49; 14: 29; Acts 16: 26; Rom. 15: 20; 1 Tim. 6: 19; 2 Tim. 2: 19; Hebr. 11: 10; Rev. 21: 14, 19, 19. The other five passages, in which it occurs as a trope, are: 1 Cor. 3: 10, 11, 12; Eph. 2: 20; Hebr. 6: 1. The

occurs six times. Of these passages, by far the most important is 1 Cor. 3: 9–15. Its exegesis is, at the same time, attended with unusual difficulties. Without alluding to Universalist perversions of the sense, or papistical folly which discovers purgatory in it, we confess that the conflict among respectable and orthodox commentators is startling. Their views would not, perhaps, have diverged so widely, if they had originally avoided the error of pressing or urging too far a figurative expression which was not intended to present more than a general analogy. St. Paul, whose style is not constructed according to the rigid rules of rhetoricians, is more anxious to guide the conscience and improve the hearts than merely to gratify the literary tastes of his readers; he is justly emancipated from many rules of art by which uninspired men, occupying of course a far inferior position, are expected to model their writings. Thus, in Eph. 3: 17, ("rooted and grounded in love,") he compares believers in the same clause to both plants and buildings; in Rom. 6: 4–6, a burial, a being planted together, (in the Engl. version) and a crucifixion, all refer to the same topic; in the passage before us, verse 9, believers are both God's husbandry, that is, according to the original, *field* (γεώργιον), and also God's building. These rapid transitions from one figure to another, indicate an unusual exaltation of mind, and show that the Apostle's whole soul was absorbed by the revelations which were, at the time, imparted to him; such was the grandeur of these revelations, so full, so mighty, was the current of inspiration, that the Apostle struggled vainly to find human terms which would adequately express those divine conceptions, and, regardless of the somewhat arbitrary rules of composition, which it would be puerile to apply to one who felt the divine *afflatus*, he simply translates into terms which are intelligible to man, the language of inspiration. We cannot, consequently, expect that in the present passage, the individual words, e. g. hay, stubble &c. should be nicely discriminated, and supplied, respectively with an appropriate spiritual sense; neither can the predominant idea of a "foundation" be rigidly interpreted throughout the passage and fitted precisely to others in which it occurs.

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verb θεμελιοω is used in a literal sense in Matth. 7: 25; Luke 6: 48; Hebr. 1: 10, and in a tropical, in Eph. 3: 17; Col. 1: 23; 1 Pet. 5: 10. It signifies, in general, to build upon a certain foundation. The masc. of θεμέλιος, which is not a redundant noun, but an adjective with λίθος understood (Matthiæ Gr. Gr. § 95) appears to designate specially a foundation-stone, e. g. Rev. 21: 19, and the neuter, e. g. Acts 16: 26, a foundation viewed as an aggregate of these stones.

We insert the passage: 1 Cor. 3: 10. "*According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.* 11. *For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* 12. *Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble;* 13. *Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is.* 14. *If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward.* 15. *If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.*"

The "*foundation*" of v. 10. is declared to be "Jesus Christ." If the article before Χριστός is retained, according to the *text rec.*, the older exegesis which regards Χριστός not as a proper name, but as an appellative, would seem to be preferable, that is, Jesus is *the* Christ or Messiah promised in the Old Testament, as in John 20: 31; 1 John 2: 22 &c., and this would be *the* fundamental doctrine. (Mosheim, Elem. Theol. Dogm. § 7.) The article, however, is omitted by Griesbach, Knapp, &c.; and Olshausen makes no distinct allusion to it, either in his commentary or his German version. Assuming this emendation to be justified by the critical apparatus of the latest and best editors, (and, we believe, its propriety is conceded), we fully adopt the language of the English version, in which both words occur as proper names, without any distinction, as in Matth. 1: 1, 18, and many other passages. This "foundation" then, is not simply the doctrine in general *taught by* Christ merely as a teacher, or the doctrine in particular *concerning* Christ, as, rather, Christ himself in his fulness and his truth, teaching with a life-giving power. Gospel doctrine, essentially connected with Christ in all its parts — revealed truth, emanating directly from Christ — the religion of Christ, treating of him and leading to him — a system of truth which alone is perfect, and alone can purify, delight and save, and which, in its unrivalled completeness presents Christ as our "all" (Col. 3: 11) — this is the "foundation." St. Paul, agreeably to his own statements in 1 Cor. 2: 2, Galat. 2: 20, Phil. 1: 21; 3: 8, declared Christ to be the "author and finisher of our faith," (Hebr. 12: 2); he led those whom he addressed to Christ as their teacher, presented Christ to them as their example, represented him as the God of their love and their worship, pronounced him in his character of a vicarious suf-

ferer, to be the only source whence pardon and salvation flowed to the penitential believer, and fully coincided with Peter, who said: "Neither is there salvation in any other," &c. Acts 4: 12. This "foundation" Paul desired to lay in every heart, agreeably to his words: "I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you," Galat. 4: 19, and this work of laying the foundation he accomplished by preaching Christ with the aid of the Spirit. When an individual received Christ as as his Lord and Saviour, and his heart was filled with love and faith, the foundation was laid. But v. 10, "another buildeth thereon." Who is this builder? Assuredly *not* a Christian teacher; this *builder* is, evidently inferior to the "master-builder," the name which Paul applies to himself. But this Apostle possessed too much delicacy of feeling to claim a higher rank than he assigned to his *fellow-teachers*, although he claims a species of paternal authority over his spiritual children, derived from his high office. As little would it be consistent with Paul's dignity of character to imagine that he covertly alludes to Apollos. Indeed, when he drops the previous figure of planting and watering, v. 6–8, he also drops the distinction which he had made between the teachers and the taught, and regards both as alike dependent on Christ for salvation; and this view is completely established by the emphatic expression: "every man," v. 10. The ἄλλος is the same as the ἕκαστος in v. 10, and as τις in v. 12. "If," Paul proceeds, "if this man, whoever he may be (τις v. 17) destroys the temple of God, God will destroy him." (The same verb, φθείρω, rendered *verderben* by Olshausen, occurs in both members of the sentence, although the English version presents two words.) It is inconceivable to us that Paul should speak in this manner of any teacher whose gifts proceeded from the same source which gave apostolic authority to him. The next verse, 18, permits no doubt to remain of the general application of Paul's language.

We assume, therefore, that the builder is— *every professing Christian.* What then is to be understood by the *building process*, or "work" or superstructure to which Paul now directs our attention, v. 12 sqq., or rather, of what *materials* does the latter consist? The literal sense is obvious; in the construction of costly buildings, in "kings' houses," gold, silver and precious stones were ambitiously employed: an inferior edifice consists of wood: hay or stubble is used in thatching a hovel. We find the solution of the question in the word "day," v. 13. It is mentioned in connection with a "reward," v. 14, and a "suffering of loss," v. 15, and, indeed, with a "fire," v. 13.

The *work* shall be "made manifest," by being "revealed by fire," for we regard ἡ γάρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει as a parenthetic or epexegetical clause, and take, not "day" as Olshausen suggests, but rather "work" as the subject of "shall be revealed," or rather, as it is in the original, "is revealed," (ἀποκαλύπτεται), the present time, by an enallage, being use for the future, to indicate the certainty, or perhaps, the nearness of the event. (Winer, Gr. of N. T. § 41. 2. p. 209.) Analogous passages like 2 Thess. 1 : 8, and 2 Peter 3 : 10 imperatively direct us to explain this "day" as the day of judgment. Now on that day (Matth. 7 : 22, I Thess. 5 : 4, 2 Tim. 4 : 8,) all will be judged (Acts 17 : 31) and this judgment, strict, unerring and impartial, like a fire which purifies gold but destroys stubble, will manifest the nature of "every man's work." But what is declared to be the subject of that judgment, unless it be the *Christian character and life* of those whom Paul addresses? (Rom. 2 : 16, "in the day when God shall judge the *secrets* of men," τὰ κρυπτὰ, die innern Vorgänge in der Tiefe der Seele, Ols. ad loc. — 2 Cor. 5 : 10, "that every one may receive the things done in his body.") Such we regard as the "work" which a man builds on the "foundation." We now incorporate with our explanation another passage, for the purpose of obtaining additional light: "Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," Ephes. 2 : 20. A change of the figure here occurs. In the former passage, Christ himself is the foundation, in the latter he is called the chief corner-stone, contradistinguished from the general foundation of which it forms, preëminently, a part, and the "apostles and prophets," (not the prophets of the Old Testament, but the "prophets" or inspired teachers mentioned in passages like Acts 15 : 32, 1 Cor. 12 : 28 &c.) now constitute the foundation" on which believers, in their capacity of believers, are built. The apostles, personally, are not our "foundation," but *the religion* which they were commissioned to teach, or, rather, the *doctrines* which are the sources of our moral duties. Thus, from the whole doctrine of God, in its vast dimensions, flow our duties to love, obey &c. him. From the doctrine of our corruption, in the detailed form deduced from the Scriptures, and presented in our Confessions, flow the duties of repentance, &c. From the doctrine of the Atonement are derived the powerful claims of Christ, not only on our love and faith, but also on our whole life. From the doctrine of the future judgment, with all the other truths connected with it, are derived

those solemn admonitions of Scripture to watch, work, pray, &c. &c.

We are now prepared to state our view of the nature of "every man's work." The *work* itself may be burned, v. 15, but "he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." The general idea is obvious; a loss is suffered, but not a total loss.—The Apostle designs to employ a simile, and might have introduced the case of himself and his shipwrecked fellow voyagers, (Acts 27: 44) "who escaped to land" with the loss of all but their lives; the word "fire" however, which had occurred in v. 13, suggested a corresponding image, equivalent to the expression: He has escaped from the conflagration with the loss of all but his life. The *foundation or doctrinal system taught by the apostles* was stable and had been adopted as a whole, by the individual; he has not been guilty of a deliberate and conscious rejection of divine truth; his faith was sincere; he believed in Christ. *But* sincerity of faith may co-exist with an imperfectly developed Christian character, and with a life in which the seed does not bear fruit a hundred-fold, but only sixty or thirty, Matth. 13: 8, 23. The "foundation" or general doctrine of the Scriptures may be received by two persons with equal candor; the one, however, better understanding the nature of the foundation, more clearly comprehending Christian doctrine, more exempt from narrow views of religious truth, more orthodox, builds on his fully developed doctrinal system a glorious structure of gold, or silver or precious stones; in him the Christian character attains to its highest development; his heart is the abode of every Christian grace; the virtues which adorned his Saviour are reflected in his own life; *he* will shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of the Father, Matth. 13: 43; for *his* work endures: "he shall receive a reward," v. 14. The faith of the other receives Christ indeed as its great object, but co-exists with a certain sloth (of which holy men have often mournfully accused themselves,) or with doctrinal defects, which will be obstacles to the harmonious development of character, and retard his progress in holiness. Readily admitting the truth of the Scriptures, he does not distinctly view every part of the "foundation" of truth. Some scriptural doctrines he undervalues, others he adopts in a mutilated form, while he assigns an undue importance to tenets or usages which are mere human inventions. These defects or errors in his faith, in as far as they affect his Christian character, and dim the lustre of Christian virtue in his life, lead him to introduce "wood, hay, subble" into his work. Or, like one who erects a mean hut on a por-

tion of the foundation destined for a colossal edifice, he interweaves errors with sound doctrine, and neglects to build on the *whole* foundation — the defects in his doctrinal system induce defects in his heart and life — his work is burned. Still, "his heart and his innermost life-root remained with the Lord" (Olsh. on 1 Cor. 3: 15) and his soul is saved, (for we here entirely look away from the impenitent, unbelieving and vicious). He will not, however, occupy the lofty "mansion" assigned to *him* whose "work" endured the test, and he will be one of the lowest in the celestial kingdom. "Erunt enim discrimina gloriæ sanctorum." Apol Augsb. Conf. p. 135, ed. Rech. The result of this investigation is, that doctrines partake of the character of "fundamentals"—that they modify the character and the life of the individual — and that, as God has revealed no truths unless they are designed to be a practical benefit to the believer, and, as every doctrine, nearly or remotely, exercises a certain influence, therefore, *every doctrine taught in the Scriptures is a fundamental doctrine.*[1]

The force of this general conclusion is not impaired by the language in Hebr. 6: 1, 2. "Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection: not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works,

[1] When the "World's Evangelical Alliance" held its convention in London, August, 1846, a so-called "Doctrinal Basis" was ultimately adopted by the members, who exhibited in their ranks some of the most distinguished orthodox theologians of England and the Continent, as well as very eminent divines from America. A remarkable nervousness was shown by them in expressing their views of divine truth, or rather, a fraternal desire was felt to avoid the introduction of any doctrines which were not strictly "fundamental" in the most charitable and lenient sense of the word. The natural result was, that while various subordinate advantages were incidentally derived from this great meeting, not a solitary Gospel doctrine obtained a more favorable position than it had previously occupied in Christendom. Nay, divine truth was temporarily obscured. Their platform, it is true, even after being drawn out to the utmost extent which its caoutchouc properties permitted, did not afford room for Unitarians, but the original "Basis," which professed to set forth "Evangelical views," was less *Evangelical* than the Koran or Plato's Dialogues, at least in the remarkable suppression of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. If the "American Brethren" had not insisted on an appendix to the Creed proposed by the "British Brethren," and eventually constrained the latter to recognize *some additional fundamental doctrines*, this famous Convention would have doubtless adjourned, after proclaiming to the world, that when they had, with infinite care, placed in juxta-position the mere *titles* of doctrines in which they agreed in general, still, the Creed which they engendered, after such magnificent parturient labors, did not present an honest and direct contradiction of the turgid infidel proposition: Death is an eternal sleep.—The excuse was, that "some good men were in doubt about the eternal punishment of the wicked!" &c. &c. God forbid, that the "doubts" of any "good men" respecting Bible doctrines should have more influence, or more effectually lead to the obscuration of truth, than the unintelligible sounds emitted by a newly-born babe.

and of faith toward God, — of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment." The slightest glance at this English version, shows conclusively that Paul does not, in the most remote degree, design to enumerate fundamental doctrines of *the Christian religion*, in the modern sense of the word. The key to the interpretation of the passage seems to be furnished by the words τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον, translated, "the principles of the doctrine of Christ," and evidently identical with the subsequent word "foundation." In v. 12 of the preceding chapter an analogous expression occurs: τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογιων τοῦ θεοῦ, translated "the first principles of the oracles of God." What are these "principles"? The epistle is addressed *to the Hebrews*, that is, to persons who had originally been Jews, and who were familiar from early life with the contents of the Old Testament, the Mosaic ritual, &c. (The questions respecting the region of country in which they resided, the authorship of the epistle &c. do not affect our argument.) St. Paul, whom we here assume to be the author, reproaches them (5 : 12) for the inconsiderable progress which they had made in understanding the oracles of God, since their conversion from Judaism to Christianity. These "oracles," as in the analogous passages, Acts 7 : 38 and Rom. 3 : 2, are *exclusively* the writings of the Old Testament. He exhorts them no longer to remain "babes," but to strive after a fuller development of Christian knowledge and virtue, or go on unto perfection (τελειότης) of which, in Col. 3 : 14, he calls charity the bond, and which is equivalent to the "perfect man" in Eph. 4 : 13 as distinguished from the νήπιος, or "babe" in Heb. 5 : 13. They are, consequently, exhorted not to remain satisfied with the "first principles" *which they had previously possessed as Jews*, but "leave" these behind in their *Christian* course. He then enumerates, *as specimens*, several points of doctrine, which intelligent and devout Jews held previous to their conversion to the Christian religion, or would not attempt to deny : 1) "Repentance," a duty repeatedly inculcated by the prophets in various terms of equivalent import ; 2) "faith toward God," by which Habakkuk, ch. 2 : 4, declared that the just should live — a sentence thrice quoted in the N. T. ; 3) "the doctrine of baptisms," referring to the familiarly-known Jewish purificatory rites, and properly described in the *plural*, which so much perplexes those who prefer the more usual interpretation ; 4) "laying on of hands," practised not only when the Jew brought his sin-offering, as a solemn typical act (Lev. 16 : 21, Numb. 8 : 12), but also when Joshua received his high

commission from Moses (Numb. 27 : 18, 23 ; Deut. 34 : 9) ; 5) "resurrection of the dead," a doctrine which the Saviour, in Mark 12 : 26, finds in Exodus 3 : 6, which Abraham understood, Hebr. 11 : 19, and which the Pharisees, in contradistinction from the semi-infidel Sadducees, tenaciously maintained, Acts 23 : 8, 6) "eternal judgment," a doctrine which, long before Daniel wrote the words, in ch. 12 : 2 of his book, Enoch had revealed, acccording to the testimony of Jude in v. 14, 15 of his short epistle. These several doctrinal points, long known to reflecting and docile Jews, were assumed as a "foundation," simply in the sense, that they imparted to the Jews a receptivity for the more full New Testament doctrines ; they were not precisely "the principles of the doctrine of Christ" as our English version speaks, as, rather, "the discourse or doctrine of the beginning of Christ," a somewhat awkward phrase in English, but which may be thus explained : the name "Christ," as in Rom. 16 : 7, 9 &c. is sometimes employed as a metonymy, to designate not so much the *personality* of the Saviour, as the *religion* of which he is emphatically the founder, precisely as "Moses" sometimes stands for the "law," e. g. Luke 16 : 29, or 2 Cor. 3 : 15, "Moses is read." In this sense Paul calls the doctrines now enumerated the *introduction to the Christian faith*, and his words are equivalent to the paraphrase : Leave behind those doctrines of the Old Testament which only prepared the way for the Christian religion, and advance in the knowledge of the doctrines of the new and better covenant.

From this examination of the passage in question, it appears that Paul does not here use the word "foundation" in the modern technical sense ; indeed, when we consider the extraordinary emphasis with which he elsewhere speaks of Christ crucified, we cannot consistently suppose that he would omit the atonement and kindred doctrines in a professed list of fundamental *Christian* doctrines. As no other scriptural passages remain which introduce the word, or throw more light upon it, our previous conclusion stands uncontroverted—that, as far as Scripture language serves as a guide, we are required to regard every doctrine of the Christian religion as fundamental.

It is, however, apparent from the discourses of our Lord himself, from the verbal addresses of the apostles recorded in the Acts, and from the epistles of the latter, that not only is every revealed doctrine fundamental in its general character, but that *all the details and ramifications of any Scriptural doctrine, are also strictly fundamental.* While this very important principle is not, we believe, usually admitted, or at

least, not usually placed in a conspicuous situation, its correctness cannot be safely denied by orthodox Christians. The invariable results of any abatement of the rigor of this principle are unintentionally illustrated by the eminent theologian Bretschneider. He desires to be emancipated from the imaginary bondage of the Symbolical Books, and devises an exceedingly liberal and *convenient* theory, which will, as he represents, without destroying the unity of the church, permit us to abandon our Lutheran Confessions, and yet remain faithful to the Scriptures! "The church," says he, (Dogm. I. p. 59. § 10. b.) "does not lose her unity, even if her teachers according to the Scriptures abandon the theory of the Satisfaction of Christ taught by her Symb. Books, and consider Jesus as the Redeemer from sin in a sense different from that in which he is so represented in the Symbols. . . . Her teachers do not cease to be evangelical, even if they do not understand by the word "Redeemer" (σωτήρ) precisely a vicarious bearer of punishment, or one who offers satisfaction for the guilt of men; or by the word "Sin" (ἁμαρτία) precisely Original Sin, (a term altogether foreign to the Scriptures) or the guilt and punishment of sin, but rather the act itself of sinning." He also thinks, that the unity of the Church is not affected, if her teachers *abandon, or view in some other light*, many other tenets of the Church, and he specifies the doctrines of *the Trinity, the Person of Christ, Original Sin, and Baptism*, all which may, with perfect propriety be modified or entirely discarded, and that too, "on scriptural grounds" (aus Gründen der Schrift) by sound, orthodox Lutheran Christians! Such latitudinarian views really undermine the whole foundation of our faith; while the naked scriptural term is readily adopted, it is divested of all its hallowed associations, is ruthlessly torn from its position in the theological system, is thrust into the company of unclean doctrines which originate in pride and presumption, and is compelled to aid in the unholy work of demolishing that faith to which it owes its very existence. Who is Christ? The Unitarian answers that he is the Son of God. The answer is scriptural. Is Christ the judge of men? "The Father . . hath committed all judgment to the Son" (John 5: 22) the Universalist readily answers. Is he the Saviour of men? The Papist assures us that *his* church so believes. Will God have all men to be saved? Calvin fully admits that *such words* occur in 1 Tim. 2: 4. Is Baptism a necessary and scriptural ordinance? None can doubt it, in the opinion of the Baptist. Is Christ the Head of the Church? The Puseyite wonders that any can deny it. Is man justified by faith?

The Methodist does not attempt to contradict us. We might multiply instances in which scriptural words and phrases are unanimously adopted by sects the most hostile to each other. All seem to agree with us in fundamentals. Still, we desire further information — these terms may have been vaguely employed. We propound more definite interrogations. Do you believe in the Trinity — in the union of two natures of Christ in one person, and the intercommunion of their attributes (communicatio idiomatum)—in Original Sin, or the entire depravity of man — in a general atonement — in the personality of the Holy Spirit? In what sense is Baptism connected with regeneration? In what sense is Christ truly present in the Lord's Supper? A storm of rebuke overwhelms us. These terms, we are told, are foreign to the Scriptures, they are human inventions, they belong to the dark ages; the Bible knows nothing of the "Trinity," the "communicatio idiomatum," and similar theological expressions. Neither are these specifications of doctrine fundamental, we are informed; it is sufficient that we agree in fundamentals, in essentials. Still, what *are* these fundamentals? In what respect is the Augsburg Confession "substantially correct"? A direct answer is evaded. Grieved by such unwillingness to adopt the *whole* truth, but resolved to adhere to it ourselves, we most positively refuse to be associated, by any liberal unsectarian process, with those whose views, when rigorously sifted, are found to be subversive in our opinion of the whole Christian faith, as we understand that faith. We *do* differ in fundamentals.

In this emergency, when all our hopes of effecting a union have been cruelly disappointed, we resort once more to the Scriptures, and we think that *there* we find the solution of all the difficulties by which we are perplexed. The sacred writers regard *every feature* of a doctrine as essential; they believe that the soundness or integrity of a doctrine depends upon its reception *in all its aspects*, and that no jot or tittle of the doctrine can be abandoned without weakening the foundation on which the Christian character and life shall be established. If the Apollo Belvedere, which is perhaps the noblest work of art in existence, had been found in the mutilated condition in which the Torso of Michael Angelo appears, the trunk, divested of head and limbs, might still afford a study to the artist, but the grandeur, the grace, the eloquence of the statue, would no longer enrapture him — it would cease to be *the* Apollo, and would be only the fragment. A doctrine revealed from heaven, but mutilated by human hands, loses its integrity, and is reduced to the condition of a body without limbs or an

indwelling soul. Paul says of those who maintained that the resurrection was past already (2 Tim. 2: 18), that they "overthrow the faith of some;" an error regarding the *time* of an event is here clearly a fundamental error. When "certain men . . . taught the brethren" (Acts 15: 1) that the divinely appointed rite of circumcision ought to be retained, as essential to salvation, whether as a meritorious work, or as an indication that the divine revelations of the Old Testament had not been disowned, they were not charged with having otherwise interfered with the apostolic type of doctrine, and yet their error was fundamental — it "subverted souls." (Acts 15: 24). So little of our modern toleration did Paul possess, that he wished that such persons were "cut off," Galat. 5: 12, precisely as on other occasions he anathematized false teachers. Thus too, the "doctrine of the Nicolaitanes," Rev. 2: 15, which, possibly, demonstrated its unsoundness chiefly by its influence on the character and life of its adherents, is mentioned by the Lord "with abhorrence." (Dr. J. G. Schmucker's Expos. of the Rev. *ad loc.*)

When Paul refers, Acts 20: 21, to the substance of his preaching, did he teach a "repentance" which the Papist can justly identify with his "penitence"? When Peter connects the "remission of sins" with the "name of Jesus Christ," (Acts 2: 38) the "many other words," v. 40, doubtless unfolded the nature of that "repentance *and* baptism" which he also mentioned. When Paul addressed the Athenians, and said (Acts 17: 26) that God had "made of one blood all nations of men," a doctrine so remote, apparently, from the Christian character and life as the "Unity of the Human Race," is clearly regarded by him as fundamental. When Paul directs the attention of Timothy and Titus to the subjects which they should teach, (1 Tim. 4: 11, 2 Tim. 2: 14, Titus 2: 15; 3: 8) he does not refer solely to doctrines which are now regarded as fundamental by orthodox churches, but also to detailed points or peculiar aspects of doctrine, not usually called "essentials," in the sense of "leading doctrines." Thus, while he warns against "doctrines," δαιμονίων (1 Tim. 4: 1) he states the truth "that every creature of God is good," &c. v. 4, and of such *apparent* non-essentials Timothy is directed to "put the brethren in remembrance," clearly meaning, as in 2 Tim. 2: 14, that otherwise his hearers would be "subverted" or meet with an overthrow, ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ. Peter's address to Cornelius and his friends, Acts 10: 34–43, and Paul's discourse to the Jews of Antioch, Acts 13: 16–41, contain specifications of doctrine not found in modern lists of

"fundamentals." When James, ch. 1 : 26, says: "Pure religion and undefiled" &c. he does not intend to embrace in those few words a summary of *all* our Christian duties; and when the Saviour speaks of the knowledge of God and himself as eternal life, John 17 : 3, or Paul gives unusual prominence to a particular doctrine (e. g. that Christ died for our sins 1 Cor. 15 : 3, the resurrection of the dead, v. 12 sqq.) they do not design to furnish a summary of our whole Christian faith, or exclude other doctrines from the rank of fundamentals.

Indeed, there is another consideration which leads us to cling with unyielding tenacity to every minute portion of our doctrines, as fundamental in its character and influence.— "Every man's work" is the peculiar character which he possesses in the eyes of God, and the life which he leads. But this character and this life of the individual will be essentially modified by his views of Christian doctrines *in their details.* We cannot conceive of true holiness in which love to Christ is not a distinct feature. The old Christological views of our Symb. Books, which embrace the points of his two natures, distinct yet inseparable, his vicarious atonement, the intercommunion of the attributes of the two natures, &c., naturally afford a more exalted view of his unspeakable love, awaken a deeper humility, and far more powerfully and more divinely affect our feelings, than when we coldly assent that Christ is our Redeemer, and merely give a vague definition of the term. The structure erected on the latter loose and narrow foundation, will never attain the grandeur, solidity, extent and harmonious beauty, which more expanded views alone can sustain. The doctrine of the divinity of Christ, in its barren abstract form, and distinguished from the Lutheran doctrine of the intercommunion of the attributes of his two natures, as taught in our Concord-Formula,[1] can never have been *all* that Paul believed, when, after his abundant revelations (2 Cor. 12 : 7) he thought of the voice of *Him* who said: "I"—over

[1] It is to be understood that specifications of doctrines, like those, for instance, of the Concord-Formula respecting the Sacraments, the Person of Christ, &c. which no Reformed church has adopted, but which nevertheless enter so profoundly into the very heart of revealed truth, are claimed by us as strictly fundamental. However orthodox others may be persuaded that they are, we still believe that an escape from the adoption of the dangerous Nestorian heresy of *two persons* in Christ is logically impossible, unless we adhere positively and unequivocally to the Lutheran doctrine of the Communicatio Idiomatum, the admirable presentation of which divine truth in the Formula Concordiæ deepens the gratitude and veneration with which we regard that sacred Confession.

all, *God*, Rom. 9: 5—"I am (now) Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest," Acts 22: 8. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which represents that ordinance as scarcely more dignified than a mere religious mnemonic rite, or any other mode of recalling Christ to the memory, or which finds in the Eucharist nothing more than a *spiritual* presence of Christ so highly etherealized or sublimated, that nothing but the mechanical manducation of bread, the deglution of bread and wine, and the *word* "spiritual" are really retained, can never permit the communicant to be conscious of that depth of feeling; that profound veneration; that view of the high privileges of God's children; that sense of man's unworthiness and Christ's abounding love; that strength and encouragement in the divine life, which are experienced by the devout believer who acknowledges in mind and heart that *in*, *with*, and *under* the unchanged bread and wine, he has *also* received the true body and blood of his Reedeemer. The Sacrament of Baptism, when viewed merely as an initiatory rite, easily fades away from the affections. Unhappily, the views of the church, as detailed in the Symb. Books are either unknown to, or untaught by, many who should know them; the ordinance is misunderstood; and ignorance of its nature and design, far more than the blight occasioned in some regions by the presence and practices of the various sects of immersionists, has led to the neglect of Infant Baptism, and the serious decay of spiritual life in many souls. If Baptism be merely the application of water to the body of flesh and blood, and be *only* a "sign of the Christian religion, its value it would be sometimes difficult to demonstrate. The usual view of the ordinance affords a very contracted foundation for an extensive and lofty "work;" but when it is understood to implant in the soul of the baptized the germ of a divine life, and constitute a rich treasure, according to the profound doctrine of the church, it awakens new gratitude in the believer's heart, in addition to the blessings which it otherwise imparts; the soul is powerfully attracted to the divine author of the ordinance, and a foundation is furnished, by the fully developed doctrine of Baptism, on which a "work" may be reared, glorious to God, and blessed to the believer.

For, when Christian doctrines are studied and received in all their scriptural details, the truth, so generously imbibed, must naturally influence the character in an equally large proportion; when doctrines that enlighten the mind, control the conscience and melt the heart, are received in all the fulness of detail in which the church presents them in her Symb. Books, as de-

rived from Scripture, they must produce far more decided effects on the walk and conduct of the believer, than any mere general views could have accomplished. The latter, from their indefinite nature, not being sufficient to guide and control, nor being suited to the details of life and the ever varying emotions of the soul, connive at the presence of less spiritual and holy influences. Accordingly, the Hebrews (ch. 6 : 1) are exhorted to develop and extend their knowledge of revealed truth, in order that a larger and surer basis of a holy life may be secured. The Saviour's prayer is : "Sanctify them through thy truth". John 17 : 17. St. Paul prays that the Colossians (1 : 9) might be filled with the knowledge of God's will in *all* wisdom and spiritual understanding, and regards their increasing in the knowledge of God (v. 10) as essential to the full development of their Christian character, and the exhibition of a holy walk. Timothy is urgently admonished by the Apostle (1 Tim. 4 : 13, 15) to read and meditate. Such knowledge of divine truth, of which Christ in God is the sum and substance, received by the mind, believed by the heart, and embodied in the life, results in the gift by God of eternal life. (John 17 : 3.)

It is self-evident, that no doctrine is received in its integrity, when essential portions are abscinded. He who denies the doctrine of the Providence of God is rightly regarded as an alien : he differs from us in a fundamental doctrine : our whole conception of the nature of the Deity, our views of the importance of prayer, and the efficacy of the means of grace, our motives to obey God, our preparations for eternity, are all of a different character from his own. In reality the identity between his religion and our own, is destroyed. For the purpose of securing an agreement in fundamentals, however, he may be induced to recognize the *title* of the doctrine. Various texts which we, perhaps, adduce, he cordially acknowledges to be authoritative decisions of the subject. Do we, then, agree in fundamentals? Scrutinize his opinions, by detailing the ramifications of the doctrine, and the agreement vanishes like a dream. Even if the Scholastic *concursus* produces no difference in our views, he may admit the principle of a general Providence, but absolutely deny, on supposed philosophical grounds, the truth of our views respecting a special Providence ; he derides the doctrine that, while God "delivers from the snare of the fowler and from the noisome pestilence," (Ps. 91 : 3) he also literally "numbers the very hairs of our head," (Matth. 10 : 30). Such views are inconsistent with the majesty of God, as he believes, and he concedes only

a divine superintendence in general, but not a divine attention to particulars, forgetting the oft-repeated truth that particulars really constitute a general class. The whole doctrine is thus dimmed, attenuated, mutilated, and nothing but a lifeless trunk remains. In vain do we attempt to conceal the discrepancy of our views, — we do *not* accord in fundamentals with those who, in any degree, impair the integrity of a doctrine.

The principle extends even to points which, in a certain sense, are not really stringently decided in Scripture. It is supposed that we may agree in fundamentals with others whose views of church-government differ from our own. It is true that no rule is distinctly announced in Scripture relative to the institution of Synods, Conventions, Presbyteries, Classes or Conferences. When however *Episcopal* ordination, (using the word in the Church-of-England sense), is regarded as the seal without which the preaching of the word and the administration of the Sacraments possess no validity, a fundamental error is introduced, which, while it attempts to dissever *us* from the church of Christ, in reality vitiates and unchristianizes the whole system into which it has insidiously stolen. Thus too, rigid Calvinistic views of doctrine, embracing the reprobation of non-elect persons, are fundamentally distinct from our own. It is impossible, that a Calvinist and Lutheran can form the same conception of the nature of the Supreme Being. To the former he is not the benignant, impartial God in whom the latter believes; the former regard the atonement through a medium which dims its splendor and contracts its limits; the latter looks with cheerful confidence to his Redeemer, and confesses that the plan of salvation devised by God, in its grandeur and extent, is truly worthy of God. Indeed, a limb of the body does not more truly consist of nerves, muscles, bones and parts, of which the most minute cannot be extirpated without loss, than any special doctrine consists of particulars, none of which can be sacrificed without essential harm. The destruction of the smallest nerve in one of the extremities is felt throughout the system, the denial of any constituent portion of divine truth, essentially impairs the vitality of the whole system of faith, and introduces the seeds of death. The antipodal position of Lutheranism and Methodism, in regard not only to doctrines, but also, preëminently to usages, is obvious.

The inspiration of the Scriptures is a fundamental doctrine. There is a sense of the term, however, in which even the Rationalist can adopt it. Or, individuals who conscientiously disavow that name, and confess that the Scriptures are inspired

writings in a more favorable sense, may nevertheless entertain such low views of the infallibility of the canonical writers, or discover in them so many instances of a want of knowledge, that when this doctrine has passed through the process of filtration, the Scriptures hold no higher rank than the works of ordinary men of acknowledged wisdom and piety. Now, this result destroys all the authority of the Bible, and subverts our faith; we learn again that doctrines are fundamental in the sense that all their details are fundamental. Indeed, on such principles we refuse to acknowledge the orthodoxy of Socinians, who employ all the Scripture terms with which we are familiar, and freely admit that Christ is our Redeemer, but who are nevertheless fundamentally heterodox.[1]

If these principles are correct, it becomes a less embarrassing task to specify the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith in detail. We cannot dispose of the subject by simply taking the Bible as our Creed; when we confine ourselves to this course, all the mooted questions of controversial theology rise up again in their undetermined form, as phantoms of the night. We prefer to study, first, the Scriptures, and then, the ways of God in his Church. We discern his goodness in ultimately securing the victory to the cause of truth after every conflict. We are profoundly impressed by his wonderful ways in guiding the progress of the great Reformation; we perceive with delight that he "left not himself without witness" (Acts 14: 17) in the moral as well as the physical world, and that he raised up men, who understood and prized the truth; even as Luther, by his divine grace, had been taught to understand

[1] The excessive liberality of sentiment of our day, which assumes the name of charity, and prides itself on its freedom from sectarianism, is often, either only affectation, or really latitudinarianism. The zeal to adopt the smallest possible number of distinctive doctrines, for the purpose of accommodating the largest number of sects, at last retains as little of the actual stock of Bible doctrine, as the Wolfian school of critics retained of the real Homer, if even they grant the venerable bard permission *to have really existed*. This literary heresy of Wolf and his followers is, we are happy to persuade ourselves, discarded at least by British scholars, if we may judge from the tone, not only of Mure's recent "Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece," but also of the two very favorable reviews of that work, which appeared simultaneously (October, 1850) in the Edinburgh and the London Quarterly Reviews. The Homeric Controversy, respecting the unity of design and composition as well of the Iliad as of the Odyssey, and the common authorship of both, partially assumes a theological aspect, at least in so far, that the bold criticism which can sanction a theory destitute, as we have always thought, even of verisimilitude, when we regard the question in its general features, and can create many Homers, when the appearance of even *one* in the world is well nigh as wonderful as the appearance of one Luther or one Washington, and is precisely the same which, in various forms of practical unbelief, has attempted to violate the sacred Canon.

and prize it. We find the whole system of our holy faith elaborated in the most conscientious manner, in our Confessions, or Symbolical Books, from the Augsburg Confession to the Concord-Formula. This "foundation of God standeth sure;" the faith propounded in these books has been severely tested; has been rigidly compared with the Scriptures by adversaries and adherents, zealous, learned and able men; has been, further, tested by the religious experience of some of the most holy Christians whom the world has ever seen, and the results have geen glorious. In the *doctrine* of these books, not an error, not a defect, has been discovered; and they now stand before us as a monument of wisdom and piety, guided in the whole course of construction, by the illuminating influence of the Spirit of God. To these confessions we appeal; in them fundamental doctrines are fully developed; *they* are the test which we apply to every doctrine. *All* the articles of faith which they maintain, are fundamental—all the questions, which they either do not introduce or do not decide, are of subordinate importance, and cannot claim the rank of essentials.

We may now easily define the nature of *non-fundamentals.* This term is liable to misconstruction, unless the principle advanced above be rigidly maintained, namely that details of doctrines are fundamental. For non-fundamental doctrines are in no case elevated to the rank of "articles" or "Loci"; they are merely subordinate propositions, which stand in a relation, often loose, to leading articles. They often assume the character of theological problems, they are sometimes merely exegetical difficulties, and they may be maintained or rejected, without, in any degree, impairing the solidity of the structure of our faith; they are decorations or blemishes which adhere merely to the surface. What was the *precise* purpose of the "descent of Christ into hell"? Can corporeity be predicated *in any sense* of the angels? Was pride the cause of the fall of some angels? What is the precise nature of eternal punishment? &c. &c. The decision of such questions is not furnished by the Scriptures and not attempted by our Symbolical Books; it does not materially tend to the development of the Christian character and life, and, consequently, cannot be supposed to constitute a portion of the "foundation" or doctrinal system, by which our moral nature is influenced, and our external development controlled.

St. Paul, who does not confine himself to the figure of a "foundation" and superstructure, represents "unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, Eph. 4: 13, as the great object which Christian teachers should labor to realize;

those who are established in the faith are "full grown," those who are "carried about with every wind of doctrine," v. 14, are mere "children." He does not appear to refer only to very grave departures from the faith, and yet he regards defects in the believer's faith as a serious obstacle to his progress — or, to return to the former figure, any derivation from the truth, though it may seem so unimportant or non-essential a part of the doctrine, as to possess only a feather's weight, and to be liable to be affected by every "wind" or worthless opinion of an errorist, materially contracts the "foundation," and renders the full development of the Christian character and life impossible — the believer is sincere, but he remains an imperfect Christian — he is a human being, with a body and a soul, but in the immature state of childhood—he rears a "work" which may contain gold and silver, but either the foundation is weakened, or hay and stubble are mingled with more valuable materials — and his work is, in a large measure, liable to be burned.

The principles which we have here advanced, require us to watch with the utmost vigilance over the purity of our faith, as exhibited in our Confessions, and consequently demand at times painful sacrifices. We conceive it to be our highest duty to be faithful to God; we dare not connive at the suppression of any portion of the truth, which he condescended to reveal; and earnestly as we desire to see more than a nominal union of believers accomplished, we cannot contribute our aid to that work, if the least prejudice be thereby sustained by our holy faith. We offer the surest and best foundation for it —the word of God in its integrity. Indeed, no union can be real and permanent, which is founded on concessions reluctantly made, and, in practice, immediately retracted. Union will then exist, when God's blessing completes it, when his truth is boldly maintained, when pride and prejudice are permitted to become extinguished, and when no other desire actuates all believers than that of holding the truth *as it is in Jesus*, and of leading, by divine aid, a life of faith and love in conformity to it. May the Church of Christ speedily witness that blessed union!

ARTICLE IV.

"Life of Mahomet. By Washington Irving." "Weil's Biblical Legends."

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THERE is a very convenient mode, quite fashionable at the present time, by which the advent of remarkable men is not merely explained, but shown to be absolutely necessary. The individual is regarded as the product, and at the same time, as the exponent of the age: a product, which if not realized in his case, would most certainly have been so in some one else. Columbus, it is true, discovered a new world. But, according to these notions, the age, and the moral and intellectual forces, then operating, would have produced a discoverer, even if Columbus had never existed. Lord Bacon, it must be confessed, gave the first impulse to the inductive method. But this method, would doubtless have been found out, had Lord Bacon, like his great namesake, the Friar, lived and died in obscurity. The individual, so runs the theory, is the representative man of his time; the spirit and life of the age, manifesting itself in a personal form; evolving itself, in the course of personal action. The new system of philosophy, or of religion, the new discovery, or poem, or scientific fact, are all the result of internal circumstances. "The philosophy of history, which may indeed be applied, with extreme caution, to great breadths and extensive surfaces;" to centuries or to whole communities, is brought to bear upon single events and individual cases: brought to bear, in such a manner, that the biography, or the event, is completely enveloped, and lost, in a cloud of magnificent generalities.

Thus, for instance, to use the language of a living author: "if any such *pseudo* scientific method were adopted and applied to two such men as Martin Luther and Ignatius Loyola, it would be easy to shed upon the theme a glare of philosophic splendor. This pair of worthies might be held up to view as binary stars, revolving round a common centre, and exhibiting the counter-active forces moral and religious of the sixteenth century! Each it might be said, and each as related to the other was the necessary consequence of the conflicting ferments of that stirring age. Each of these great men, we might be told, came forth when he came, and each was what he was,

and each did what he did, in obedience to certain occult forces, which, from the depth of ages, had been working themselves up to the surface of European civilization! The one was "an Idea" proper to Germany; the other "an Idea" proper to Spain; and the two were simultaneously evolved, by a silent energy of the moral system, then struggling into light, and asking to be defined, and to be uttered aloud, and to be defended, and to be consigned to future ages! Luther, according to some such theory, was the spokesman of the Teutonic idea of Christianity; Loyola, of the Spanish; and thus we should have before us the *philosophy*, of the reformation." As to the *facts*, being of little or no importance, and only worthy the notice of vulgar and unphilosophical minds, they can very well take care of themselves.

But while it is the part of wisdom to guard against these follies, to which we have made allusion; while we should guard against generalizations upon single facts; while we should guard against explaining the movements of an individual mind, or of a lifetime, by rules to be cautiously applied to whole communities, or to long periods; while guarding against these errors, it is, at the same time, all important that we should recognize and make due allowance for, the real influence of external circumstances, in the formation of any single character. While it is hasty and false to assert that any truly great or original man was wholly the result of the age in which he lived; yet it would be equally false to assert that he grew up in lonely greatness; that independent of all external influences, he attained his position of high preëminence. External circumstances, the providential junctures of events and seasons, frequently determine, always modify, the course of individual action. The man becomes great, not because he willed it from the first; not because there was an unity of design in his efforts from the beginning; but because certain events and occasions were presented; were seized upon as they arose; and turned to advantage. The unity of design arising rather from the constant application of the same principles to different cases; from the power of turning the incident, as it arose, to good purpose; in this manner, to a certain extent, creating other circumstances; the individual will moulding every such incident with its results into an harmonious whole; into the system, or poem, or discovery, which comes in its unity to future ages. For, instance, the extensive reading of Milton, coupled with the stirring scenes of the Commonwealth, had great influence in shaping his literary character. This influ-

ence may frequently be seen, Yet we may safely assert that no other man, in that, or in any other age, could have written the Paradise lost. Biography is the history and description of an individual. And as no two faces are alike, so no set of circumstances which will account for the acts of any one man, can be given as a reason, or will account for the same acts in another. While there is a general likeness which will admit of general calculations, as to the mass, there are individual and special diversities with each one, for which these general calculations can make no allowance. He must, therefore, in endeavoring to get clear ideas of any single character, pursue the old and humble, yet safe course, of investigating facts single and connected; of noting by what means the individual mind acted or was acted upon; was modified by, or itself modified, circumstances, to the production of great results. He must notice the man as developed and tested, not *created*, by the course of things going on around him. And from the mode in which he endures or improves the trial, we must form our estimate as to his real merit of character; as to the degree of approval or disapproval to which that character should be subjected.

Bearing these rules in mind, let us endeavor to apply them, in forming our estimate of that most remarkable man whose career is brought before us in these volumes. "They that see thee shall look upon thee narrowly, saying, is this the man that did shake kingdoms?" So far as regards mere results, no single human being, perhaps, has ever appeared upon earth, whose biography is more suggestive of serious reflection; whose life, and actions, and motives, are invested with deeper interest; have been productive of results more momentous, or of more extensive character. The cloud no larger than a man's hand, rising in an obscure town of Arabia, became, within the compass of a single century, almost coëxtensive with the limits of civilization. "In a period," to use the language of one of his biographers, "included within the lifetime of many an aged Arab, the followers of Mahomet extended their empire and their faith over the wide regions of Asia and of Africa; subverting the empire of the Khosroes; subjugating great territories in India; establishing a splendid seat of power in Syria; dictating to the conquered kingdom of the Pharaohs; overrunning the whole of Northern Africa; scouring the Mediterranean with their ships; carrying their conquests in one direction to the very walls of Constantinople; and in another to the extreme limits of Mauritania." Passing beyond these limits, in a few centuries we behold them establishing a kingdom in

Spain, which lasted upwards of seven hundred years; completely swallowing up the Greek Empire; only arrested in their progress through Europe by the arms of Charles Martel; and even numbering, at the present time, of their decay and decrepitude, one hundred and eighty millions of the human family. "If no other reason existed, the mere fact of these results would be enough to awaken curiosity. We cannot but desire to know something of the origin of a dominion which has spread so widely, and of which the foundation has been so strongly laid in so many minds; and, especially, to know something of the genius, and character, the principles and conduct of the man by whom it was set up;" in whom it originated.

And yet, strange as it may appear, in view of these results, there are few who have figured upon the page of history, whose lives have been more barren of commanding incident than that of him, with whom these great movements found their origin. A youth of not very unusual intelligence; an early manhood, devoted to trade and merchandize; a maturity of comparative leisure, following his marriage, which had removed the necessity of exclusive devotion to business; his first annunciation, of himself, as a Divine messenger, to his townsmen; the ridicule and opposition of some; the gradually increasing allegiance of others; the scene shifting from Mecca to Medina; the circle of incident widening to the tribes in the neighborhood; this being kept up until his death, comprehend the life of Mahomet; constitute the comparatively empty prelude to the magnificent drama of Islamism. Yet even in this apparently trivial circle of incident, we behold the growth and operation of a remarkable mind; a man, showing himself to be, essentially, "αναξ ανδρων," a king and ruler of men. Adapting himself to circumstances as they arose; and daringly using them to the advancement of a great purpose. Not the mere creature of external influences; yet drifted on by these influences, and making use of them, as they were presented, to the attainment of a point, of which he himself, in the beginning, had no conception.

What, then, were these influences under which the character of Mahomet was developed? A brief glance at his biography will enable us to answer these questions. This biography, so far as regards the point in question, may be divided into four distinct periods. His childhood; his opening manhood, as a travelling merchant and trader; his peculiar religious life, from his marriage to his first considerable success in making converts, in Medina; his politico-religious life, subsequent to this last period. The first of these periods, that of his

childhood, may be designated as that in which he was exposed to the influences of idolatry. That of his merchant life brought him in contact with the imperfect forms of Christianity and Judaism, then prevalent. The third of these periods, extending from his marriage to his success at Medina, may be regarded as one partly of ferment and indecision, partly of monomania and fanatical self-delusion; unconsciously deceiving others, himself being most deceived. The last of these periods, that following his success, may be regarded as a continuance of this self-delusion, to a certain extent; accompanied, however, by a consciousness of deception and fraud, practiced upon others; by a determination to rule, whatever might be the means through which this determination might be carried into effect. Let us, briefly, examine the influences of these successive periods.

The first class of influences, those of idolatry, will be best understood by bearing in mind the peculiar form of religion, prevalent, at that time, in Arabia. It was a mixture of Sabianism, the adoration of the heavenly bodies, a religion alluded to in the book of Job, and of Magianism, the worship of fire, as the representation of Deity, supposed either to have originated, or more probably to have been reformed, and reinstated in the system of Zoroaster. With these, there was also a complete tradition derived from the primitive ages of the world, containing, in an obscure and imperfect form, some of the historical facts of the Old Testament. Without entering upon a full examination of the systems to which allusion has been made, it will be sufficient to say, that whatever may have been the purity of their doctrines, at first, they had become corrupted, at the time of which we are now speaking, into the grossest kind of idolatry. The heavenly bodies, or material objects, at first regarded as symbols of Deity; made use of, in worship, as representations of the Supreme Being, had gradually usurped the place of Him whose presence they symbolized; and became themselves the direct objects of religious adoration. Indeed, the idea, which has been ascribed to Maimonides, "that all idolatrous worship found its rise in this way," seems not at all improbable. We know, for instance, as a matter of fact, that the religions of Assyria, of Egypt, and Phoenicia, in the later periods of their history, were of the grossest and most idolatrous character. The worship was addressed to the image, or animal, or reptile, or heavenly body, and went no further. Yet the researches of the last fifty years, in Egypt especially, seem to have brought to light, what long ago was suspected, that many of these direct objects of wor-

ship, were not so in the beginning; were originally mere symbols; represented symbolically certain attributes of the Supreme Being; but by a natural tendency of the human mind, were allowed to exclude this Being, and to become themselves the objects of worship and devotion. This tendency of the human mind is brought to view, and guarded against, in the Holy Scriptures. We find that the Jews were not only forbidden by the first commandment, the worship of all false gods, as opposed to that of the true; but in the second of these commandments, and with much more specification, they are forbidden to make any representation of Jehovah himself, as part of their religious service. These representations would not merely give false and inadequate ideas of the Divine perfections in the beginning, but in a little time they would be worshipped, in His stead. Nor do we advance far into the history of this people, before the wisdom of this inspired prohibition becomes manifest. The golden calf was set up in the wilderness, not in opposition to, but as the representative of, the God of Israel; the same thing was subsequently done, by Jeroboam at Bethel; in each case, the result following, against which they had been warned and guarded. The whole tenor of ancient and modern history upon this point goes to show, that any finite representation of the Infinite Being is eventually followed by the worship of that representation. The first intention may be innocent, may even be good, that of helping out a weak spirit of devotion. But the result will inevitably be bad. Let the representation of Deity be what it may, one of the celestial bodies, an animal, a graven image, or a painting; in a little time this representation will be the god of those by whom it was set up. And by a natural reaction of the human mind, revolting against the gross outrage which is being put upon it, this extreme of superstition will, ere long, be followed by practical, and almost universal scepticism. He who believes every thing, in a little time believes nothing. David Hume and Sir Thomas Browne, the extremes of the circle, come together at this point; occupy a common logical position: the point of agreement being the destruction of all substantial grounds of belief, or of rational conviction. "Whole communities," says Macaulay, with an expression of surprise, while speaking of the troubled state of Europe at the close of the eighteenth century, "whole communities passed from Catholicism to infidelity, and back again, from infidelity to Catholicism. But none became Protestant." The fact is not at all surprising. A mind abused and deceived, when it once begins to doubt, soon doubts every thing. And this same

mind, thrown off from all its moorings, if ever again agitated by the great problems of human existence, will gladly oscillate back to its original position, of unreasoning credulity. It was the credulity of childhood which prepared Voltaire for the scepticism of manhood; and it was the distraction and perfect helplessness of scepticism which drove him, in his last hours, to receive the sacrament, and extreme unction. The deformed and blind mother Superstition gives birth to the equally deformed and blind monster Atheism. And the children of this child not unfrequently exhibit the lineaments of their maternal ancestor!

This point must be definitely kept before us, if we would have a clear idea of what seems to have been the state of the Arabian mind, during the sixth century: it illustrates the influences, to which the youthful mind of Mahomet was exposed. The symbol had become the god. Even this gross and mangled form of religious life was almost extinct. And, as in the case of the later Greeks and Romans, idolatry, remaining as a form, was, in reality, passing away, into Atheism, and universal scepticism.

But these influences, although prevalent at Mecca, never had their full effect upon the youthful mind of Mahomet.—They were neutralized, to a certain extent, by others; by the local religious traditions with which, as a member of a priestly family, he was early made conversant. Ab Al Motallah, his grandfather, and Alu Taleb, his uncle, by whom, as an orphan, he was brought up, were the guardians of the Caaba, or sacred temple; the keeping up of which was intimately connected with these early traditions. Mahomet thus had the benefit of what little religious life was then remaining in the community. His position, moreover, in the family of the keeper of the sacred temple, brought him in contact with the multitude of pilgrims by whom this temple was visited; gave material forethought and inquiry to a mind which was naturally imaginative and restless. In these respects, he was elevated above the mass of his townsmen; was unconsciously preparing for the investigations of a subsequent period.

The influences of this period, as seen in the subsequent life of Mahomet, are of a twofold character. We see them in those portions of the ancient religion which were afterwards incorporated into his own system. For instance, the idea of certain places being more sacred than others; the doctrines of pilgrimages; the rite of circumcision; prayer; the doctrines of genii and angelic beings, all existed in the old system; did not conflict with his favorite dogma of the unity of God; and, be-

ing connected with the associations of youth, were retained, modified, no doubt, by the light of Christianity or Judaism, but essentially held, to the very last, as received in infancy.

Another effect of this period of youthful education, as seen in the way of contrast, and one more prominently exhibited in after life, was that of an intense and implacable hatred of idolatry and Atheism. "The followers of Mahomet," says a traveller in the East, "hate and despise every man who does not pray to God, in some form or other." For all others he has some degree of tolerance. We meet this feeling, upon every page of the Koran. Mahomet in childhood was an idolater; for even the Caaba was full of images; but not so grossly as the most of his townsmen. He was, moreover, a constant and daily witness of the formal hypocrisy and atheism practiced around him. His first revolt was against this state of things. The light of a later period strengthened this revolt; it became fixed and settled, by the opposition with which, in his first announcement of his prophetic mission, he was met. But the first impulse to this feeling, may not improperly be looked for, in the observations of childhood and opening maturity.

This brings us to the second period. From the twelfth to the twenty-eighth year of his age, Mahomet was engaged as a traveling merchant and trader, between Mecca and the neighboring countries. He was thus bronght more fully under the influences of external nature; an influence, in his case, of no trifling character. The solitude of the desert; the nightly stillness and splendor of the oriental firmament; the traditions prevalent among the wandering tribes as to supernatural beings, by whom these solitudes were peopled, had no little influence upon the imagination of the youthful traveler. He was, also, brought into contact with other sources of information; with other classes of his fellow men; his mind expanding, by this varied intercourse and acquaintance. In this way religious truth, much purer than any of which he had previously heard, was brought to his knowledge. Christians and Jews formed part of the population of Arabia; and we have accounts, which show, that to these, no small portion of his religious development was owing. His conversation with a Nestorian monk of Syria, which is recorded, was doubtless but one, out of many, with persons of kindred sentiment. From these, and from Jewish traders, he obtained a general knowledge of the historical portions of the Old Testament and of many of the moral precepts of the New; correct ideas, also, as to the grossness of idolatry; as to the necessity of a purer

religion than that of his townsmen. The religious sentiment which had been preserved from utter destruction in the family of Abu Taleb; which, in this respect, elevated him above the mass of his people; was, undoubtedly, strengthened and purified during this second period. Whatever may have been his previous feelings towards idolatry, whether of doubt and suspicion, or of mere formal devotion, we may reasonably suppose that from this time, its power, so far as he was concerned, was completely overthrown. His mind, maturing in the reception of purer information, threw off much that was evil and false; took up much that was good; much that was imperfect, puerile, and perhaps evil: but, on the whole, he may be considered as having developed upwardly; as having made no little advance in his knowledge of religious truth. Whether he himself was fully aware of this progress, is another question. We find that no open revolt, against heathenism, was manifested, till some years afterward. His position, in Mecca, from the time of his marriage till his first annunciation of his prophetic mission, was that of a highly respected citizen; outwardly conforming to the religious worship then prevalent. It needed time and favorable circumstances to reveal even to himself the great change which had taken place.

But this second period is interesting on another account —as connected with the making up of the Koran. Most of the materials of this book were most probably brought together, in the mind of their author, at this time. Brought together, of course, without any definite idea of the future use which would be made of them; but simply as the result of his intercourse with others. Those who will have the patience to look through that strange jumble of nonsense, of religious truth, of moral precept, of gross sensualism, and poetical beauty, will find many allusions to facts, events, and precepts, to be traced to the Holy Scriptures, and to traditions Christian, Arabic, and Jewish. Many chapters finding date in the necessities of a later period; at a period when their author was a much worse man than at the time of which we are now speaking, may properly be regarded as wholly originating with himself. But as these mostly have in view the excuse of some act of sensuality or perfidy of his own, or some cruelty of his disciples, they bring him but little credit. With these last and sad exceptions, the material of the Koran may be regarded, as at this time, being mostly brought together.

This brings up a question, which at one time formed the subject of much dispute and disagreement, the plagiarism of which Mahomet was guilty, from the inspired Scriptures.—

That he drew largely from both the Old and New Testaments, will hardly at the present time be denied. But these materials from Biblical precept and history, were incorporated into the Koran, from memory; without that regard or knowledge of the contents which one would exhibit, who was thoroughly acquainted with the source from which they were drawn. It was not that plagiarism which hides its theft, by changing the form and retaining in substance the literary property of another; but rather the memory recalling imperfectly what at first had been imperfectly imparted. Mahomet, himself, could neither write nor read. His knowledge of the Bible was obtained at second hand; and most likely through a polluted source; mingled with the monkish and Rabbinical comments and decorations of his Jewish and Christian instructors; modified by the associations of childhood; by Arabic traditions, in regard to some of these same scriptural narratives: this knowledge being imperfectly recalled, in after life, as occasion for its use was presented. This knowledge was too fragmentary; was not exact enough to bring him under the category of what is usually meant by the term plagiarist. He used, without scruple, what he had, whether in the way of illustration or direct precept. But so far from intending to hide the authorship of others, it may safely be doubted whether he himself could always say from whom his materials were derived. "I observed," says Joseph Wolff, "in Palestine, and in the deserts of Mesopotamia, that the Jews and Christians frequently entertain the Arabs by these Biblical legends. Many an inquisitive chief of a wandering tribe, will desire them to amuse him, with histories of their saints. Frequently I saw grave Turks, and Arab merchants, sitting in the desert, near a Jew, listening to him with attention, while he was telling them of the beauty of Joseph,[1] of the miraculous power of Moses, and the legend of the ascent to heaven, accomplished by him."[2]

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[1] "The sun was declining when the caravan entered the capital of Egypt. But Joseph's face shone brighter than the noonday sun, and the singular light which it diffused attracted all the maidens and matrons to their windows and terraces. On the following day he was exposed for sale before the royal palace. The richest women sent their husbands and guardians to buy him; but they were outbidden by Potiphar, the treasurer of the king, who was childless, and designed to adopt Joseph as his son."—*Weil's Biblical Legends.*

[2] "Gabriel uplifted Moses so high into the heavens, that he heard the scribbling of the Kalam, which had just received the command to engrave the decalogue for him and for his people on the eternal tablets of fate.

But the higher Moses rose, the stronger grew his desire to see Allah himself in his glory.

Then commanded Allah all the angels to surround Moses, and to com-

I have felt delight in hearing the histories of Ishmael, when a child, how he cried and stamped with his little feet, while his mother Hagar, at a distance united her cries with those of her thirsty babe, which at last touched the Lord, the most merciful and most pitiful, to such a degree, that he sent the angel, who caused a well of water to spring forth, where the little babe had stamped his feet. Many a journey Mahomet must have made with Jews from Teman; and many a time must he have listened to wonderful stories from a Jew about the wisdom of Solomon: how that wise monarch knew the language of the beasts of the field and of the fowls of heaven;[1] and many a time he must have sat with Babina the monk, mentioned in Arabian histories, and heard the account of cures performed by Christ the Lord, and of the preaching of John the Baptist."

But whatever might have been the process going on, during this period, there was little time or opportunity, and there seems to have been little thought or intention, of working these materials into a religious system. Those who are disposed to regard Mahomet as having had a conscious plan from early youth; of working upon this plan, through life, to the attainment of a single object; may do so as a matter of theory, or to help out a string of rhetorical antitheses. But they do so in defiance to all fact; without the shadow of historical foundation. It needed leisure, idleness — the most prolific of all the sources of religious or philosophical heresy — to work

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mence a song of praise. Moses swooned away, for he was wanting in strength, both to behold these hosts of shining forms, as well as to hear their thrilling voices."—*Ibid.*

[1] "Solomon commanded the angels to bring a pair of every kind of animal, that lives in the water, the earth, and the air, and to present them unto him. The angels departed as quick as lightning, and in the twinkling of an eye there were standing before him every imaginable creature, from the largest elephant down to the smallest worm; also all kinds of fishes and birds. Solomon caused each of them to describe its whole manner of life; he listened to their complaints, and abolished many of their abuses. But he conversed longest with the birds, both on account of their delicious language, which he knew as well as his own, as also for the beautiful proverbs that are current among them. The song of the peacock translated into human language means, "As thou judgest so shalt thou be judged." The song of the nightingale signifies: "Contentment is the greatest happiness." The turtle dove sings, "It were better for many a creature that it had never been born." The Hoopoe, "He that shares no mercy shall obtain no mercy." The bird Syndak, "Turn to Allah, O ye sinners." The swallow, "Do good, for you shall be rewarded hereafter." The pelican: "Blessed be Allah in heaven and earth." The dove: "All things pass away; Allah only is eternal." The kata: "Whosoever can keep silence goes through life most securely." The eagle, "Let our life be ever so long, yet it must end in death." The raven, "The farther from mankind the pleasanter." The cock, "Ye thoughtless men, remember your Creator."—*Ibid.*

these materials into a system. Had he been kept busily employed in merchandise, it is quite likely that Mahometanism would have never existed; that its author would have died a much better man, it is true, but unknown beyond the circle of his own community.

This leisure, upon his marriage, was afforded. He was placed above labor, or the necessity of care for his subsistence. His merchant life was not, indeed, at once discontinued; but became rather an amusement, an occasional occupation. Even this, after a time, was abandoned. His mind thus being released from other things, naturally reverted to those topics upon which, in his previous life, he had so frequently reflected.—With this difference, however, that topics which previously could only be thought of at intervals, became now the sole and undivided occupants of his bosom. He became, as might have been anticipated, a religious dreamer. Having little sympathy with the opinions of his community; not knowing enough of Christianity or Judaism to get a correct idea of either; deficient, moreover, in that teachableness and humility which are absolutely needed to the safe investigation of any truth, especially that of a religious character; those tendencies being increased by the influence of the renegade Thoraka, the relation of Cadijah, and an inmate of Mahomet's household. "Various passages in the Koran," says his biographer, "show the ruling idea which gradually sprang up in his mind. That idea was religious reform. It had become his fixed belief that the only true religion had been revealed to Adam, at his creation, and been promulgated and practiced in the days of innocence; that this religion had been corrupted, especially by idolatry; that different prophets, such as Noah, Moses, and Christ had been sent, at different times, to restore it to its original purity; that the then prevailing idolatry justified the hope and belief that another divine messenger would be authorized to begin the work of reformation.

Having arrived at this point, it needed but one more and a natural step to the conclusion, that he who had seen the necessity of this reform, should be the divine instrument to bring it about. An intimation to this effect was, in due time, received; and, shortly after, Mahomet announced his mission to his townsmen.

"It was in the fortieth year of his age when this first revelation took place. Mahomet was passing the month Ramabdan, in the cavern of Mount Hava, endeavoring by fasting and prayer, and solitary meditation, to elevate his thoughts to the contemplation of Divine truth. It was on the night, called by

the Arabs, Al Kader, or the divine degree: a night in which, according to the Koran, angels descend to earth, and Gabriel brings down the decrees of God. During that night there is peace on earth, and a holy quiet reigns over all nature until the rising of the morn."

"As Mahomet, in the silent watches of the night, lay wrapped in his mantle, he heard a voice calling upon him; uncovering his head, a flood of light broke upon him of such intolerable splendor that he swooned away. On regaining his senses he beheld an angel in a human form, which, approaching from a distance, displayed a silken cloth covered with written characters. "Read," said the angel.

"I know not how to read!" replied Mahomet. "Read," repeated the angel, "in the name of the Lord who has created all things; who created man from a clot of blood. Read in the name of the Most High, who taught man the use of the pen; who sheds on his soul the ray of knowledge, and teaches him what before he knew not."

"Upon this Mahomet instantly felt his understanding illumined with celestial light, and read what was written on the cloth, which contained the divine decrees, as afterwards promulgated in the Koran. When he had finished the perusal, the heavenly messenger announced: "O, Mahomet! of a verity thou art the prophet of God, and I am his angel Gabriel."

And here the question comes up, was this all imposition, or was the deceiver himself altogether deceived? We should say that neither of these suppositions seems to explain the matter in a perfectly satisfactory manner. Of the two, the latter seems nearer the truth. What is termed monomania, and which may be defined, as that distorted view of any single subject which destroys the natural relation of that subject to all others, was, doubtless, his state at this time, in regard to the matter of a new revelation. This intellectual distortion was no doubt increased by physical causes; by his solitary fasts and devotions; by the epileptic attacks to which, during his whole life, he was subjected. That mysterious action and reaction of mind and body upon each other, by which the mind, in a state of trance or half consciousness, reproduces and fills out its own waking thoughts, may, not improbably, have taken place in this instance. That which he wished he dreamed; the single earnest desire of the heart was realized in the vision; and he came out of the dream believing it, to a certain extent, to be a waking reality. That what has been said will apply to all the subsequent revelations received by Mahomet, we

have no idea. A vision which may take place in the experience of a Mahomet, a Swedenborg, or a Loyola, while the mind is perfectly adrift, or in a state of ferment, must be explained in a very different way from one which takes place, or rather is gotten up, to meet an emergency, or to fill out a preconceived system. Self deception may prevail even in this latter case, but to a much smaller degree than in the former.

But was this first revelation, so far as Mahomet was concerned, altogether delusive; such a delusion as involved no imputation upon his own uprightness and truthfulness of character? To those who believe that an accountable being is ever wholly left to the influence of external circumstances, to the mere sport of illusion, the affirmative to these questions will present no difficulty. But to those who think otherwise, the difficulties attendant upon such a reply are insuperable. This reply, moreover, is not justified by all the facts of the case. Mahomet was willingly deceived. The first false step, morally, in this whole matter, — a step which he had already taken — was that of identifying self with the anticipated revelation. To take that step previous to the reception of this revelation, was wrong; showed that spirit of egotism which involves moral unsoundness; that egotism which, placing self before all other men as the proper channel of Divine communication, prepared self as a willing victim for delusion. He hesitated upon the vision, it is true, but was easily persuaded to believe in its reality. With his state of mind, we may say this vision could no doubt have been repeated. While, therefore, Mahomet may readily be acquitted in this instance of the gross imposture which has been charged upon him; he had really taken the step by which he was prepared for it.

Beginning with this vision, the progress of the new faith, for the next thirteen years, went on but slowly. Little success and great risk accompanied most of the efforts for its extension. Some increase was made in the number of proselytes; and with this increase the belief of the prophet in his mission was strengthened, and the enthusiasm of his spirit proportionately inflamed. This latter feeling was probably heightened by the persecution to which he was exposed; by the losses and afflictions to which his followers were subjected; by the ridicule and opposition which finally drove him and them as fugitives from his native city.

This first season of Mahometanism is distinguished by one remarkable fact: by its resemblance in the patient endurance of its followers to the spirit of the New Testament. Not only were the precepts of the Gospel, so far as they were known,

adopted, but also the mode pursued by our Lord and the Apostles in making converts. Such was the contrast in Mecca, for the first four years, between the old and the new religion: the purity of the one, the forbearance and meekness of its followers, exhibiting in their greatest deformity the idolatry of the other—the intolerance, and vindictive spirit of its disciples. Persecuted in one city, the prophet fled to another; made no attempt himself, and encouraged none in his disciples, to enter upon a course of retaliation.

Thus far adversity had failed in bringing out the base alloy mingled with the new system. The first flush of prosperity did this effectually. Reason, and argument, and persuasion had failed. Fugitives from their homes, they were received with open arms, as sufferers for the truth in Medina; and this accession of strength at once suggested the sword as the great instrument of conviction. "Let all who promulgate my faith," so runs the inspired direction, "enter into no argument; but slay all who refuse obedience." The flame long pent up at length burst forth in all its fierceness. This first revelation of force, as the great argument, was followed by a treacherous assault, during the sacred season, upon some of his opponents; this being followed by a special revelation to justify the prophet in taking his share of the plunder secured by the victory. Mahometanism became a religious state; a state held together "by the cohesive principle of universal plunder." This being justified on the ground that those who were thus robbed and murdered were the enemies of God, and ought, therefore, to be exterminated. Adversity trieth the spirit of a man; but its opposite, prosperity, often does the same thing, and much more effectually. Mahomet withstood the former; but the latter, in its first assault, obtained a complete victory.

From this point the course of the prophet, in a moral respect, was downward. Gleams of past integrity, during his subsequent career, frequently make their appearance, so far as regarded his intercourse with his followers. Yet the general tenor of that life is suggestive of the most mournful reflection, especially so when we remember how that life began. Falsehood, sensuality, ferocity, bigotry constitute the dark list by which this period is characterized. The religious feeling, perverted and polluted to the basest purposes, merely gave a darker aspect to these crimes; excusing them and sanctifying them as being practiced in the service of the Creator. He who can regard the last years of this Hero Prophet, as he has been called, with any other feelings than those of pity, struggling with those of disgust and deep moral loathing, must himself

be sadly deficient in keenness of spiritual perception. As a youth, kindly receiving the few rays of imperfect truth in his reach, we regard him as an object of the deepest interest.—During his merchant life we could pray that the pure light of a pure Christianity, which he never seems to have enjoyed, might have been imparted. During his season of religious reverie and inquiry, these feelings of interest deepen; we look anxiously, but in vain, for that teachable and humble spirit, which, even with his imperfect light, would have kept him safe. Beyond that period there is a season of darkness, of doubt, of suspicion; one in which large allowance must be made, and plausible excuses offered, to keep him clear from imputation of falsehood and deception. But this season has an end.—There is a point beyond which excuse is impossible. How long before, then, he had begun to fall, we know not. We merely behold the plunge; the depth of moral degradation opening before him in his first deviation from rectitude; merely know: that when he fell he fell "like Lucifer, never to rise again.". His after life was a continued series of outward successes; but in the truest and fullest sense of the word he was ruined.

And here it may be asked, was he not, after all, as much a self-deceived enthusiast as a deceiver of his fellow men? Were not even these last and worst years of his life characterized by self-delusion; and do not many of his actions,—his conduct upon the death of his child—in his own last moments—show that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, he was a believer in his own divine commission? To answer these questions correctly, we must first have the settlement of another: What was the amount of self delusion as coëxisting with conscious deception practiced upon others? There is little or no apparent design, in his first communications, of imparting more than he himself believed. On the other hand, the trickery, and management, and falsehood, in many periods of his after life, are too palpable to admit of any such explanation; and show manifestly that he was conscious of the fraud and falsehood which was being practised. And yet the solution of this mystery may not, after all, be so extremely difficult. The same spectacle of overpowering fanaticism, coupled with a dedeficiency of moral principle, has not unfrequently been exhibited. The error is by no means uncommon, at the present time, and even in the most enlightened communities, of regarding religion as altogether a matter of sentiment and feeling; of regarding religious sentiment not as the impelling motive to the faithful discharge of duty, but rather as an equivalent for

this duty. This feeling it is which gives rise to pious frauds; which has often led persons to use questionable and positively evil means to the attainment, as they supposed, of beneficial ends. A man thus deficient in moral rectitude, might, under the impulse of mere sentiment and self-delusion, be led to persuade himself that he was inspired; and such being his state of mind, a course of falsehood or of imposition, if it seemed to promise advantage, would be used with but little hesitation: the end justifying, in his view, the means employed to its attainment. The fact that he feels and knows these means to be evil, not necessarily shaking his faith in the goodness of the end.

Thus for the first thirteen years of Mahomet's religious life, he might have believed in himself fully. There was hallucination; not only mental but moral: but of these he himself shared most largely. But when his course was changed, and he was led to employ falsehood and violence, where previously he had used argument and forbearance, it does not follow that his belief in the thing formerly advanced by opposite means, was at all changed or shaken. He may have been still, in his own mind, the prophet to whom the revelation was first given: the Divine messenger, authorized to employ imposture to the advancement of the Divine purposes. He was thus a conscious and willful deceiver of others; but to the very last moment of life was himself deceived and deluded. That kind of sincerity which is made up of strong conviction, without any regard to the process or means by which the conviction is reached, is perfectly consistent with great moral obliquity. "Even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, He gave them over to a reprobate mind;" to the sincerity of a seared conscience.

And this delusion, instead of excusing, brings out the great and radical defect in Mahomet's character. A want of faith in the truth; deficiency of moral rectitude. The first real temptation to deceive overcame him; because he had not that reliance upon the truth, and the right, which should have repudiated all false and violent means of advancing its interests. It shows not merely a want of reliance upon the truth, and its Divine Author, but also a want of rectitude, moral rottenness, when a man endeavors to advance, even what he considers a good cause, by wrong and crooked courses. No such defence or assistance is needed; all such assistance will, eventually, injure the cause in which it is enlisted. Mahomet failed here; leaned upon what proved his moral overthrow; upon what proved his destruction, so far as regarded any effort to find the

light for himself, to enlighten and bless his fellow creatures. There can be no better manifestation of the effect of deception and violence, in the advancement of what men believe to be a good end, than was seen in the subsequent history of the Prophet's immediate followers. "He himself, the leader, died of lingering poison. His earliest friend, who took the vacant throne, was in the arms of death when Khaled made him master of Damascus. Khaled was suspected and insulted by his people till his heart was broken. Omar was stabbed by an assassin. Othman was murdered by rebels. And Ali was pierced, even in the temple, by a poisoned dagger." Here, as in a glance, we behold the natural tendencies, the fruits of Mahometanism, as seen in the fate of its founders. Merely another exemplification of the fact, that they "who sow the wind," in due time, and inevitably "reap the whirlwind."

Upon two other points of interest we can only touch in the slightest manner. The one of these is the genius, the intellectual fervor of the founder of Islamism; the other is the essential nature of his system. The first of these, the genius of Mahomet, has perhaps been overrated. But when the deficiencies and advantages of his youth are borne in mind; when we remember the sway exercised over the minds of his converts, many of whom had been his bitter opponents; when we remember the infinite tact and promptness by which resources were brought in to meet sudden emergencies; by which the effects of defeat and disaster were neutralized; by which the disputes of disciples and followers were settled; when we bear these in mind, we must admit that he was a man of no ordinary character. No common man could have placed his impress upon so many of his kind and kept it there even for the ordinary duration of human life; much less for the ten or twelve centuries following. No common man could have fixed together the discordant elements of incipient Moslemism; could have given the impulse to a power which swept over so large a portion of the earth, and which, for a time, seemed almost irresistible. Some allowance may be made for the influence of enthusiasm; for the influence of a fervid imagination upon an imaginative people; some regard may also be had for the amount of truth contained in his system, the inherent power of this truth to carry the whole of this system forward. But making every such allowance, and we still behold an original, a master spirit, controlling and giving impulse to the actions of multitudes of his followers.

As to the other of these points, the religious system of Mahomet, it would not, perhaps, be far from correct to regard it rather as a Christian heresy than an original scheme of doctrine: that heresy which consists of a large portion of opinion previously held, mingled with some of the doctrines of the New Testament; the large amount of heathen error neutralizing the small amount of Christian truth. The Christian name being assumed, but the doctrine or opinion resting for its basis upon the Grecian or Oriental philosophers. One culminating point of these forms of heathenish Christianity, was that of Gnosticism, and subsequently that of Arianism: the disputes suggested by the controversy upon the latter of these giving rise to other and opposite systems of erroneous doctrine. During the sixth century, and in the East especially, these opinions were extensively held; the disputes carried on in connection with them being characterized on both sides by the fiercest and most shameful animosity; while in the West, where Trinitarian orthodoxy was comparatively pure, the church was verging rapidly to the image worship of the middle ages. This latter form of error, resembling so much the gross idolatry of Arabia against which Mahomet had revolted; the apparent Polytheism of Trinitarianism, coupled with the disputes and divisions of the Eastern church, led to the rejection of Christianity as a whole; to the formation, in name, of a mere system. Yet, after all, we find that this system is essentially that of one of these Christian heresies. Leaving out of sight the sensuality of Mahometanism, the doctrine of predestination; neither of which belong to it logically, both of which can be proved to have been suggested by emergencies, and it would be difficult to point out the difference between this system and that of Socinius or Priestley. "It was the idea of Mahomet," in his purer days, "that the religion which existed before the fall of Adam was the only true one." In substance, such is the idea of Unitarianism; and the idea logically carried out, must assume, that man is an undepraved being before he can be reasonably required to act according to the dictates of this religion. Of the two systems resting upon this fundamental falsehood, that of Mahometanism is, perhaps, the more vigorous. It contains a larger portion of supernaturalism in its doctrines of angels and spirits; has greater affinity for man's religious feelings; has manifested greater power in the work of propagation. But the main idea of human sufficiency; the logical rejection therefrom of a Divine Mediator; of a Divine Sanctifier; the absence of all provision for the pressing necessity of a consciously guilty and con-

demned soul; the rejection of all difficulties which human reason cannot comprehend. In all these respects they are essentially the same; and constitute, what may be termed the religion of human nature, previous to the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, producing conviction of personal guilt, and desert of Divine punishment. Such a conviction, with all its humbling consequences, will have more effect in rectifying this class of intellectual errors, than any thing else that can be imagined. Let a man feel in his heart of hearts that he is a sinner; that the Infinite God will not look upon iniquity but with abhorrence; let him feel and understand this, and he will not only see the adaptation of Christianity, with its highest mysteries, to his wants, but he will be led to adapt himself to its pure and life-inspiring spirit. But let him fail here, and orthodoxy itself becomes but a barren speculation — a speculation at the mercy of every instinct of a proud and corrupt nature. The earthworm becomes the god; developes into an Emerson or a Parker; becomes an emanation of Deity, whose great work is self-glorification: a worshipper of self, theologically and practically; flouting at humility and lowliness of mind as inconsistent with the dignity of his position; a scoffer at all that is good, and pure, and humble, in the conduct of his fellow creatures.

ARTICLE V.

SCHAFF'S CHURCH HISTORY.

Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche von ihrer Gründung bis auf die Gegenwart. Dargestellt von Philip Schaff, Professor der Theologie im Prediger-Seminar zu Mercersburg, in Pennsylvanien. Matth. 13: 31–33. *Erster Band: Die Allgemeine Einleitung, und die erste Periode, vom Pfingstfeste bis zum Tode des heil. Johannes, (A.* 30–100*). Mercersburg, Pa., Selbst-Verlag des Verfassers. Zu haben bei Ernst Schaeffer in Philadelphia und Leipzig; Rudolph Garrigue, New York.*

By the Senior Editor.

The publication of this work is pronounced by a cotemporary "something of an event." We feel prepared to say more, and to designate it as very much of an event; an event which

will reflect lasting credit on the author, and exert a beneficial influence on the Church of Jesus Christ. Before such an event can occur, according to the constitution of things, there must be several precursors, each of which is indispensable. In a hasty enumeration may be mentioned abilities of a superior order, a sanctified heart, thorough mental training, profound learning, a capacity for patient endurance, and the pen of a ready writer. To say that all these qualities are combined in the author of this history, may be thought to be high praise. We think he is very fairly entitled to the whole of it, and, in addition, to great gratitude, on the part of the theological public, for such a use of his fine endowments. We predict for this work great success, not only in this country, which may, in some degree, claim it, but in Europe, not excluding the Fatherland of its author. It takes its place aside of other works of a similar character, of which the German language can boast some of great value, without, we think, any reason to apprehend that it will not be treated with great respect. We can entertain no doubt, that the great and good man, to whose memory it is dedicated, whose recent death has excited intense sorrow throughout the Christian world, would have received it, had he lived, with high approbation, and felt proud of his pupil, who had so genially trod in his footsteps. We must not, however, occupy too much place in giving vent to our feelings of admiration, but furnish some general account of the production, which may serve to guide to a knowledge of its true character and pretensions. The volume is a stout octavo, containing 576 pages, and is designed as the commencement of a History of the Christian Church from its foundation to the present time. The first volume, now before us, contains a general introduction, and the first period from Pentecost to the death of the Apostle John. Other volumes will follow, we hope speedily, carrying on the history ad nostra tempora. To furnish an idea of the author's views, we give the following extract from the Preface, taken from the Mercersburg Review: "To portray, with conscientious fidelity to original documents, in clear life-like representation, the History of the Church of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God and Redeemer of the world, to reproduce her inward and outward fortunes, her conflicts and victories, her sorrows and joys, her thoughts, words and deeds, with ardent love for the truth and broad catholic feeling, and to hold up this picture of eighteen centuries to the view of the present time as the most perfect defence of Christianity, for instruction and warning, for edification and example: this is a task, well worthy to engage the best powers

of a long life, and carrying with it the largest reward, but at the same time so vast and wide, that its execution, if it is to be in any measure satisfactory, can be reached only by the co-operation of the most various agencies. The single workman, especially one of subordinate capacity, must count it honor and happiness enough, if he be permitted to contribute some stones merely to the gigantic structure, which in its very nature cannot be completed till the church shall have reached the goal of her history. For science grows with experience, and becomes ultimately complete only by its means. —— My plan aims, under the guidance of our Lord's twin parables of the mustard seed and leaven, and from the best sources within our reach, to sketch as far as possible a true and graphic picture of the internal and external progress of the Christian Church from its foundation down to our time, for the benefit both theoretically and practically of ministers and theological students, and to aid in this way a proper understanding of the present and a wise hopeful activity for the interests of the future. As regards compass, I propose to steer midway, between the synoptical brevity of a mere compend, and the voluminous fullness of a work which seeks to exhaust its subject and is designed simply for the professional scholar. The number of volumes will correspond probably with the periods presented in the General Division. I know too well already, however, the uncertainty of any such calculation, to lay myself here under any fixed bond in advance, or even to promise absolutely the continuation of the work. The volume now published has turned out much larger than I at first designed. The Apostolical period, however, in view of its fundamental and normative significance, is fairly entitled to a more extensive treatment than the Periods that follow; and it seemed to me necessary, moreover, to take account directly and indirectly of the late efforts of Baur and his school, having for their object, with no small outlay of learning, sagacity and art, a reconstruction of primitive Christianity, or more properly its destruction, which has had the effect of swelling considerably the number of notes. While now my book shows signs on every page of its German origin, it is still primarily and immediately designed for American readers, and written, so to speak, from an American, or more strictly, Anglo-Germanic position. I have accordingly had regard more or less to the more important productions of English literature, touching on the same field; and propose in later parts of the work, in case it is continued, to treat of English, Scotch and American Church History at much greater length, than is done usually in German works of the same size. Ger-

many has no lack of books on Ecclesiastical History; even since this volume has been in the press, three valuable new compends have appeared there from Lindner, Fricke and Jacobi — with which, however, my work, from its difference of plan and size, comes into no conflict. Widely different is the case in America, where it has been the fashion heretofore in almost all Theological Seminaries, as in England also, to rest satisfied with a translation of Mosheim. Quite recently, however, translations also of the works of Neander and Gieseler, still unfortunately incomplete, are coming to be widely studied, and the time is not far distant, when this energetic, restlessly active motion of the future shall do its part likewise in the independent culture and promotion of the science of general Church history. Of this we have a guaranty already in the able contributions that have been made to particular sections of this discipline, as well as in the distinguished success with which several highly gifted Americans have been crowned in the department of profane history. Would that I could do something, in my humble measure, to encourage an impartial study of historical theology in my adopted country, and excite to works that may leave my own far behind! Education and outward position seem to impose it on me as a duty, in this time of critical transition, and on this ominous musterfield of all the good and bad powers of waning Europe and youthfully fresh America, to labor in the service of German theology for American use, and as far as in me lies to mediate thus between the most theoretical and the most practical of existing nations, between the Greeks and the Romans of the modern world."

Wishing to make our readers acquainted with the ample bill of fare which has been prepared for their nourishment, we cannot do better than to give, from an article in the Mercersburg Review, we presume from the pen of Dr. Nevin, the resumé of its contents. "It commences with a masterly and well digested introduction, reaching through seventy-eight pages, and embracing the following scheme of chapters and sections: I. *History* — 1. Its conception; 2. Its factors; 3. The central position of religion in history. II. *The Church* —1. Idea of the church; 2. Its development; 3. The church and the world. III. *Church History*—1. Definition; 2. Compass; 3. Relation to other branches of theology; 4. History of the growth and persecution of the church; 5. History of doctrines; 6. History of practical religion, government and discipline; 7. History of worship; 8. Sources; 9. Compensation for the study of sources; 10. Method of historiography; 11. Division of Church History; 12. General characteristics

of the three grand Eras of Church History; 13. The uses and advantages of the science. IV. *The progress of Church History as a Science*—1. Church Historians before the Reformation; 2. Roman Catholic Historians; 3. Protestant Historians to the time of Semler; 4. Protestant Historians since Semler. The entire history of the Church, from the beginning down to the present time, is divided into three grand eras, each falling again into as many separate subordinate periods. The First Era is that of the Primitive or Græco and Latin Universal Church, extending from the day of Pentecost to the time of Gregory the Great (a. 30–590); embracing as its three periods the Apostolical Church, to the death of the Apostles; the Church under persecution, to the time of Constantine (a. 311); and the Church of the Græco-Roman Empire, amid the storms of invasion and revolution which brought on finally its fall. The Second Era is that of the Church of the Middle Ages or of Romano-Germanic Catholicism, reaching from the time of Gregory down to the Reformation (a. 590–1517), with its three periods of the commencement of the Middle Ages, the planting of the Gospel among the Germanic nations on to the rise of Hildebrand (a. 1049), the Bloom of the Middle Ages, the palmy period of the Papacy, Monasticism, Scholasticism, and Mysticism, on to the time of Boniface VIII. (a. 1303), and the Decline of the Middle Ages opening the way to the Reformation.

The Third Era, finally, is that of the Modern or Evangelical Protestant Church in conflict with the Roman Catholic, from the Reformation to the present time; having for its subordinate periods, the Reformation, or Productive Protestantism, as it appears in the sixteenth century, Orthodox Scholastic Protestantism, characteristic of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth, and Unchurchly Negative Protestantism, (Rationalism and Sectarianism) preparing the way transitionally for a new era. The volume now offered to the public, it will be perceived, is occupied altogether with the first period simply of the first era in this scheme. It confines itself, as before said, to the consideration of the Apostolical Church. Here we have an Introduction, looking directly to the history in hand. This brings into view the general relation of Christianity to the previous state of the world, the historical preparation for it which went before in the form of Paganism as well as in that of Judaism—the Grecian culture, its decline, Platonism, the Roman Empire, its interior state, Stoicism, the Old Testament Revelation, the political condition of the Jews when Christ came, their religious state—the influence of Juda-

ism on Paganism, and of this last again on the first — all conspiring to show the need of Christ and to make room for his coming. Book first, in the next place, treats of the founding of the church, its spread and persecution, under a division of five chapters. Chap. I, sets before us its proper Birth Day, the miracle of Pentecost, the gift of tongues, the preaching of Peter, and its memorable results. Chap. II, has for its title, The Mission in Palestine and the Way opened for the Conversion of the Gentiles—with the topics: The fortunes of the Church at Jerusalem; Stephen, the first martyr; Christianity in Samaria and the ministry of Philip; the conversion of Cornelius; Commencement of the Mission amongst the Gentiles; the Congregation at Antioch, and rise of the Christian name. Chap. III, is devoted to the life and labors of the Apostle Paul and the planting of the Gospel among the Gentiles, in a series of sections, extending through more than a hundred pages, that serve to bring into view all the leading occasions of his history and the various important relations of his ministry to the progress of the Christian cause.

His early character and education, his conversion, his call to the Apostleship, his missionary activity, his various journeys, his epistles, his controversies with heretics, his manifold persecutions and trials, all receive proper consideration. Here also various chronological questions and other doubtful points of history are examined with no small amount of learned diligence.

Chap. IV, treats of the labors of the other Apostles on to the destruction of Jerusalem: The character of Peter; his position in the history of the Church; his later labors; his Epistles; his residence at Rome and martyrdom; James the Just; the Epistle of James; Traditions concerning the Apostles; the overthrow of Jerusalem. Chap. V, gives us the life and works of St. John, his birth and education; his apostolical activity; his banishment under Domitian to Patmos; his return to Ephesus and the close of his life there; his character as compared with Peter and Paul; his writings — Gospel, Epistles, Apocalypse. Book Second has for its general subject the Practical Religious Life of the first Christians. Chap. I. The influence of Christianity on the Moral Relations. Topics: The New Creation; the Apostles; Family life; Marriage and Celibacy; Christianity and Slavery; Christianity and Brotherhood; Social and National Life. Chap. II. Spiritual Gifts. Chap. III. Church Discipline. Book Third is an interesting view of the Government and Worship of the Apostolical Church. Chap. I. The ministerial office in general. To-

pics: Its origin and design; its derivation from the Apostolate; distinction into Church and Congregation offices; Election and Ordination of officers; Support of ministers; Relation of officers to the Congregations. Chap. II. Church Officers; the Apostolate; Prophets; Evangelists. Chap. III. Congregational officers; Presbyter-bishops; their office; Deacons; Deaconesses; Angels of the Apocalypse. Chap. IV. Divine Service. Topics: Signification of Christian Worship and its relation to the Jewish; Sacred places and seasons; Sunday; Year Festivals; Separate parts of worship; Baptism; Infant Baptism; The Lord's Supper; other Sacred Rites. Book Fourth treats of Doctrine and Theology. Chap. I. The Apostolical Literature and Theology in general; origin of the New Testament; the Historical Books; John and the other Evangelists; the Acts of the Apostles; Didactic Writings; the Apocalypse; Organism of the Apostolical Literature; Language and Style of the New Testament. Chap. II. The Apostolical Types of Doctrine: Origin and Unity of the Apostles' Doctrine; Difference Jewish and Gentile Christianity; Jewish Legal type of James; James and Paul; Jewish Prophetical type of Peter; Matthew, Mark and Jude; Gentile type of Paul; Luke and the Epistle to the Hebrews; Ideal type of John. Chap. III. Heretical Tendencies: Conception of Heresy; Division and General Character of Heresies; Typical Signification of the Apostolical Church."

We presume that no one will look over this outline without being convinced that it promises a very rich entertainment—amply covers the entire ground, and brings up for examination subjects of the deepest and most lasting interest to the Divine and the Christian. If the question were propounded to us: How has the author accomplished the task assumed by him? in addition to our general response already rendered in the premises, we would say, that he presents to us discussions on the numerous and momentous subjects, of which the outline has been given, marked by great ability, sound judgment, elevated piety, extensive research and genuine Catholicism. We think that our common Christianity, in the various Evangelical forms in which it is found, will bring no charge of heresy, utter no complaint and manifest no disappointment. It strikes us, that it would be exceedingly difficult to write a book of this kind, we mean an honest book, as we are satisfied this is, that would embrace so much that all Christians regard as true, and at the same time so little from which there might be dissent.

From the first page to the last, we admire the soundness, we may say orthodoxy of the writer. Yet he does not get at his results, always, in the same way that we generally do. We might refer, as an illustration, to his articles on infant baptism and the Lord's day. With his conclusions on these points, all pedo baptists and advocates of the sanctification of the Lord's day would agree, though they might regard the process by which he reaches them as novel. On some topics, the author is satisfied with views which have not been current in this country, but they have respect to no vital doctrine or fact of Christianity. The interpretation of the gift of tongues might be mentioned as one instance, and the opinion in regard to the date of the Pastoral Epistles and the second imprisonment of Paul as another. On the first point it is maintained that, although on the day of Pentecost, there was a literal speaking of tongues, or languages, which had not been learned, yet subsequently and particularly in the Corinthian Church, the phenomenon was of a different character. A single imprisonment of Paul is all that is considered admissible. But these are matters confessedly difficult, and in reference to which, as there has been, so there is likely to be diversity of views. If the question were to be decided by authority, it is hard to tell where the decision would fall.

The literary execution of this work is admirable. The style, whilst perfectly idiomatic, is remarkably clear; abounding in beauties, it is manly and chaste. Free from the mysticism which has so frequently been charged upon German authorship, and sometimes, we think, with much reason, it unfolds in perspicuous phrase the clear conceptions of the author. Although we have noticed typographical errors, and taking the entire work not a few, we nevertheless wonder how, with the disadvantages under which this work was brought out, it could be kept so immaculate.

It is in a high degree to be desired, that there should be no delay in rendering into English this important publication. Well suited to the wants of the English, the American Church, it would doubtless meet with a rapid sale, and, unless it should in its subsequent parts become too extensive, be adopted generally, if not universally, in our Theological Seminaries as a text book.

No one acquainted with the subject will deny, that the only book on Church History in our language suited to be used as a text book, Mosheim, is, with all its merits, but poorly adapted to present, in the most striking and impressive form, the rise and progress of the Christian faith. The modern era of Church

history has given an entirely new phase to the science, disencumbered it of much of its rubbish, and rendered it subservient in a high degree, not only to spiritual edification, but confirmation in the divine origin of that religion, whose wonderful achievements it records. When we compare Mosheim with Neander in their effects on the student, it will be found that the one exhibits Christianity as depressed, degraded — struggling with corruption and hardly sustaining itself—in the pages of the other, it is a powerful principle, combating with irresistible energy every foe, triumphing over all opposition— displaying its divine origin, and challenging universal homage. So we find it too in the pages of Schaff. We rise from the perusal of the latter, with our hearts warmed and with a stronger conviction, that we have not followed cunningly devised fables.

We hope that the esteemed author will be encouraged to appear very soon with another volume, and that the work will proceed to its completion with as little delay as possible. We shall advise all who can read it, to whom we may have access, to purchase it, as we do now all the readers of the Review, who are masters of the German, to procure for themselves, as early as possible, copies. Of one thing we are sure, that when they get possession of the book and taste it, they will need no stimulus from without to induce them go on, but, we hope, in doing so, that they will not fall into the error of the writer — of permitting its charms to sweep them over the track with rail — road velocity, for that is, as all know, unpropitious to the highest mental improvement.

We had designed translating some portions as specimens, but must for the present defer it for want of space.

ARTICLE VI.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D. D.

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, Pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa.

(Continued from p. 134, Vol. II.)

Saturday Afternoon, Nov. 19th, we were visited by Esquire Treutler, and had a long conference till night about the

Ebenezer matters. This man, together with others, was selected a vestryman or deacon ten years ago, during the life and government of that faithful servant of Christ, pastor Bolzius. At that time, and for some years afterwards, the deacons and elders were sworn into their offices as church wardens and vestrymen by the Judge or Justice of the Peace of the place, according to the manner of the High Church.[1] Consequently the way for the established Church was prepared already at that time with the good intention of receiving protection, certainly not ex errore voluntatis, sed judicii.

So it goes with us poor forsaken worms. Our Reverend Fathers &c. are far away: here we find few or none who are adequate counsellors, who are radically acquainted with the case, and favor our side: we are therefore left to ourselves to act according to reason and revelation: we pray and beseech God importunately, but neither oral answer nor inspiration is given—the Established church, viewed on the bright side, appears plausible, and temptations are held forth in addition thereto—and what is the consequence? Too late, advice and censure, post festum; when the cloth for the garment has been cut, and will make neither a coat nor a waistcoat. Such sworn vestrymen ofttimes acted too arbitrarily and caused that dear, old, worn out and faithful servant pastor Bolzius, (and Lemke too) much sorrow and trouble, and after their death they disregarded pastor Rabenhorst, did not consult him when the vestry was called upon to act, and thus it occurred, that without the knowledge of pastor Rabenhorst, his name was put into the Grant as co-trustee, in which the land for the Jerusalem's church &c. was placed under the jurisdiction of the Established church, also without his knowledge. And when pastor Triebner came afterwards, and strove in his enthusiasm to trample upon the burden-and-cross-bearer, or to make him unworthy of his office, by representing him, without any cause, to the ignorant people as guilty of theft, fraud, &c. then the bottom was knocked entirely out of the barrel, and edification, blessing and peace were split. I passed a very uneasy and wearisome night.

Nov. 20th, Sunday 25th post Trinit. It froze a finger thick ice last night, and in the morning it snowed a little, which was followed by cold rain and rough north wind. Pastor Rabenhorst and wife drove five miles to Ebenezer village, and I was conveyed five miles to his collegiate church in Goshen, where

[1] See the fourth part of the printed "Nachrichten," page 8, at the bottom. MUHLENBERG.

the neighboring German Evangelical Lutheran families have built a neat wooden house of God, which cost about £30 sterling, to defray the expense of which they collected partly from the English, and contributed partly from their own means, and have nearly paid them, besides having a school house and a pious schoolmaster.—and being faithfully served by pastor Rabenhorst. I preached in the church from the last clause of to-day's pericope: "For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together,": showing I. that every one is born flesh of flesh. II. How a nation, family or individual becomes a carcass, if it contemn, reject or abuse reason and the divine revelation of the plan of salvation, and be not anointed from on high. III. The judgments which will follow thereupon, spiritual and bodily, temporal and eternal. a) John 3: 6. Rom. 3: 10–18. Gen. 6: 3, 5. 1 Cor. 2: 14. Eph. 4: 18, 19. b) Rom. 1: 21–32. Ep. Jud. 10. 2 Pet. 2: 10, 12. 2 Cor. 2: 16. Heb. 6: 4–8. c) Isa. 1: 7–9; 6: 9–13. Acts 28: 26 seq. Matt. 23: 37, 38. Luc. 19: 41, 42 seq. After sermon I catechised the youth, who answered readily, because they had been well nurtured by a shepherd who loves Jesus. I was then taken by a spiritually minded deacon to his house, whither the schoolmaster came also, and we were both satisfied with temporal food, and entertained each other with useful conversation. Toward evening I returned home to my family again at pastor Rabenhorst's, who had also just returned from his day's labor, and in the evening refreshed us with some examples from S. T. Gerber's history of the converted.

Nov. 21. To-day we were all somewhat indisposed through yesterday's rough, cold, and wet weather. My wife was again afflicted with sickness after a considerable time of exemption. I wrote.

Nov. 22. In accordance with my request and previous invitation, a meeting was held to-day in the former dwelling of Rev. pastor Bolzius, dec'd. There were present: 1. Rev. pastor Rabenhorst as Trustee; 2. pastor Triebner, also as Trustee; 3. Messrs. John Caspar Wertsch; 4. John Flörl, Jun.; 5. Joseph Schubdrein; 6. David Steiner; 7 Conrad Rahn; 8. Christian Krämer. After a short prayer, Rev. Triebner, at my request, read to the meeting the credentials I had received from our Reverend Fathers and brought with me, and it was then asked whether they approved of them? to which an affirmative answer was given. Muhlenberg demanded, according to his instructions, an exact knowledge of the Mill Institutions. To this purpose he read to the meeting a copy of the Power of Attorney of Rev. Bolzius, dec'd, in reference to

the mill establishment, April 15, 1757, and pastor Rabenhorst compared with it the original—(see copy in this Journal under Nov. 15th, a. c.) and testified that Mr. Boltzius was best able to give, and had given in this document, the most correct account of the matter, and that he had appointed thereby pastor Lemke the sole director or overseer of the mill establishment, and that said Lemke, dec'd, had assigned the same power of Attorney to pastor Rabenhorst, and that after Mr. Lemke's death it had been delivered to him by Messrs. John Wertsch and John Flörl, Sen., in the presence of David Steiner, Ruprecht Zimmerebener and Christopher Rottenberger, as was just, because Mr. Lemke's own words required it, as follows: "This power of Attorney is to be delivered, after my death, to my worthy colleague Mr. Christian Rabenhorst, even as I received it from Mr. Boltzius. H. Henry Lemke, Ebenezer, April 30, 1767."

NOTE I. This having been read, and it appearing that pastor Rabenhorst did not constitute himself arbitrarily the director or overseer of the mill establishment, but was forced thereto; then the grants of the mill lands were taken from the drawer of the Trustees and examined. 1st, a grant, or patent, or royal cession for 125 acres of land to the late John Lewis Mayer, John Flörl and Theobald Kiefer, their heirs and assigns, in trust for the congregation in Ebenezer; the grant is dated Dec. 9th, 1756, recorded in the office at Savannah Jan. 12th, 1757, in Book A. page 268—in the Auditor's office a memorial hereof in Book A. page 93.

2d. The second grant for mill lands contains 500 acres in Ebenezer District, dated August 7th, 1759, recorded in the office Sept. 20th, 1759, in Book B. page 149; in Auditor's office Book A. page 113. Trustees: Messrs. Christian Rabenhorst, clerk, John Flörl and Lewis Mayer, their heirs and assigns, recorded in the office as aforesaid.

3d. The third grant for mill lands contains 300 acres, is recorded Sept. 20th, 1759, in Auditor's office A. page 113, to the same Trustees as the second, viz. Rabenhorst, Flörl, and Mayer. Consequently the whole mill land contains 925 acres.

4th. But the saw mill, bordering on vacant lands not yet patented, therefore pastor Boltzius took possession for himself of another hundred acres on the side of the other, and built a small house on it, and gave a written declaration dated May 1, 1756, in which he specifies, that said hundred acres shall not pass into the hands of strangers to the injury of the mills, and that the saw-miller for the time being and his successors shall dwell therein. And in case these hundred should be sold,

then the congregation should have the first right to purchase it. The following year, namely June 7th, 1757, pastor Boltzius took out a grant of said hundred acres for himself and heirs, as recorded in the Register's office July 25, 1757, Book A. p. 415. After the death of pastor Boltzius, the aforesaid hundred acres became the inheritance and property of his surviving daughter, Catharine. She promised the same to her kinsman pastor Triebner, and has had a deed executed for him already.

Hence arose the remarks 1, that if the sawmill stood in part, or half, or entirely on these hundred acres of Miss Boltzius, then according to the aforesaid written declaration of Mr. Boltzius, dec'd, day May 1, 1756, the congregation would have the first right to its purchase, as they would otherwise lose the mill. 2dly. Pastor Triebner declared that he would resign his claim, if the mills &c. were placed upon a certain and secure footing. 3dly, it was resolved that the above instrument of Mr. Boltzius dec'd, dated May 1, 1756, belonged, as a document, to the drawer of the Trustees, and that a copy thereof be given to Miss Catharine Boltzius, to which pastor Triebner promised to attend, said document being in his hands.

5th. Furthermore, it was unanimously resolved, that the Trustees of the whole mill lands and appurtenances should execute a counter deed or assignment to an Ebenezer Evangelical Protestant congregation, belonging to the Augsburg Confession, and therein specify the objects, use and benefit, according to the will and design of Rev. Boltzius, dec'd, and our Reverend Fathers, as expressed in the document of April 15, 1759, so that the estate might not, like the Jerusalem church, pass under the jurisdiction of strangers.

6th. The grant, on which the church and schoolhouse in Bethania are erected, was taken into consideration. It contains one hundred acres of land, is dated Dec. 3, 1760, recorded in the office Feb. 1, 1761 in Book B. page 518, in Auditor's office Book A. fol. 219. The Trustees are Hermann Henry Lemke, John Caspar Wertsch and John Michael. The object is defined to be: "in St. Matthew's *Parish*, for the use of a *church* and schoolhouse, and for the support and maintenance of the minister and master thereof." *This is unwittingly cut out for the church of England, as there is only one church, stricte sic dicta, *established* in the British dominions.

7th. The grant for 300 acres of land in Goshen was not considered. A small church formerly stood thereon, which is now in ruins, and a new one has been built but on other land. The grant for the 300 acres is to Rev. Boltzius, dec'd, in trust, and

is defined, "in trust for a glebe in St. Matthew's parish, for the use of the ministers of the Lutheran church in Ebenezer," dated Dec. 3, 1760. There is no declaration of trust or assignment for those holding to the Augsburg Confession contained in it. And the termini technici, viz.: *Glebe*, *Parish*, Luth. *church*, point to the jurisdiction of the Church of England.

8th. The grant for the Jerusalem's church, as the principal or mother church, in the village of Ebenezer is so strongly arranged and secured, that no help is left for it. Mr. John Wertsch managed the matter entirely alone and suffered himself to be outwitted. He regrets it, but that does not alter the case. See the extracts from the grant, in my Journal Nov. 5, a. c. "vorgethan und nach gedacht, hat Manchen in gross Leid gebracht."

NOTE II. Before we investigated the grants for the mill and church lands, I read the circumstances regarding the third minister's plantation in its connection in my Journal of Nov. 4th, a. c. distinctly and found no objections to its correctness.

9th. We examined how much of the collections from our Reverend Fathers was applied by pastor Triebner to the building of the Jerusalem church, which, according to receipts in the hands of Mr. Triebner, amount to £238 sterling; and pastor Rabenhorst gave towards the same building £37 sterling out of the mill treasury.

10th. I requested a brief statement of all property yet remaining for an Evangelical Lutheran or Protestant congregation according to the Augsburg Confession.

ANSWER.

	Sterling.
1. In the hands of Pastor Rabenhorst a capital of	£649 16 sh. 5d.
2. In the hands of John Caspar Wertsch for the trading store,	300 00 00
3. In the Mill Treasury—notes and money,	229 16 02
4. Parson Triebner has some money in hands, the application of which has has not yet been designated by our Reverend Fathers.	
5. Belonging also to the Estate is a negro boy at Mr. John Flörl's, and a negro girl at Mr. David Steiner's.	
6. A town and an outlot, of which Mr. John Triebner has the grant in his hands.	
7. An inventory of personal goods in the mills belonging to the estate.	
8. And finally, real estate, with the mills, 925 acres of land.	

That in said meeting, held at Ebenezer Nov. 22, 1784, I found all the above to be thus and not otherwise is testified by me,

HENRY MUHLENBERG, SEN."

In the afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the meeting adjourned, and, after pastor Rabenhorst and I had eaten at pastor Triebner's, we rode five miles to our home.

Nov. 23. To-day I expected severe and heart-rending labor, and found myself troubled and entirely unfitted for the work, viz.: the old and new vestry, witnesses &c. of both the contending parties, together with both the ministers are to meet, in order to attempt a reunion. I prayed secretly to God, but could obtain no confidence, and felt like a poor sinner who is being led forth to execution. Pastor Rabenhorst took me with him to pastor Triebner, and thence we went together to the former dwelling of the late Rev. Boltzius, where gradually were assembled: 1st, Pastor Rabenhorst and of his so-called party, the lately elected vestry, Messrs. J. A. Treutlen, Esq., Ulrich Neidlinger, Joseph Schubdrein, Christian Steiner, Samuel Krauss, John Kugel, Jacob Waldhauer, Esq.; 2d, Messrs. John Caspar Wertsch, John Flörl, Christopher Krämer, Matthew Biddenbach,, John Paulus, Paul Müller and Rev. Triebner of the other party; 3d, Conrad Rahn and others as members of the congregation and witnesses. After prayer I mentioned why the Reverend Fathers had sent me hither, and I in obedience thereto had undertaken this wearisome journey, and enquired whether the meeting desired to hear my credentials again? They answered .no; they were already sufficiently acquainted therewith, &c.

1st. Mr. Wertsch handed me the charges of his party against the other. Mr. Treutlen protested against their consideration, because his party had not first received a copy thereof, and therefore had no opportunity to prepare a defence. But they having handed their charges against Rev. Triebner in writing to me, and I having given a copy thereof to Mr. Triebner and his party, and they having had time to prepare their defence, it was right and just to examine now their charges against Mr. Triebner.

2d. Messrs. Triebner and John Wertsch were the speakers for their party, and Esquire Treutlen conducted the cause of the larger party.

*I had previously advised my brother Triebner, both orally and in writing, how with a few words he might end the complicated and perplexing strife, viz.: if he would say before the

meeting, "I have erred and ask your cordial forgiveness, and wherein you have wronged me, that I will forgive with all my heart and forget." For under all the circumstances I could impartially learn that in many things he had acted unreasonably, not according to grace but according to our depraved nature. But he thought that he had at all times exercised himself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and man, and would weaken the authority of his office if he asked forgiveness. He would pardon but not ask to be pardoned. I know not whether the Prophets and Apostles of our Lord injured their office, when they acknowledged that faults occurred in their "walk and conversation."

3d. The question was now put whether the charges against Mr. Triebner should be investigated. Messrs. Triebner and Wertsch objected, that they did not recognize the accusers as lawfully elected vestrymen. Esquire Treutlen contended, that they had been elected vestrymen publicly, and by a majority of the votes of the members of the congregation; also offered in evidence two sworn affidavits to prove their lawful election. This matter occasioned a warm debate pro and contra. I wished that Mr. Triebner had refrained from personalities against Esquire Treutlen and the other new vestrymen, and had not exposed the dignity of his office. Using declamations, citations before the Judgment seat of God, and unproved accusations, it was only pouring oil upon the fire. The echo answers to its voice.

4th. I enquired whether a compromise could not be made; for example, if a part of the old vestrymen belonging to Mr. Triebner were added to the new ones? This, however, was not approved, and Messrs. Triebner and Wertsch proposed an entirely new election to be held by the whole congregation. I asked Esquire Treutlen and the other new vestrymen, whether they would agree to it. They answered, no; they were lawfully elected. Then again much warmth manifested itself pro and contra, so that I was afraid.

5th. After a while I said, that the reunion must begin somewhere, and my advice was that the new vestrymen should continue to conduct their office, inasmuch as the time of the old ones was ended. Parson Triebner opposed it and said, that he could not conscientiously perform the duties of his office, if Mr. Treutlen and the other so called new vestrymen remained in office. He would rather keep his little flock to himself, &c. Pastor Rabenhorst remained silent and let his so called party speak for itself.

6th. Finally, Esquire Treutlen, in the name of the other vestrymen, read the charges against parson Triebner, which were investigated under the following heads: 1. Ingratitude; 2d. avarice or greediness; 3d. anger and revenge; 4th. pride and presumption; 5th. hatred, envy and implacableness. Parson Triebner declaimed awhile, and demanded proof and instances of the first charge. The first instance was taken from his conduct towards his colleague Rabenhorst. Mr. Triebner was very fluent in his explanation and justification, and pastor Rabenhorst came to his aid, and stated that their personal misunderstanding had been adjusted already on the 11th of Nov. in this house.

2ndly. He endeavored as much as possible to defend himself also against the charge of avarice, and his party testified very earnestly in his behalf. In regard to the remaining counts, various instances were adduced and testimony given. He endeavored, however, partly to deny, and partly to justify, and to turn it to the best advantage for himself, and began to weep and said, to-day was the day of his visitation, he must suffer and leave it all to the Righteous Judge. I aided as much as I could with a good conscience, and said, that in strife and enmity faults and errors of hastiness were converted into crimes, but where love reigned, they were covered up or endured, &c. But as he thought he had not erred; on the contrary had acted according to grace, conscience and the instructions of our Rev. Fathers; I therefore adduced certain points wherein he had erred, and said, that even a subject of grace carried within him the root or seed of all the aforesaid vices, and, if he watched not, could soon be overtaken by them, and that we must avoid also the appearance thereof. He wept again, and said, such vices as those mentioned were mortal sins, and, if they could be proved against him, he would be unworthy of his office, much less could he continue a minister if the new irregularly elected vestrymen remained—he would rather remain by himself with his little flock. I told them, finally, that obedience and love had induced me to undertake this fatiguing journey to visit them, that with the help of God peace and unity might be restored, &c. But if they were determined to continue in discord and be ruined, then my visit and experiment were ended, and to-morrow, with a sad and heavy heart, I would depart and report the result. At the meeting of yesterday I had hoped, by remaining over winter, that all things might yet be restored to order; but if this were the way it was useless for me to stay, &c. Mr. Wertsch and others said, I should not adjourn yet, but try another proposition. I replied

that the following was my advice: 1) that they should bury all their former contentions and offences and cordially forgive each other, as there were faults on all sides; 2) To open the Jerusalem church for parson Triebner, so that both ministers unitedly might perform their ministerial duties in the congregation; 3) and I would endeavor, with the aid of the ministers, &c. to prepare a plan for the better conduct of the whole matter. Pastor Rabenhorst came to the rescue and supported the proposition with a warm exhortation. I gave my hand to each one present and said, if in ought I had offended or wounded them, they should forgive me. Pastor Rabenhorst did likewise, and parson Triebner followed and said, he would forgive his enemies and would implore God to forgive them also—and thus we separated this time. Pastor Rabenhorst and I ate at Mr. Triebner's, and at evening returned home. I was so tortured and wearied in spirit and body, that I had to lie down. Oh Lord! how much has not the enemy of man already won, if he can effect a breach between ministers and colleagues in a church! What hateful mischief he does to the sheep, when he has disarmed the shepherds! How despised is the holy office and its dignity in the sight of the Chamites and Canaanites when they have seen the nakedness of the fathers and scoff at it!

Nov. 24th. I feel feverish and indisposed. I read to-day in the fourth part of the Ebenezer narrative, in a letter from Rev. Boltzius, dec'd, to his honor Senior Ulsperger, dated Dec. 21, 1763, on page 5, as follows: "I have sent to you in my packet the obligation of my colleage, Rabenhorst, for the minister's plantation — which I trust will be satisfactory to you and our worthy benefactors — that through your kind contributions he has so well arranged it — and that the capital is *perfectly secured, thank God!*" Further on page 7, "That the fund for the support of Mr. Rabenhorst, (collected through so much kindness and labor), is in *perfect safety* — Since the *purchase* of this plantation it is quite manifest, that there is a great difference between the owner and administrator of such public institutions, &c."

From the above it appears, as I remarked, that Mr. Rabenhorst did not acquire the minister's plantation through fraud and evil practices, as parson Triebner (in writing) and the evil disposed people complained, &c.; that the late Rev. Boltzius rejoiced at the sale, and that Rev. Rabenhorst took it, with consent of the Reverend Fathers, in a regular manner for £649 16 sh. 5 d. and gave his obligation for it, and the fund was thereby secured.

Nov. 25. The pressure and stricture in my lungs increase, but I can still write or scrawl a little, and therefore begin to spell (subject to correction) an order or constitution, if the cunning enemy draws no stroke through it, and the proverb be not fulfilled: quot capita, tot sensus. My proposition, subject to correction, would be as follows:

CHAPTER I.

§ 1.

In the document of pastor Boltzius, dated April 15, 1757, the intention of the mill institutions is set forth thus: 1) They shall be preserved, secured and improved; 2) the revenues shall be applied to preserve churches, schools, minister and schoolmaster's dwellings, with coöperation of the members of the congregation; 3) also ministers and schoolmasters shall be better supported therefrom; 4) also widows, orphans, sick and superannuated persons in the congregation shall receive aid from it.

§ 2. (Original Document.)

According to this Institution, the Trustees of the mill lands and appurtenances must give a power of Attorney, assignment or the like to the congregational council of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in and about Ebenezer, acknowledging and holding to the Augsburg Confession and its Liturgy.

§ 3.

The congregational council of our aforesaid Protestant congregation consists, a) of the at present yet living worthy founders, benefactors and directors of these Ebenezer congregations, namely his reverence Frederick Nich. Ziegenhagen (his Britanic Majesty's first Court chaplain); and Rev. John Augustus Urlsperger, Senior of the Evangelical Ministerium of Augsburg; and the successors chosen to succeed them as the most deserving members of the very laudable Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge in England, &c.—b) further, of the Elders for the time being and of the regularly called minister and pastor longest in office, as President of the Council in loco; and c) of the deacons and their successors, publicly elected by a majority of the regular members of the congregation and inducted into office.

§ 4.

Consequently the direction and superintendence of the mill establishment rests on the aforesaid Church council, as the representatives of the Evangelical Protestant congregations in

and about Ebenezer, acknowledging and holding to the Augsburg Confession and its Liturgy, and the Church council must take care that the revenues of the mills are applied to no other object and purpose than those designated and appointed by the Rev. founders and benefactors in Europe and by the first minister of these congregation, the late Rev. Boltzius in the document of April 15, 1756; namely according to § 1., 1) that the mill establishment be preserved, secured and improved; 2d) that the revenues thereof be applied to preserve churches, schools, ministers, and schoolmasters' dwelling, with coöperation of the members of the congregation; 3d, that ministers and schoolmasters receive a better support; 4th, that widows, orphans, sick and superannuated poor persons, in the aforesaid congregation connected with the Augsburg Confession, obtain assistance therefrom.

§ 5.

And the Church council, consisting of the oldest minister as President, and of the regularly elected deacons for the time being in loco, or of this place, having, it is true, the direction of the mill establishment according to the designated object, but being unable to bear the burden alone, on account of other extensive business; therefore said vestry shall appoint and empower one or more resident members, (well acquainted with economy and accounts, and who are worthy members belonging to our Evangelical Lutheran congregation holding to the Augsburg Confession), by a majority of votes to be deputy overseers and managers, who shall superintend the mill establishment and appurtenances according to their best knowledge and conscience, keep a just account of debts and credits, and annually render an account thereof to the vestry, so that the vestry may be able to lay before the whole congregation, in congregational meeting, the aforesaid account, and thus afford every one an opportunity to see and hear the state of affairs in the congregation.

§ 6.

As regards the renting of the mills, or the building and improvement thereof, as likewise the application of the revenues, according to the foundation, object and designation as above specified in § 1. and 4.: this is to be always transacted in the meeting of the vestry and the deputy overseers or managers. It shall be maturely considered; be decided by the majority of votes, of at least the President and two-thirds of the vestrymen and deputy overseers and managers; be recorded; be copied by the President of the vestry and transmitted to our Rev. Fathers and benefactors, that the same may likewise know

how the congregation here manages the benefits of their kind contributions — seeing that our benefactors and affectionate brethren in the faith had no other object in view from first to last, and still have no other view, but that in this American wilderness, through approved teachers, and wholesome doctrine according to the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, agreeably to our unaltered Augsburg Confession, &c. a Christian congregation might be founded on the right rock, be established and cultivated, might manifest itself in a Christian walk, and be continued to children's children. The nearer it approaches this object the more comforting and satisfactory it must be for our Rev. Fathers and benefactors to know it—the further from the blessed object the more mournful and unjustifiable.

§ 7.

The amount of money lent or appropriated by Rev. Fathers, as Directors and benefactors in London, Augsburg and Halle, as a fund for the salary of the third minister of the Evangelical Protestant congregation, according to the Augsburg Confession, in Georgia and especially in and about Ebenezer, is £649, 16 sh. 5 d. sterling. It is safe to the present date in the hands of Rev. pastor Christian Rabenhorst, at 5 and 6 per cent. interest, for which capital he has given his obligation to the Reverend Fathers in London and Augsburg as security, because the Ebenezer congregation contributed nothing to the aforesaid capital or fund, although it has the benefit thereof, its interest being applied to the support of a minister. Consequently for greater security a copy of the obligation of pastor Rabenhorst, in regard to the fund, can be preserved by the vestry.

§ 8.

The sum of £300 sterling on interest in the hands of Mr. John Caspar Wertsch and derived from the store, and funded for the benefit of the Evangelical Protestant congregation, according to the Augsburg Confession, in and about Ebenezer, is to be secured by obligation to the worthy congregational council of the Protestant Augsburg congregation in and about Ebenezer, to be applied for the benefit of said congregation.

§ 9.

The following shall be the manner of electing the deacons, as a branch of the Ebenezer vestry; a) Some day before the election the vestry meets, examines the list of names of members who have subscribed this Constitution, and selects impartially, according to their best judgment and conscience, a cer-

tain number of sensible, pious and resident persons; namely three for one, writes down their names and proposes them to the congregation on the day of election, i. e. if eight deacons are to be elected the vestry proposes or nominates twenty-four persons, and the congregation elects by a majority of votes out of that number eight new deacons, who at the next succeeding divine worship on the Lord's day shall be presented in Ebenezer to the congregation by the oldest minister, who shall remind them of the duties of their office (according to the Original in the Introduction to the fourth part of the printed narrative of Ebenezer) and recognize them by giving them his hand, and shall record the whole in the Congregational book. Vide the Duties Num. 1 to 9. 4 deacons during life; 4 deacons elected annually—for Zion 2; for Bethany 2; for Jerusalem church 4. Two remaining; two alternating.

§ 10.

The meetings of the Vestry or Consistorium shall be held as follows: a) when necessary and important matters require a meeting, the President of the vestry shall be notified thereof, and it shall be published in church, the place, day and hour being stated; b) In the meeting itself no disposition of any weighty matter can be accounted binding if all the members of the vestry, or at least rhe President and two-thirds of the members be not present, maturely consider the subject and consent to it; c) The President opens with prayer and notes the business to be transacted; each matter is examined successively, and having been maturely considered and each member in town having expressed his opinion and given his advice, it is decided either unanimously or by a majority of votes, the decision is recorded, and the record is published to the congregation if it concern any thing of importance, necessary and useful for the congregation to know, as for example, the erection of churches and schoolhouses, their improvement, the election or discharge of schoolmasters, &c. The business having been transacted the President closes with prayer.

§ 11.

In case the oldest minister, as President, should be absent from home or confined to bed for a time, and thus be unable to attend indispensably necessary meetings of the vestry, he shall empower, in a note with his own signature, his colleague and co-pastor of the congregation to supply his place in the meetings, until he can attend them himself.

§ 12.

Should important matters occur requiring the immediate at-

tention and meeting of the vestry, and the members cannot be notified publicly, then each and every respective member may be informed thereof by an express; should the case admit of no delay.

§ 13.

Should one or the other, be it President or member of the vestry for the time being, deviate from our Evangelical religious doctrine, constitution, order and liturgy according to our here introduced Augsburg Confession, and connect himself with another church and congregation, or become a gross offence to the congregation, and the same can be sufficiently proved, then he or they (the degrees of exhortation having been exercised in vain by the vestry,) shall be expelled from the vestry, and shall have no vote in any matter pertaining to the Ebenezer congregation.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Religious Progress; Discourses on the development of the Christian character, by William R. Williams. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1850.

We have for some time known *Dr. Williams*, by report, as one of the most learned and eloquent ministers in connection with our Baptist brethren in the U. States. The work before us amply sustains his reputation, and places him, at least as a writer, if not as a pulpit orator, in the ranks of such men as *Melville* and *Channing*, if not of *Robt. Hall* and *Chalmers*. The nine discourses which form this volume, based upon that magnificent sketch of Christian principles contained in 2 Peter 1: 5–7, are not only deserving of the devout study of all classes of christians, whom they are admirably calculated to edify, but may serve as models to the student of theology and the minister of the Gospel whilst aiming at the greatest usefulness and eminence in their "high and holy calling." We here meet with much sound thought, expressed in most fitting words, and beautifully and impressively developing the doctrines of Holy Writ to which they direct attention. We should like very much to give a few extracts, but fear that our limits will scarcely admit of anything of the kind. But the first lecture upon "*Religion as a principle of growth*" (on the words "*Add to your faith*"), so clearly expresses some ideas that we have for some time entertained upon this and kindred subjects, that we cannot forbear from endeavoring to bring together from it a few striking

passages, which at the same time give a fair idea of our author's style. He commences by observing:

"Our age is writing "PROGRESS" on its banners, and sends along the benches of its schools, and the ranks of its combatants, as the watchword of the times: "Onwards." It bids us forget the things that are behind as incomplete and unsatisfactory, and to press forward to those that are yet before us. We believe that the Gospel, and it alone, adequately and to the full content of the heart, meets this deeply seated craving of our times. Religion is a principle of perpetual progress. *Not that it distends and pieces its old creed by constant innovations;* or retracts the severity of its early warnings and restrictions; or makes Fashion its Sinai. Not that it is the docile handmaid of Philosophy, or the contented retainer and serf of worldly rulers, wearing their livery, taking their wages and orders, and acting merely as a higher branch of their police,—a spiritual constabulary force. If it grew thus with the growth of secular systems and governments, it must, on the other hand, share in their decay, and perish in their fall, like a parasite plant blasted by the death of its sturdier supporter." pp. 13–14.

"It is, again, a memorable fact in the present position of Christ's people, that the age is one of *historical research.* The religious controversies of our times seem to transfer themselves into that historic field. The battle with the enemy at the gates soon shifts its scene to the graves of the fathers and the monuments of the old past. * * * As we look on the stalworth, spiritual proportions of these ancient worthies, Christians of our own day seem convicted of comparative degeneracy." pp. 19–20.

"It is an age of eager and rapid discovery in the *Physical Sciences.* * * * And is it thus that Philosophy reforms upon the Bible? No—in the endeavor to outgrow Revelation, it has succeeded in outgrowing reason and brutifying humanity. No—let science perfect yet more her telescopes, and make taller her observatories, and deeper her mines, and more searching her crucibles; all will not undermine Jehovah's throne, or sweep out of the moral heavens the great starlike truths of Revelation, and least of all the Sun of Righteousness. God's omniscience is never to be ultimately brought down to, and schooled by man's nescience, as its last standard and test." pp. 21–23.

We have room for nothing more than barely to add, that some very good criticisms of several points in the text, and interesting elucidations of one or two topics incidentally introduced, may be found in the Appendix at the close of the book.

CHAMBERS' EDUCATIONAL COURSE: *I. Elements of Zoology, or, Natural History of Animals; II. Elements of Physiology. In two parts. (I) Vegetable, (II) Animal Physiology. By Dr. G. Hamilton. III. Reid and Bain's Chemistry and Electricity.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1849.

WE have had these volumes of "Chambers' Educational Course," on hand for several months, waiting for leisure to examine them. This we have even now done but partially, but so far as we have looked into them we find them written in a clear and concise style, and giving the latest results of the several sciences which they present. That upon Zoology is the fullest, and

meets a want that has long been felt in our schools for general education, namely, a good and cheap manual for the study of all departments of the Animal Kingdom, introducing the youthful student to it, and impelling him to cultivate an acquaintance with it by exciting an interest in it and love for it. Cuvier's great work (the Regne Animal) as modified by Professor Grant is the basis of the system here presented, and we are happy to observe the healthy tone of religious feeling which it breathes. We have no doubt, therefore, that by this combination of science and piety the highest interests of education will be promoted, man being elevated by "a nearer acquaintance with the character and attributes of the Creator, whose Almighty power, boundless wisdom and perfect love are displayed in his Works no less clearly than they are set forth in his Word."

New method of learning the German language: embracing both the analytic and synthetic modes of instruction &c. by W. H. Woodbury. *2nd edition.* New York: Mark H. Newman & Co. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. 1851.

We have examined this "new method of learning German," with peculiar interest, both on account of the subject matter itself, and from some knowledge that we have incidentally obtained of its author. Mr. Woodbury's name will at once indicate that he is not a German by descent. Though not a genuine "Yankee" he is a native of the U. States, and had, if we are rightly informed, no knowledge of the German language until, as a young man engaged in comercial pursuits, he found occasion to employ it in his business. His interest in the language increasing with his increasing knowledge of it, he seems to have set himself resolutely to its acquirement. In the course of time, circumstances took him from the centre of Ohio to Germany, where, of course, he had ample opportunity to perfect himself in his favorite study. It is needless to say that, under these circumstances, he, ere long, learned to write and speak the lofty language of Germany with great fluency. His book, therefore, may serve as a specimen of what may be done even by one who commences late in life, in the acquisition of a foreign language.

Mr. W. here gives us the results of his own experience as a learner, and we have no doubt that those who follow his advice will have reason to be satisfied. It is no "royal road," no short cut, no "easy method" that he points out and offers. On the contrary, his plan requires great labor, careful study and constant exercise. And this is, undoubtedly, the secret of success in any thing. The book is one of over 500 pages of closely printed matter intended to give both the practice and the theory of the language. The first, or synthetic, part differs from Ollendorff's method merely in giving German instead of English exercises for the practice of the learner in German composition and conversation. But these are intended to serve as models of similar sentences, which the learner is to form for himself out of elements which the book supplies in sufficient abundance. To the patient and determined student, or with the assistance of an efficient teacher, this plan will doubtless, be productive of the most satisfactory results. But for the young, and for those less resolute in self-improvement, we suspect that Ollendorff's method will be found superior. This, however, is merely an opinion and not the re-

sult of actual experiment. The second part is a very good grammar in the ordinary form, but we consider it a defect, that no attempt is made to familiarize the learner with the irregularities in *gender*, that *crux grammaticorum* in all languages that do not strictly follow the natural gender.

In a word, the book is undoubtedly a good one, and will be an addition to the existing facilities for obtaining a practical acquaintance with that noblest of modern languages—the German.

GERMAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

WE are indebted to Mr. R. Garrigue, bookseller, (at No. 2, Barclay St. N. York) for a copy of the "Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland." This is a weekly publication of 8–16 pp. 8vo. published at Leipzig, the centre of the German book-trade, and containing the title, price, and publisher's name of every work that makes its appearance in Germany. It differs from the "Central-Blatt," to which we have before referred, in not pretending to give an idea of the works published, beyond what may be gleaned from their titles. The first part of the *second* vol. of "*Hengstenberg's Offenbarung des h. Joh.*" has made its appearance, and extends as far as the 15th verse of ch. 20. —*Albert Knapp* has brought out a second edition of his well known collection of hymns *(Liederschatz)*. The work has been entirely re-arranged, and we are pleased to find that he has restored the original text of the older hymns generally, as the numerous changes in the first edition, although often improving their poetical and devotional character, destroyed their value as literary productions. The book (in two vols. large 8vo.) now contains nearly four thousand choice hymns, and is offered at the low price of $2 00. — *C. Tischendorff* has brought out an edition of the Septuagint in vols. which (bound) R. Garrigue offers at $4 50.—Dr. *K. Zimmerman's* edition of "*Luthers Reformatorische Schriften* in chronologischer Folge" u. s. w. in 7 vols. are also offered for sale by the same bookseller at $5 50.—Dr. *H. E. Bindseil* continues Bretschneider's "Corpus Reformatorum" by bringing out vol. XVI. of his complete edition of Melanchthon's works (Phil. Melanchthonis opera quae supersunt omnia).—An additional volume of the sermons of the late *Bp. Dräseke* (Predigten über d. Brief d. Jacobus) is announced as forthcoming under the superintendence of his son, T. H. T. Dräseke.—Dr. J. H. Kurtz is republishing, in a separate form, his "Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttestamentlichen Cultus," which originally appeared in Rudelbach u. Guericke's Zeitschrift. — Dr. H. Steinthal has edited the Koptic Grammar of the late Prof. Schwartze. — The notorious Bruno Bauer has brought out, as a second supplement to his "Criticism of the Gospels," a "Kritik der Paulinischen Briefe." — The 2nd No. of Dr. H. Berghaus' translation of "Catlin's North American Indians" is announced as having left the press; as also the 5th vol. of a translation of select works of Dr. Channing edited by Schultze and Lydon.

Elements of Latin Pronunciation, for the use of students in language, law, medicine, &c. &c. By S. S. Haldeman, A. M., Prof. of Natural History in the University of Pa. Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co. 1851.

This little treatise of Prof. Haldeman well deserves the attention, not only of incipient students, but equally of mature scholars. It is, indeed, very common to represent the pronunciation of the Latin, as well as other so-called "dead languages," as not only irretrievably lost, but as in itself of no importance. We do not believe that either of these positions is tenable. In our use of these languages we must pronounce them in some way, and it is certainly desirable that this way should be as nearly true to nature as may be. There is, as all scholars begin daily more and more to feel, *a philosophy of language*, fixed laws in accordance with which both the sound and the sense of this great medium of thought and communication between mind and mind, yea even between God and the human soul, are evolved. Writing was primarily designed to represent to the eye those sounds by which thought was communicated from mind to mind, and it is in the form of spoken and audible words that language receives its highest perfection, and accomplishes the grand object for which it was at first devised. It is, therefore, highly desirable that written language, or words, when reproduced, or read, should be altered in the tone, or sound, that originally belonged to them. Otherwise, one of the constituents of the word is lost, and the perfection of nature is destroyed—one of its elements of beauty is removed, and it is vain to say that it is of no importance.—Just as well might it be said that the green tints of the forest leaves, or the gay plumage of birds, or the perfume of summer flowers might be taken away without any injury to the objects to which they belong. Moreover, as scholars communicate with each other orally as well as in writing, *uniformity* is desirable in their pronunciation of the same terms, as no one can take pleasure in a babel of tongues at a literary convention now, any more than may have been the case at the building of the tower upon the plains of Shinar some three thousand years ago. The same thing is also to be said in reference to the instruction of pupils. Why should not the teacher, if possible, give them a correct pronunciation, and, if that is not attainable, why should not the same pronunciation, approximating as nearly as may be to the true, be every where communicated? But our business now is, more particularly, with Prof. Haldeman's tract.

This is, undoubtedly, one of the most important contributions to this branch of comparative philology that has ever been published by an American scholar. Though very brief in its compass and unpretending in its claims, and restricted to a single branch of the subject, it does much towards laying the foundation of the science of comparative philology upon a safe basis. The first object is, indeed, merely to ascertain the proper, that is, the original pronunciation of the Latin language, but in connection with this, though incidentally, the general nature of spoken and written sounds, and the affinities of languages in this respect, are discussed in a very interesting, suggestive and satisfactory manner. This was almost an inevitable result of the circumstances in which this essay originated. These are stated by Prof. H. as fol-

lows: "In making some inquiries into the phonetic peculiarities of the aboriginal languages of N. America, I found myself at a loss, from the want of an alphabet in which to record my results, those of Europe being more or less corrupt; and finding the statements respecting the Latin alphabet to a certain extent unsatisfactory and contradictory, I resolved to investigate it, with the intention of using it strictly according to its Latin signification, as far as this could be ascertained." p. 4. The relations of Latin pronunciation to the pronunciation of other languages were, therefore, necessarily involved in this inquiry, and this fact makes its appearance upon every page of the work before us.

After some "Preliminary Remarks," and an Introduction setting forth the occasion of of the work, the mode in which the investigation has been conducted, some fundamental principles, and the general results at which he has arrived, Prof. H. proceeds to discuss: 1) the Latin alphabet generally, as to the signs which it employs to represent sounds; 2) the vowels; 3) the nasals; 4) the diphthongs (dipthongs?); 5) labial consonants; 6) dentals; 7) palatals; 8) gutturals; and 9) glottal consonants. A number of valuable notes, discussing many of the most interesting topics involved, are also appended. This discussion is presented in a very thorough and satisfactory, though simple and unpretending manner; and every where bears evidence that the author is at home in his subject. We notice, however, an occasional misapprehension of the correct pronunciation of languages with which the author has, perhaps, had no opportunity of familiarizing himself. For instance, the Swedish words *kista* and *kink* are treated as though they were pronounced as they would be in English, whereas it is a peculiarity of the Swedish *k*, before *i* and vowels of the same class, to change into the aspirate *tsh*, thus, *tshis-ta tshink*. This relation of the Swedish *kista* and our English word *chest* or *tshist*, we may observe, en passant, leads us to the inference, that we are to look for their origin, not in the Latin *cista* or Greek κιστη, but in the common root of the Indo-European languages.

The statements, (upon pp. 17 and 18), as to the general powers of the Latin vowels, and their length and shortness are remarkably clear, and we believe correct, and deserve to be thoroughly studied by students who would master this subject. For the sake of beginners the matter might be presented in this way: A is long when pronounced as in *arm* = āārm; short, as in *ărt*. Reverse this process and say *ărm* or *āărt* (*art*) and it will be readily perceived how great is the difference.

The anatomy of the sounds, that is the description of the physical process by which they are formed in the position of the throat, tongue, teeth and lips and the mode in which the breath is impelled over them and modified by them, is also well executed. No mode is so effective in securing a correct pronunciation of a foreign language as for the teacher to describe and show the organic process. A German may thus, without much difficulty, be taught to pronounce both forms af the English *th*, and the English cockney might soon

be shown, though he is so slow to hear the difference between the sounds of *v* and of *w*.

The section on "The Nasal Vowels," is, to us, the most unsatisfactory part of the work, nothing being said as to the circumstances under which the vowels preceding *m* and *n* become nasal. Nor is the section [*242] upon "The guttural nasal N G" quite as full and explicit, as we should like to see it. The anatomy of nasality which is given in § 100, where it is said, that it "is made by pronouncing the letter with the nasal passage open," does not seem to describe the whole process, the throat and central part of the tongue evidently modifying the action or enunciation very materially.

Perhaps the most interesting, and, so far as we are aware, the most original part of the discussion is that upon the letter v. Prof. H. agrees with Pennington and some others, that "The Roman v was probably our w." The arguments adduced in favor of this position are certainly very strong. The fact that in Latin v and w were anciently represented by the same sign affords a strong presumption in favor of this. No two souuds are more distinct than v and w, the former being made by bringing the upper teeth down upon the lower lips, and expelling the breath through the opening as soon as the teeth are raised from the lips, whilst the latter depends upon the round opening of the lips, just as the o͞o (u) sound does, the difference being, that the lips are more protruded to form the w than for the formation of the o͞o (ʊ). Thus we can easily see how *tenūis* may be contracted into *tenwis*, but would be unable to account for its passing over into such a form as *tenvis*. So *silua* may become *silwa* but not *silva*. Crassus might well think *cauneas* (*cawneas*) a contraction for "*cawe ne eas*," but not for "*cave ne eas*." The analogy of the English too is greatly in favor of the idea that v was sounded as w. Thus *vallum*=wall; *vado*=wade; *vasto*=waste; *via*=way; *vermis* =worm; *vespa*=wasp; *vĭnum*—wine; &c. &c. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the German analogy is almost as strong in favor of the v sound of the letter in question; the German w approximating towards the v. Still it may be argued, that the English language has been more influenced by the Latin than the German, and the presumpiion is fair that it would reproduce it more faithfully.

But we cannot pretend to follow Prof. Haldeman through the whole of his interesting discussion, in this brief notice. We would merely reiterate our satisfaction with the manner in which he has, generally, executed his work, and express the hope, that we may soon see a more elaborate work from him upon the more recondite parts of his subject. His lectures upon the structnre of language, before the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, last winter, have been spoken of by the highest authority as no ordinary production. We know that he has for some time been engaged in preparing a work upon the "Organism of speech." To the appearance of this we look forward with interest, not in the least doubting that it will greatly add not only to his present high reputation in another department of Natural History, but that

it will be a valuable contribution to this department of literature (Comparative Philology), which we rejoice to find daily exciting a deeper interest.

London Labor, and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. With Daguerreotype Engravings taken by Beard. Parts I, II, III, IV. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, No. 82 Cliff St.

IT is a common saying, that "one half of the world knows not how the other half lives." Glimpses we sometimes get into the sad scenes of abject poverty, or the dark purlieus of vice and crime: but, in general, great ignorance prevails in the different classes of human society respecting each other's mode of living, each other's enjoyments and sufferings. The writer of the work, of which the first four parts are before us, has here undertaken to enlighten the reading public respecting the condition, in all its varied aspects, of the poor in the British metropolis. He has arranged the subjects of his inquiries under three prominent classes, with a number of subdivisions: he has been at immense pains to ascertain and thoroughly to authenticate his facts, and he turns his materials to good account. We have, as yet, only the first four parts, which treat of only one section of "the Street-folks," viz.: "the costermongers": the picture he places before us, is truly startling, and worse, no doubt, is to come. The subject presented, is one of deep and sad interest: some of its features are positively appalling. It is to be hoped that the publication will accomplish the writer's design, and be fruitful of good; that it will give definite aims to the efforts of British philanthropists, and awaken throughout the more favored classes of England a lively and active sympathy in behalf of their suffering and neglected poor, and lead to benevolent and permanently operative measures for their relief and improvement. We are much gratified to learn, that the interest which he has awakened is so great, that so large an amount of contributions for the benefit of coster-mongers is pouring in upon him, as to render necessary the employment of a special agent, for the purpose of relieving the needy by means of loans and otherwise. Even in the populous cities of this prosperous land, conditions like those here depicted either extensively prevail, or are, as yet, only in their incipiency. Should not this publication arouse inquiry among us also, and impress us with the wisdom and practical importance of the old maxim, that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure?" We look with deep interest for the forthcoming numbers, and commend them to the attention of christian men and women, who obey the divine precept: "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

Malleville. A Franconia Story. By the Author of the Rollo Books. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St.

THIS is the first volume of another series of kooks for young people, by the inexhaustible and indefatigable Jacob Abbott. The order of the present series is as follows: Malleville: Wallace: Mary Erskine: Mary Bell: Beechnut. The philosophy which has guided the author in the preparation of these

volumes, is briefly stated in the first sentence of his preface: "The development of the moral sentiments in the human heart, in early life — and every thing, in fact, which relates to the formation of character,—is determined in a far greater degree by sympathy, and by the influence of example, than by formal precepts and didactic instruction." With this principle, long familiar to all who know about education, in view, Mr. Abbot is here again exhibiting that extraordinary talent for exerting a most salutary moral influence on the hearts and dispositions of his young readers, in a manner exceedingly attractive and entertaining, which rendered his earlier productions in the same direction so extensively popular and useful. His books can be most cordially recommended to all who have children to train in the way in which they should go.

Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus. By Elias Loomis, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of the city of New York, Author of "A Treatise on Algebra;" "Elements of Geometry and Conic Sections;" "Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, with their Applications to Mensuration, Surveying, and Navigation;" "Recent Progress of Astronomy," &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

Professor Loomis is unquestionably one of the ablest mathematicians (using this term its most comprehensive sense) in our country, as is amply certified by his numerous and excellent publications. The present work, like its predecessors, is characterized by great clearness, by a thorough development of fundamental principles, by a rigid adherence to a well-digested method, and presents all that fullness of explication so much desiderated in a treatise on a subject so abstruse. The book has been written "expressly for the mass of college-students of average abilities:" and for such we know not where a more admirable text-book could be found. We commend it to the favorable consideration of all who give instruction in this department of study.

Nile Notes of a Howadji. New York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

This is the somewhat quaint title of a quaint but very delightful book, by a young New Yorker, who recently made the tour of the Nile, and has here recorded his observations, or rather the feelings and thoughts to which they gave rise. The book is entirely sui generis: it is written in a strain and style which, at the first glance, may seem affected, but, upon closer acquaintance, prove to be the genuine utterances of a thoughtful but somewhat eccentric mind, holding pleasant converse with itself upon the manifold novelties of Egyptian scenery and society. Our American Howadji — the Turkish word for traveller, — without making any parade of learning, betrays his extensive reading, his familiarity with Eastern history, and with classic lore; very important of course, to any one travelling in the East. The book has been liken-

ed to a poem: *we* are impressed by it, as by a great rolling panorama. It is a great and brilliant picture, unrolling slowly its diversified scenery, squalid at one time, and again splendid, before our eyes, each scene, each group, each figure accompanied by the ingenious, acute artistic descriptions, explanations, narrations, anecdotical gossipings, caustic satires, and moralizings of the exhibitor. It is by no means a common book of travels. It is rich in varied pencilings, and in solid, sensible thoughts, often singular in their conception, and somewhat oddly expressed: the whole constitutes a most agreeable, interesting, and instructive volume. Its external garb is very beautiful.

The Life and Times of John Calvin, the great Reformer. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D. D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin. By Henry Stebbing, D. D., F. R., Author of "History of the Church and Reformation," in Lardner's Cyclopaedia; "History of the Church of Christ from the Diet of Augsburg"; Lives of the Italian Poets" etc. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 285, Broadway. 1851.

THE copious fulness of this work may be estimated from the fact, that the first volume in large 8vo., now before us, numbers over 500 pp.—The author, an eminent divine of the Reformed church in Germany, has bestowed upon it the unwearying labor of many years. In order to the production of so extensive a biography, great research was requisite; and this has been prosecuted with indefatigable industry and zeal, and a corresponding success. Proceeding from a Calvinistic divine, the work places Calvin before us in a far more favorable light than that by Dyer, which we recently noticed. While there are some points on which we can scarcely be expected to agree with the author, we are anxious to do justice to his general candor and impartiality. Though an ardent admirer of Calvin, he is not blind to his errors and faults; and though he endeavors to account for these and to excuse them, he does not seek to conceal or to justify them. That his estimate of Calvin's greatness and importance should be higher than ours, is only what we naturally expect and cannot censure. It is a most ample, elaborate, and faithful work, as free from bias as we have any right to look for from a devoted disciple: the rich materials are thoroughly digested into a well-ordered, judiciously constructed whole, the entire arrangement being natural and clear, and the narrative flowing and dignified. The work cannot fail to be attractive and deeply interesting to ministers and laymen of all denominations.

The Women of Israel. By Grace Aguilar, author of "Woman's Friendship," "Mother's Recompense," "Vale of Cedars," &c. In two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

THE author of these two volumes is a lady who has already achieved no small degree of literary distinction. It may be as well to state, that she

is herself an Israelite, with heart and soul staunch and true to Moses and the people of the Old Covenant. The reader must not therefore look into her work for any sympathy with Christianity: the design of her somewhat lengthy introduction, and of her long concluding chapter, is most emphatically the glorification of Judaism. Yet she betrays no hostility to Christianity, but labors only to vindicate her faith from reproaches, in her estimation unmerited; and to claim for the Jewish church merits, to which she regards her as exclusively entitled. So far, however, as we have had time to examine, we are not aware that much of this appears in the main body of the work. She begins with our common mother Eve, thereupon proceeds to Sarah, and then takes up the wives of the other patriarchs, and all the Israelitish women in any way distinguished, down to Berenice, drawing, unfolding, and analyzing their characters, expatiating on their good and their evil qualities, relating their lives in ample detail, presenting much historical information, and a great deal of acute, just, and profitable reflection, and holding up her heroines as examples to instruct and stimulate, or to caution and warn. The work is most ably written, and presents a large amount of most interesting reading.

Louisiana; Its Colonial History and Romance. By Charles Gayarre. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

Here we have a large 8vo. volume of lectures upon one of the most romantic sections of American history, delivered to select audiences in New Orleans, by one of her most accomplished sons. If the early history of every newly discovered country, just beginning to be settled by civilized men in the midst of savages, abounds in romantic incidents, and chivalrous exploits, this is eminently true of the history of Louisiana, which was first settled by the mercurial, enterprizing, often recklessly daring French. The author himself very appropriately, prefixes to his lectures the title: "The Poetry, or the Romance of the History of Louisiana." Possessing a keen relish for the poetic or romantic element in history, he has made himself thoroughly familiar with every thing of this description connected with the French colonies in North America, and exhibits much tact and taste in the conduct of his narrative; a lively imagination, governed by a generous and healthy sensibility, chastened by a just regard for the claims of religion, guided by a quick ingenuity, and aided by a ready pen, eminently qualifies him to distinguish himself in this species of composition. We cordially commend to our readers this volume, so replete with the most engaging and interesting details of romantic history, combined with much valuable information respecting the character, condition, superstitions and customs of the Indian nations who inhabited the Southern portion of North America. It cannot fail to be a most popular book.

Rose Douglass: or, The Autobiography of a Minister's Daughter. By S. R. W. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

THE Preface speaks of this volume as presenting a true narrative, and actual experiences. *If it be* a work of fiction, it is only to be regretted that all novels do not resemble it. It is a pure, sweet, delightful book, thoroughly imbued with sound religious principle, and warm religious feeling, exhibiting genuine Christian life, and can therefore be safely recommended, as fitted to exert a most salutary influence.

Readings for every Day in Lent. Compiled from the Writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. By the author of "Amy Herbert," "The Child's first History of Rome," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

THE title of this book is alone sufficient to recommend it to those who love devotional reading. It presents, for each of the forty-seven days of Lent, an appropriate selection from the writings of that humble and devout man of God, Jeremy Taylor, concluding with a brief prayer having special reference to the subject dwelt upon in the reflections to which it is appended. "The subjects selected have been such as seemed likely to lead from Repentance and Self-examination, to growth in Grace and Christian Perfection." Though specially designed for a particular season, those who are earnestly striving to cultivate and maintain, in their daily walk and conversation, a spirit of true and lively devotion, will find it at all times a welcome companion, a wise counsellor, a gentle, but most serious and solemn monitor. We commend it to christians, as a volume well fitted for the exercises of the retired closet.

First Lessons in Composition, in which the Principles of the Art are developed in connection with the Principles of Grammar; embracing full Directions on the subject of Punctuation; with copious Exercises. By G. P. Quackenbos, A. M., Rector of the Henry St. Grammar School. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

THIS book is designed not only to teach composition, but to serve as a first book in Grammar. The only fault we have to find, is, that it adheres too closely to the erroneous nomenclature which has been so long in use. Thus, e. g. it persists in designating adjectives that denote possession, by the term "pronouns"; and to show that they stand instead of nouns, it illustrates thus: "John respects John's father, John's mother, and John's teacher," placing the possessive case of the noun instead of the adjective *his*. But, the grammarians to the contrary notwithstanding, these words do *not* stand instead of nouns, and are, therefore, *no* pronouns. How would the author illustrate their pronominal character in such examples as these? I respect my father: Thou respectest thy father: is it thus? I respect I's father: Thou respectest thou's

father:—then would they be pronouns representing pronouns. Or is it thus? I, William, respect William's father: Thou, Peter, respectest Peter's father. How can this be, when I is first, and Thou, second person, and William's and Peter's are third person? In short, the whole affair is one of those absurdities in which books on grammar have so long abounded. But in this the work before us is not singular; it only follows in the footsteps of those which have preceded it. Bating these long familiar grammatical oddities, the work admirably supplies a desideratum long felt: being the production of a successful teacher, it is the result of much experience. It certainly renders the study of grammar not only easy, but interesting, to beginners, and teaches them the art of composition by such natural gradations, and judicious methods, as greatly to facilitate its acquisition. Among books intended for beginners it is decidedly superior to any manual of the kind that we have yet seen.

Christ in Hades: A Poem. *By William W. Lord.* Κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἅδην. *Symbolum Anthanasianum.—He descended into Hell. The Apostles' Creed*—"Mortem suscepisse et vicisse, intrasse inferos et redisse, venisse in jura Tartari, et Tartari jura solvisse, non est fragilitas, sed Protestas."—*Pet. Chrysologus.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851

The greatest misfortune of this poem is, that it provokes comparison with Milton's great epic: another is, that it mingles the names and fabulous characters of the ancient mythology, with the names, characters, and spirit-powers of Scripture. For the first the author is not to blame; for the second he is. But, winking at this as an excusable anomaly, we cannot but concede that the work evinces great power. It exhibits great breadth and strength of conception in its characters and scenes: the plan of the whole is skilfully developed; the grouping is striking and impressive; the imagery appropriately bright or gloomy, as the respective scenes demand: a genuine poetic inspiration, pervaded by a hightoned seriousness of religious thought, and depth of religious feeling, animates the whole. The poem has unquestionably great merit, and will add not a little to the reputation of the already distinguished author.

The Irish Confederates, and the Rebellion of 1798. *By Henry M. Field. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St.* 1851.

This work commences with a brief sketch of Irish History from the earliest times, which, though necessarily very succinct, is exceedingly well written, and to general readers will be quite satisfactory. It exhibits, fairly, fully, and forcibly, the reasons why the Irish hate the English: and that they should hate them, bitterly and intensely, no man who knows what human nature is, and who reads this sketch, will any longer wonder. Surely, no people in the world were ever more wretchedly misgoverned, more atrociously abused, than the Irish have been by the English. The book presents, in several chapters, biographical memoirs, and characteristics, of Curran, Theobald Wolfe Tone,

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the Emmets, and other distinguished Irish patriots. The narrative of the rise, progress, successes, and reverses, and termination of the Rebellion of 1798, is clear, candid, copious, spirited, and deeply interesting. Altogether, the work with its historical details its personal portraitures, memoirs, reminiscences, and anecdotes, its warm sympathy with American history and institutions, its frank and generous recognition of the relations subsisting between our country and Ireland, is one of deep and stirring interest. The author has brought to his task a clear head and, a warm heart, and a ready pen; and his book will, doubtless, attract much attention, and deepen the interest which our people take in the fate of Ireland.

The Works of Horace; with English Notes. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By J. L. Lincoln, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St.

IN this edition of Horace, Professor Lincoln gives the text of Orelli, and all the most important various readings. The notes are very full, judicious, scholarly and satisfactory. We should prefer a thoroughly expurgated edition, as no other author needs sifting more than Horace. The mechanical execution is admirable, and altogether, the volume has strong claims to the favorable regard of instructers and students.

Manual of Modern Geography and History. By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Duren, Author of "Manual of Ancient Geography and History," &c. Translated from the German by the Rev. R. B. Paul, M. A., Vicar of St. Augustine's, Bristol, and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. — First American, revised and corrected from the London Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia, Geo. S. Appleton. 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

"THE present volume completes the series of Pütz's Manuals of Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern Geography and History." The first two of these volumes we have already very favorably noticed, and, mutatis mutandis, we may speak in terms equally commendatory of the present publication, as an excellent classbook. School-books in this department must, of necessity, always leave a great deal to be supplied, viva voce, by the teacher; and, for a manual containing what is to be committed to memory, the volume before us is just copious enough: "In the American Edition several improvements have been made; the sections relating to America and the United States have been almost entirely re-written, and materially enlarged and improved." We recommend the work to teachers in academies and schools, as, in all respects eminently adapted to the purposes of instruction in this important branch of study.

Nature and Blessedness of Christian Purity. By Rev. R. S. Foster. With an Introduction, by Edmund S. Janes, D. D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

In this work, the subject of christian purity is considered entirely from the Methodist Stand-point, and it is scarcely necessary for us to say, that we do not subscribe to the Methodist theory of sinless perfection. Looking away, however, from this point of difference between us and our Methodist brethren, we are quite ready to bear witness that the book is written in an excellent spirit, and displays considerable ability in the discussion and enforcement of great practical truths. It may be read with profit even by those who do not assent to the theory which it so strenuously advocates.

The Young Ladies' Guide to French Composition. By Gustave Chouquet. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia, G. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1851.

This work is all in French, with the exception of a few words given in a series of exercises. The first part, a "Traité de Rhétorique Générale," seems to us very excellent, enriched with many apt and striking illustrations. The second part, consisting of a variety of exercises in writing and reading French, is admirably adapted to lead pupils to the acquisition of a ready skill in the use of this elegant language. The method of instruction is new, and likely, we think, to prove very profitable to advanced pupils, under the guidance of a judicious and experienced teacher. The work has strong claims upon the favorable attention of the lovers of French.

The Autobiography and Memorials of Captain Obadiah Congar. For forty Years Mariner and Shipmaster from the Port of New York. By Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Author of "The Island World of the Pacific," and "The Whale and his Captors." New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

There is a solemn interest in the history of every human heart, and there is not one among the crowds around us, whose inward experiences, if recorded, would not be rich in instruction, either encouraging, or warning (awfully so, often) in its character. And it is at all times, in every instance, of special interest, to trace "the rise and progress of religion in the soul." Of these truisms the volume before us furnishes an admirable and most engaging illustration. It details the life of a man unknown to fame, but nobly distinguished among those devoted to his vocation for his sterling excellences, the development of his religious life, the firmness of his religious profession, the consistency of his religious practice, the simple dignity of his christian character, and the unwearied usefulness of his unobtrusive career. To those who love to contemplate illustrations of the power of faith, this volume will be a welcome visitor: not only to sea-faring men, but to readers of every

class, this life of Captain Congar, narrated from his own journal, will be highly instructive, and afford, in its earnest pursuit of duty, in its beautiful consistency and its steady progressiveness, a worthy example for imitation. The volume is calculated to do great good, wherever it may be read.

HARPER'S New Monthly Magazine has been brought to the close of the second volume, in other words, of its first year. The success of this publication is perfectly unexampled in the history of periodicals. It is an admirable miscellany, presenting a large amount of instructive and profitable matter of permanent interest and value, and the lighter reading is unexceptionable in its character. May it continue to thrive and flourish!

Dealings with the Inquisition; or, Papal Rome, her Priests, and her Jesuits. With important Disclosures. By the Rev. Giacinto Achilli, D. D., Late Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, Head Professor of Theology, and Vicar of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, No. 82 Cliff St. 1851.

THE author of this work has become widely known, through the narrative of his imprisonment &c. in the dungeons of the Inquisition. We have read the whole of the present volume with the deepest interest. It exhibits in full the train of research, reflection, and experience, through which the author was led to the renunciation of Popery, while still a high dignitary in the church of Rome; narrates his intercourse and gives his conversations with other Romish priests, some of whom sympathized and agreed with, while others opposed and persecuted him; it sets forth, in strong light, the abuses and corruptions of the Papal See and church, details a multitude of official experiences, and recounts his dealings with the Inquisition, which is not dead, but only skulks in secret. Although not free from a slight tinge of self-complacency, and of ultra-protestantism, the work is most ably written, and its disclosures, when we consider by whom they are made, are not only highly interesting, but exceedingly important. We regard the publication of this book and the facts which it discloses, as ominous of Rome's approaching fate; as evidence that, however insolent and encroaching it be just now, the papal hierarchy is in a very tottering condition. Dr. Achilli has become an ardent Protestant, and his work deserves the serious attention of Protestant Christians.

A Greek Grammar for the use of High-Schools and Universities, by Philip Buttmann. Revised and enlarged by his Son, Alexander Buttmann. Translated from the eighteenth German Edition, by Edward Robinson. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

ALL that this work requires at our hands is a notice of its existence in an English translation, in our midst. It is well known, that the elder Buttmann was, during his life, at the head of the grammarians of Germany: the son is worthy of his sire, and the translator is justly celebrated as one of the

most eminent scholars of our land. It affords us inexpressible satisfaction that such a translation has been produced and first published in the U. States. It is, of course, not as copious as the "Ausführliche Sprachlehr," the great thesaurus of Greek grammar, from the same author, which would not be adapted to the purposes of instruction. The work before us is an 8vo. volume of over 500 pp. There is nothing in the English language that can be at all compared with it: no genuine admirer, no faithful student of Greek, can consent to be without it.

Harper's New York and Erie Rail-road Guide-Book: containing a Description of the Scenery, Rivers, Towns, Villages, and most important Works on the Road. With one hundred and thirty-six engravings, by Lossing and Barritt; from original Sketches made expressly for this Work by Wm. Macleod. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St.

This is a most seasonable publication, following, as it does, close upon the heel of the opening of the great rail-way from New York through to Dunkirk, on lake Erie. The engravings are handsomely executed, presenting the most striking views of the road and its adjacent scenery: the descriptions are clear, full, picturesque and vivid, interspersed with rich details of fact and anecdote: the letter-press is beautiful, and the whole is indispensable to the traveller on this great thoroughfare: we would as soon think of travelling over the New York and Erie rail-road without eyes as without this book.

The Philosophy of Mathematics; *Translated from the Cours de Philosophie Positive of Augusta Comte, By W. M. Gillespie, Professor of Civil Engineering, and Adj. Prof. of Mathematics in Union College.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

We rejoice that an American scholar has undertaken and so ably executed a translation of the above named work, which has been so favorably received and so highly commended by the first scientific men of Europe. It is one of the six volumes of which the whole "Cours de Philosophie Positive" consists; but, devoted to one department, it is complete in itself. We quote the following from the translator's Preface: "Mill, in his 'Logic,' calls the work of M. Comte 'by far the greatest yet produced on the philosophy of the sciences;' and adds, 'of this admirable work, one of the most admirable portions is that in which he may truly be said to have created the Philosophy of the Higher Mathematics.'" Morell, in his 'Speculative Philosophy of Europe,' says: 'The classification given of the sciences at large, and their regular order of development, is unquestionably a master-piece of scientific thinking, as simple as it is comprehensive.'" After such testimonies, we need only add, that for comprehensiveness of scope, for clearness of statement and exposition, for breadth of inquiry and depth of thought, we esteem it superior to any work in this department of science with which we are acquainted; and we agree with the translator, in regarding its presentation in the present form as a most useful contribution to mathematicat progress in this country.

A HISTORY OF GREECE, *From the earliest Times to the Destruction of Corinth, B. C.* 146; *mainly based upon that of Connop Thirlwall, D. D., Bishop of St. David's. By Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, F. R. S. E., Rector of the Highschool of Edinburgh, and author of "A History of Rome from the earliest Times to the Death of Commodus, A. D.* 192." *New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, No.* 82 *Cliff St.* 1851.

DR. SCHMITZ is so well known as a first-rate pedagogue, that any aids which he may furnish for the business of instruction can scarcely require any recommendations from others. He tells us, on the title-page and in the preface, that he has based the work now before us mainly on Bishop Thirlwall's great History of Greece, which is, we believe, universally admitted to present the most complete and life-like "picture of that remarkable nation, the Hellenes." In the present volume the work of abridgment and condensation has been performed with great skill, with just discrimination, with good taste, and with that clear perception of what is adapted to the wants of higher schools and colleges, which betokens the experienced practical teacher. The work is sufficiently copious of detail to render it very acceptable to general readers, whose want of leisure or of means deprives them of the satisfaction of reading more extended histories, whilst, as a class-book for schools and colleges, it is neither more nor less than what is wanted. A 10mo. vol. of over 500 pp., it is far more extended than the pitiful epitomes which have so long been in use, yet by no means more than is needed in a portion of history so interesting and important. Let those who are employed in teaching history examine and judge for themselves.

The Fitness of Holy Scripture for Unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men. II. Christ the Desire of all nations; or the unconscious prophecies of Heathendom: being the Hulsean Lectures for 1845 *and* 1846: *By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A.; from 2nd London Edition, revised by the author.* Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1850. 12mo. pp. 322.

THE works of Trench are among the most interesting and valuable additions which have been recently made to English Theology. He has been taught in the better school of Germanic thought, and shows, not only on every page but in every sentence, that he has penetrated to a real acquaintance with the views which he embodies. There is great light and force in his writings; and though we find in them little that is positively new, we discover much which must strike the English reader as eminently original.

The Hulsean Lectures are not unworthy of his reputation. The best parts especially of the series for 1845, will probably be regarded as more striking than any thing which has yet come from his pen. It is refreshing to see the old beaten track of English Apologetics deserted, and views presented which have some bearing on the forms of unbelief actually prevailing. The old view of Watson and Paley had fairly been worked out. The sort of infidelity which they attacked, has not only been overthrown but annihilated. New species of infidelity have arisen; and to meet these in part, the Lectures of

Trench have been prepared. Much of his argument is of that interesting kind which results from a concession of all the statements of an adversary, and a demonstration from them that all his principles are false. After an Introductory Lecture he treats of the Unity, the Manifoldness, the Advance, the past Development, the Inexhaustibility, the Fruitfulness, and the Future Development of Scripture. Of these Lectures we were pleased most with the one on the Unity, and least with that on the fruitfulness of Scripture; but there is not one of them which is not rich and deeply interesting.

The style of these lectures is far from being a model of good English, but it has great force — always reveals a clear meaning when closely examined — and is very rich in illustrations. Trench has evidently aimed in his studies at combining a knowledge of the old with that of the new. Every thing he writes bears a powerful impress received from the theology of that "people who not in blood only, but in much besides, are most akin to us (the English) of all the nations of Europe"; and his notes are among the happiest modern illustrations of the felicitous use to which the fathers may be turned.

The train of argument in the second course of Lectures does not possess the interest of the first—not from any defect in handling, but because of the nature of the subject. The argument in the first course was derived from the life of Christianity itself. It was designed to show the "fitness of Holy Scripture for unfolding the spiritual life of men," through all generations. The second proposes to show Christ to be the End or fulfilment of all that was true in the longings of the Gentile world. The same argument, though not precisely in the same form, has been handled by the older Apologists, viz. by Grotius, for instance in his book "De Veritate."

After the Introductory Lecture, we have, "The Vanquisher of Hades," "The Son of God," "The Perfect Sacrifice," "The Restorer of Paradise," "The Redeemer from Sin," "The Founder of a Kingdom." The work closes with an admirable Lecture on the moral uses connected with a proper study of Heathen Antiquity.

Though we have said that the second part will not on the whole compare in interest with the first, we do not mean to imply that it is not well worth reading. We do not expect to see any thing from the pen of Trench, of which *that* can of truth be said. The hold which his writings are taking upon those who read, would add a proof if any were needed, that the day has actually come when the Germanic mind is beginning to find capable interpreters in the English language—that its deep, and on all sides masterly, theology is destined to renovate the churches of England and America, and that the hour is at hand when no man will be acknowledged as having the culture necessary for a great teacher of Christianity in this age, who is not thoroughly versed in its language and literature.

Trench is Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. The other works by which he is favorably known are Notes on the Parables, Notes on the Miracles, and "The Star in the East"; and each of them may be said to be on the whole the most valuable work on its subject which has come from an English hand.

FAUST: A Tragedy, *by J. W. von Goethe. Translated into English verse by J. Birch, Esq. Embellished with twenty-nine Engravings on steel, after Moritz Retszch. London and Leipzig*, 1842. 8vo. *pp.* xvii. 276. *Do. Second Part.* 1843. *pp.* xxxiv. 342, xcvi. *Eleven Engravings after Retszch.*

THIS work is remarkable for the exquisite beauty of its typography, and the happy transfer of those amazing outlines of Retszch, which give to the English reader a more perfect idea of what Faust is, than any translation whatsoever could. We question whether Goethe himself could see the wonders of his own work perfectly without having seen these outlines.—Hayward's prose translation of Faust embraced only the first part, though he added a fine review of the second. The first attempt at a translation of the second part, after being issued at Dumfries in 1838, appeared from the press of Pickering in 1842. It is metrical, and has not mastered the difficulties of the task — nor will they ever be mastered. We believe that Birch is the only translator of the whole of Faust, though at least seven translations of the first part had preceded his. He goes through his work with a placid jog-trot, sometimes doing pretty well, but on the whole, even when taken with his many coworkers, leaving it a fixed fact that there is an absolute necessity, if you wish to enter into the most remarkable (Heaven forbid we should say the best) poem the world has ever seen, that you should *master* the German language. *Master* it we say, and nothing will more thoroughly test and in some respects reward a mastery than this strange poem — this mingling of blasphemy and simple songs of piety, of low drollery and of the most common-place vulgarities of superstition, with the highest sublimities of poetry, of gross lasciviousness and pointless riddles, with those revelations of human nature and those beautiful and terrible touches of art which call forth all that is tender and fearful in the passions of men. No man is likely to be better or happier for reading Faust. Its author was a heartless voluptuary, and we have yet to read a single work of his which does not leave a stronger impression of his depravity than of his genius.

Hymns selected and original for public and private worship.— Published by the General Synod for the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Sixtieth edition. First revised edition. Hymns 1024. *pp.* 671. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz.

WE hail with sincere pleasure the appearance of the new edition of the Hymn Book, and although, from the well known qualifications of the Chairman of the Committee, Rev. Dr. Reynolds, upon whom the labor principally devolved, and the attention he had given the subject, much was expected; yet we are certain these expectations have been more than realized. We have been much gratified with our examination of the work, and cannot refrain from expressing our admiration of the labors of the committee, which have been brought to so successful an issue. No one, without a careful examination of the volume or an attentive comparison of the changes made, can form an adequate idea of the improvements or the amount of labor expended upon the work. Hymns, altogether deficient in literary merit, or contrary to sound crit-

icism, or correct taste, have been removed; objectionable stanzas have been rejected; ungrammatical phraseology corrected; necessary verbal changes made; known deficiencies supplied; and suitable hymns substituted in the place of those removed. The old book, although we were attached to it and regarded it as an excellent collection, contained numerous blemishes and every unprejudiced mind saw that it was susceptible of improvement. Perhaps we now have one of the best selections of Hymns to be met with in the English language, admirably adapted to the purposes of both public and private worship, and suited to every variety of occasion and circumstance. The volume will surely be rendered more generally acceptable and more extensively useful; and we congratulate the church upon what has been accomplished. We leave the work, with sincere respect for the abilities of the distinguished Editor, with deep gratitude for the service he has rendered, and with the safe prediction, that an acquaintance with the merits of the volume will secure for it the highest and general satisfaction.

A copious and Critical English-Latin Lexicon, founded on the German-Latin Dictionary of Dr. Charles E. Georges. By Rev. J. E. Riddle, A. M., and Rev. T. K. Arnold, A. M. First American edition, carefully revised and containing a copious Dictionary of proper names from the best sources, By Charles Anthon, LL. D. Prof. of Greek and Latin, Columbia College, N. Y. Harper and Brothers: New York. p. 764.

This is a most valuable work and supplies a *desideratum* that has long been felt by the classical student. It embodies an amount of matter, accessible in no other book on the same subject in the English language. It is the only English-Latin Dictionary that a student can consult with the reasonable hope of finding what he wants, or the certainty of being able to depend upon that which he does find. It not only gives an account of the use of words and their synonymical distinctions, but enters also into all the niceties connected with their use by classical writers. An examination of the work will convince any one of its excellencies; its preparation must have heen an Herculean task; but its merits will undoubtedly secure for it a very general introduction into our classical institutions. The work will prove a most valuable auxiliary to the student in Latin composition, as to the necessity of frequent practice in which for accurate scholarship, all are agreed. We direct attention to the Lexicon as a most important contribution to classical learning and commend it to the consideration of those for whose use the work has been specially prepared.

Classical Series: *edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationis Selecta XII.* Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.

We have already expressed a favorable opinion of this admirable series.—The present volume possesses all the excellencies which distinguish those previously published, and fully sustains the reputation of its editors so eminent as scholars and teachers. While the books are accurately, clearly and beautifully printed, with such illustrations as really tend to elucidate the text

and notes to aid the pupil, where aid is actually required; they are furnished at a price so very low, that they cannot fail to commend themselves to the regard of the public.

GERMAN RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche, herausgegeben von Dr. A. G. Rudelbach zu Copenhagen, und Dr. H. E. F. Guericke zu Halle. 1851, 1st Heft.

1st Article. Contributions to the Symbolik of the Old Testament Worship Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, D. D. and ordin'y Prof. at Dorpat.

2d. Contributions to the Symbolik of the Mosaic Worship, by Dr. William Neumann.

3d. When did Obadiah prophesy? answered by F. Delitzsch.

4th. Theosophy and Church Doctrine, by R. Rocholl, Diac. at Sachsenberg, Princip. Waldeck.

5th. The parable of the laborers in the Vineyard, by W. F. Besser.

As usual an extensive notice of new publications.

1851.—ZWEITES HEFT.

Article 1st. C. Keil. On the names of God in the Pentateuch.

2. A. G. Rudelbach. State Church and Religious freedom.—5th division.

3. F. Delitzsch. Two sure points in regard to the prophecy of Joel.

4. K. Ströbel. The threatening danger of a Protestant papacy. 1st Article.

5. C. P. Krauth. The Lutheran Church in the United States.

The last is a translation of the first Article in the July number (1850) of the Evangelical Review, and is published with the following note:

"Es wird unseren Lesern mehr als interessant, ja rührend seyn, aus diesem authentischen Original-Documente anschaulich und gründlich zu ersehen, ob, und in wie weit die tonangebendste und umfangreichste nord amerikanische lutherische Kirche, die der General Synode, dieselbe, welche wir jüngst noch auf dem geraden Wege zum entschiedensten Abfall begriffen sahen, (vgl. Zeitsch. 1846, Hft. 2, S. 125, ff.) neuerdings dem Sauerteige der dortigen streng und reinlutherischen gegenüber heilsam um- und eingelenkt hat."

ERRATA.

Page 65, line 14 from the top, to *be* accomplished to *see* ac.
67, 1 " *w*ithout *W*ithout, (put a period after 16.)
" 6 bottom, deviate*d*, read deviates.
68, 1 " insert *in* between 'Religions,' and 'the Discours.
69, 6 top, for *His*, read *This*.
72, 2 " for penitent*ial*, read penitent.
73, 6 " for *use*, read *used*.
84, 20 bottom, for *regard*, read *regards*.
85, note, line 2 from bottom, dele *and* before 'is precisely.'

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6. Abbott's History of Cleopatra,—of Josephine,
7. Cosmos:
8. London Labor and London Poor,
9. Harper's New Monthly Magazine,
10. Popular Amusements,
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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. X.

OCTOBER, 1851.

ARTICLE I.

MEMOIR OF HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D. D.

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The present memoir is intended to furnish the readers of the Review with a more detailed account, than has yet appeared, of the early life of one of the patriarchs of Lutheranism in America. The papers necessary for the preparation of such a biographical sketch, have been constantly in possession of his descendants for half a century; and many persons might be disposed to ask, why their contents have been so long withheld from the church. It would be pleasant under other circumstances, to gratify this curiosity, but as the writer's space is limited, he craves the indulgence of his reader for refusing; and he will therefore, at once, without further preface, endeavor to present as minute and truthful an account as his materials will allow, of the earlier life of the distinguished and faithful servant of God, whose name stands at the head of this article. His design, at present, will be to give a continuous narrative from his birth to his arrival in Philadelphia. This is the portion of his life least known, in its details, to the members of the Lutheran Church, and hence the elucidation of *this*, will be the most necessary in an historical point of view, as it will be, perhaps, the most interesting.

Henry Melchior Mühlenberg was born in the city of Einbeck, in the electoral principality of Hanover, Sept. the 6th, 1711, N. S. His parents were Nicholaus Melchior Mühlenberg, a member of the council of the above mentioned place, and Anna Maria Kleinschmied, daughter of a retired officer. The earlier portion of his life, or the period extending from his birth to his seventh year, was spent like that of other boys of equal age, and presenting no peculiar features, needs no further remarks. From his seventh to his twelfth year, he was constant in his attendance at the school in his native place. His parents were doubtless in favor of a substantial, liberal and Christian education, for we learn, and indeed it is almost all that is mentioned in his Journal, in reference to this period, that these five years were spent in the study of the German and Latin languages, and that at the termination of them, he was instructed in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, confirmed and admitted to the sacrament, at the early age of twelve, by Mr. Benckhardt, pastor at Einbeck. Providence, in his inscrutable but wise dealings, deprived him of his father at this early age, for having been attacked by paralysis of the left side, he was suddenly removed from this world. This at once caused his removal from school, as the means of his mother were probably not sufficient to allow of his continuance there; for he remarks in his Journal, "that he was kept constantly at hard labor," after the decease of his father. This continued without any intermission for three years, and of course, during this time, when he was laboring for the subsistence of his mother and family, he had but little opportunity for study.

We might be disposed, at first view, to regard this interruption of his studies as a great injury to him; but it, no doubt, was ordered by Providence, as a means of preparing him for the difficult station he afterwards occupied. The privations he endured during this interval, and the subsequent period, until the age of twenty-one together with the severe labor he was obliged to perform both for his mother's and his own maintenance, whilst they were useful in adding to his health and strength of body, also contributed their share in preparing him to depend upon himself and to sympathize with others. A course of adversity prepares the stout-hearted for meeting and triumphing over greater difficulties. The warrior is not made by the employments of the peaceful citizen, nor is he a navigator to be relied on, who has seen the ocean only in its moments of repose.

Want of means prevented any close attention to his studies during the interval from his fifteenth to his twenty-first year. The knowledge he acquired was confined to arithmetic, and playing upon the organ, and this probably during the periods of repose from severe labor. The former of these was taught him by Mr. Kuhlman, the latter by Mr. Alberty, at the Cathedral. We mention the names of these gentlemen; for those who have benefited others, by adding to the amount of their knowledge, and increasing the sources of innocent enjoyment, deserve, at least a passing notice. The most attention was given to playing on the organ, perhaps, because it did not abstract so much from the time devoted to necessary labor; as doubtless he acquired much of his knowledge on the Lord's day, during attendance at church. Be this as it may, that his skill was by no means inconsiderable, may be inferred from the fact, that he received offers of employment as organist, in three different places, all of which, however, he declined. The temporary interruption of his other studies, therefore, was in some degree compensated by an accurate acquaintance with music, and without his own knowledge, he was thus becoming prepared, by Providence, for usefulness in the sphere he he was afterwards engaged in, where he was often obliged to discharge the duties of both pastor and organist.

Gladly would we enter into further details in reference to this period of his life, but his Journal is silent about it, except to the extent already mentioned, and we fear to desert the regions of truth, and enter those of speculation. They were not, however, years of pleasure, they were attended with many privations, toil and anxiety of mind; but whilst these were painful in endurance, they were greatly useful in adding strength to his character, and energy to his resolutions. Besides, it may also be mentioned, as honorable to him, that instead of complaining of the severity of his lot, he imposed upon himself additional labor, during the intervals of repose, for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge. This he did not once altogether lose sight of; alas! that too often, knowledge is only pursued by those thus situated.

We have, by the preceding remarks, given a connected narrative of his life to his twenty-first year, as before stated, and the materials hereafter become so abundant, that the difficulty only consists in the selection. He was now able to re-commence the studies which, to his great regret, had been for so long a time interrupted. How this was accomplished, it is not in our power exactly to say. Whether his mother's condition had become improved, or whether he himself had laid

up something from his daily earnings does not appear from his Journal. However, he resumed the study of the Latin and Greek, although having reached the age of manhood, and prosecuted it further, for a year, or at least a considerable portion of it, under pastor Schüssler, at Einbeck.

In the year 1733, aged twenty-two, he visited the towns of Clausthal and Zellerfeld, for the purpose of obtaining the means, at the same time, of support, and of further prosecuting his studies. He remained some weeks at the former of the two places mentioned, waiting for some offer, but he was unsuccessful. With considerable anxiety he went to the latter place, and was on the point of leaving it also, without having obtained the object of his wishes, when the opportunity of getting employment and further instruction in his studies, which he so earnestly desired, offered. He obtained a situation as teacher in the school at the place above mentioned. After having been examined by Principal Raphelius, he was employed to give instruction to eighteen youths, for four hours each day; and one of the conditions of his engagement was, that the principal part of his time might be devoted to study, for his own improvement. For the purpose of assisting him in this, the Principal and his associates in the school devoted several hours each day to him. In his instruction of those entrusted to him, he remarks in his Journal: "he had an opportunity of learning again the pleasant Catechism and of improving himself in writing, arithmetic and playing upon the piano." He devoted a considerable portion of the night to his other studies, and under the direction of the Principal and his associates, made respectable progress. But we will leave him speak for himself. He remarks: "I commenced my studies shortly after Easter, and remained in Zellerfeld a year and a half until Michaelmas 1734, read during this time the Letters and Orations of Cicero, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace and Terence, was able to understand the New Testament in Greek with some degree of ease, and made a fair commencement in Hebrew and French.

At Michaelmas 1734, as above stated, he returned to Einbeck, but for what reason the writer is unable to say, certainly not in consequence of a misunderstanding or quarrel, for he was one of those who wished to be at peace with all men, and, besides, he continued, as his Journal informs us, on the most friendly terms with the Principal, after this time. Whilst staying in his native city he was not idle, for he reviewed his previous studies, and paid considerable attention to the composition of letters in Latin, under the direction of Pastor Schüssler.

Principal Raphelius now strongly urged his going to the University. But as he had not the means, at that time, for this purpose, it was out of his power to follow his advice, much as he himself desired it. We will see shortly, however, how the difficulties in the way were successively removed, and he himself enabled to enjoy the benefits of a complete course of study at the University.

The University of Göttingen was founded in the year 1735. Collections had been made before this time, in the different cities and towns, and were now to be sent thither for the purpose of supporting students, nominated by the places contributing the funds, and entitled to remain at the University and enjoy a free table, for periods of time, proportioned to the respective amounts contributed. The amount contributed by the city of Einbeck, was sufficient to entitle it to send a student thither for the period of a year. Fortunately for him, there was no one in the city at that time of the requisite age who wished to go to the University, and therefore the subject of this memoir was selected by the members of the council, to enjoy the benefit of the fund raised by his native place. He was thus entitled to a free table at the Refectory of the University for one year, which removed all difficulties as far as his boarding was concerned; and his "widowed mother," he states in his Journal, "supplied the rest," no doubt stinting herself greatly, for the benefit of her son, as her own pecuniary situation could only have improved in a trifling degree. Accordingly, he went to Göttingen the 19th of March 1735, at the age of twenty-four, like the emperor M. Aurelius thinking it becoming to learn at any age. A remark of his own, will save the necessity of any on the part of the writer, with reference to his success in getting this new opportunity of further increasing his knowledge. He says: "In this way did God, from pure compassion, make provision for my temporal wants." One year's education at the University was now certain; and we will find in the sequel, how by the assistance of generous friends, he was enabled to continue the prosecution of his studies, after this period had expired, and to qualify himself for extensive influence and usefulness in the trying situations in which he was afterwards placed. At Göttingen, he attended the lectures of Professor Hollman on Philosophy, those of Conrector Waener on Hebrew and Mathematics, and also enjoyed the instructions of the distinguished Professor Gesner in Greek. The moral character of many of the students at the University at that time was not good. They were distinguished then, as many of them are now, for their disorderly

and irregular conduct. There were more of this class particularly at that time, for the Institution was new, and many consequently resorted to it, whose habits had been formed at other places of instruction, where they could not expect so much indulgence to be shown to their faults. It was his misfortune, at first, to become acquainted with some of these characters, and he bitterly regrets that he wasted in their society some of those leisure hours, which should have been far differently employed. This deviation, however, from the path of propriety and good order, was not of long continuance. Shortly after his arrival at the University, Dr. Oporin, belonging to the Theological Faculty of the Institution, reached Göttingen, being equally distinguished for his profound acquirements, and his exemplary religious character. With him also came several students, who had been under instruction at Halle, of deeply religious views, to whom, under God, the subject of this notice was greatly indebted for his Christian character at the University. Having become acquainted with these young gentlemen, shortly after their arrival, he was induced by their persuasions to desert his bad associates, to exercise repentance for his past conduct, and to confide in the merits of the crucified Redeemer for pardon. Besides, having been taken into the family of Dr. Oporin, as amanuensis, he was exceedingly benefited by his pious instructions, and confirmed in the course of conduct he had been persuaded to adopt. As this is however one of the most interesting periods, especially in his religious history, it may be well to give a condensed account of it in his own words. "By the lectures of Dr. Oporin upon the total corruption of our nature, I was so much moved and so convinced of my sinfulness, that I loathed myself on account of my folly. I was convinced, by the word of God, that my understanding had been dark, until this time, in spiritual things; that my will was disinclined to that new life which proceeds from God; that my memory had been employed only in collecting carnal things, my imagination in discovering sinful objects for the gratification of my perverted affections, and my members, by habitual use, become weapons of unrighteousness. But as I learned to recognize sin as sin, there followed sorrow, repentance and hatred of it, shame and humiliation on account of it; hunger and thirst for the righteousness of Jesus Christ. In this state of mind, I was directed by Dr. Oporin to the crucified Jesus, who had been wounded for my transgressions, and bruised for my iniquities. * * * The wounds of Christ healed my wounds, the merit of his death

gave me life; my thirst was quenched by him, the living spring."

This deeper insight into his own character by nature, and clearer apprehension of the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, had a favorable influence upon the remainder of his course at the University. He endeavored now to spend all his leisure moments in doing good to his fellow beings. In the year 1736, he united with several students of Theology, in giving instruction to ignorant beggar-children, in reading, writing, and particularly in the Catechism. They were influenced to this course by sincere desire for the welfare of these neglected children, a high sense of duty, and he himself by that additional sympathy, acquired by a long continued combat with difficulties and privations, in his own early years. One would suppose, that no one could find fault with so benevolent an undertaking. However, from some bad motive or other, some of the clergymen and schoolmasters made complaint of it to the government at Hanover, and requested an interdict upon the further prosecution of their pious plan. The matter was formally brought to trial, but it fortunately resulted in a different way from what the authors of the complaint expected. As these young gentlemen were unable to defend their own cause from want of knowledge of legal proceedings, an individual who was at Göttingen with some of the nobility, and was well acquainted with legal matters, from a love of the truth, undertook their defence. The result of his interference in their behalf was, that the infant Institution was placed under the care of the faculty of Theology of the University, and attention having been directed to the subject, by the publicity which was given to it, in the above mentioned way, the interest of some of the nobility was excited in its behalf, and they contributed funds for the purpose of defraying the necessary expenses incurred in obtaining light, fuel, clothing etc. His own estimate of the value of their efforts is expressed as follows: "This little Institution was of service in withdrawing many beggar-children from the streets, and making them acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel. Besides, young students had also an opportunity of exercising themselves in catechization." Thus may every righteous cause, and one having the welfare of the neglected at heart abundantly triumph.

In the year 1737, he was admitted into the Theological Seminary, and allowed to catechize and preach in the church of the University. Shortly afterwards, he was selected by by Count Reuss the XI. as his domestic Chaplain; and he

was providentially brought to the notice of the Baron von Münchausen, by whom he was generously supplied with the means of support, both by liberal payment for services rendered and by voluntary gifts, so that he was enabled to remain more than three years at the University. Towards the close of the same year, he became acquainted with several missionaries to the Jews, and they urged him to engage in the same self-denying work, though advising him first to visit Halle for the purpose of being more fully prepared for it. The advice was easily given, but difficult to execute. However, Providence enabled him to enjoy the advantages of a residence in the noble Orphan House at Halle, though for a different object than as missionary in India, in the following way:

Counts Reuss the XXIV. and Erdman Henckel, invited him to visit them, at their own expense, in the city of Grätz, for the purpose of occupying the post of Deacon there. He accepted the invitation. On his arrival, they thought him not sufficiently experienced to occupy so important a place, but they found means of sending him to Halle, in a manner both honorable to himself and them. Accordingly in the month of May 1738, he reached Halle, having been allowed before engaging in his duties there, to visit his native place, to settle his affairs. During this visit, he had the satisfaction of preaching several times in his native place, not without benefit to his own immediate friends. A short time after his arrival, he was placed as Instructor in the primary school, whence he was regularly transferred, until he had passed through all the departments in succession, having charge finally of classes in Theology, Hebrew and Greek. The last of his duties was the inspection of the sick room, over which he was placed. The intervals of time, when he was not engaged in the performance of his official duties, were devoted to Biblical studies, and those calculated to prepare him for the active employments of the pastoral or missionary life. In the discharge of all these duties, his principal desire was to obtain the approbation of his God, and at the same time, sensible of his own weakness, he remarks, with unaffected simplicity, that he was "urged to prayer." He also adds with gratitude, the following expressions, as to the privileges he here enjoyed. "Ceaseless praises be ascribed to God, for the unnumbered spiritual and temporal blessings, the warm parental love and care which I there enjoyed." He had scarcely been a year at Halle, before he was desired to return to Göttingen to take charge of the Institution for poor children which he himself had a considerable share in founding, and which had now greatly increased in

numbers, and was in need of additional instructors; but the pious fathers of the Orphan House refused their assent, inasmuch as they purposed to send him as Missionary, to commence a new mission at Bengal, in India. In July, (1739) Count Reuss the XXIV. sent him a call [1] to a situation as Deacon or assistant minister, in the church at Gross-Hennersdorf in Upper Lusatia, and also as Inspector of the Orphan House at the same place. This call supposing himself destined for the mission in Bengal, he at once declined. Afterwards however, as Dr. Franké himself advised him to accept of it temporarily, as their arrangements for the mission in the East Indies were not quite completed, and some difficulties still lay in the way, he consented. He therefore, however with considerable reluctance, left Halle for Upper Lusatia. He had scarcely been absent from Halle fourteen days, when letters were unexpectedly received there, asking for three missionaries, two for the Danish and one for the English mission in India, as soon as they could possibly be furnished. This demand for missionaries having come after his departure from Halle, he regarded as a pretty clear intimation of the will of Providence, in reference to the Indian mission. He was not intended for that field. He remained several weeks at Gross-Hennersdorf, having in the interval been closely questioned by the Baroness of Gersdorf, and after having preached a trial sermon, he was formally called; the Abbot Steinmetz being present. After accepting of the call thus formally tendered, he was obliged to go to Leipsic, for the purpose of being examined by the members of the Consistory, Drs. Deyling and Boerner, in Hebrew and Greek, in the articles of belief about Christ, Repentance, Conversion, Justification, Sanctification and the History of the Symbolical Books. A few days after this examination, he was ordained, by Dr. Deyling, in the presence of the whole Leipsic Ministerium, to the Gospel ministry, and dismissed with the necessary testimonials. He then returned through Halle, Brandenburg and Saxony to his assigned post of labor.

He entered upon his duties at this place with much pleasure, as in the church to which he had been called as assistant, there was a gentleman of much learning and piety, with whom he expected to have pleasant and instructive intercourse, and the satisfaction of harmonious coöperation, in the advancement of

[1] This document is in the possession of the writer, and is quite an interesting relic of the olden time.

his Master's kingdom. The reader may desire some further information as to the Orphan House, over which he was also to preside, and as it is closely connected with his personal history, it may be proper to give a brief statement.

The Institution had four Departments, over all of which he was inspector. The first was a primary one, in which the youth of noble descent were instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion, and a course of study sufficient to enable them to enter the Academy. It was principally intended for the sons of the poor widows of noblemen, who had endured persecution from the Papists in Silesia. The pupils were supplied with lodging, boarding, instruction and books gratuitously, and retained until they were qualified to be removed to the University, or to enter the army. The instructors were two students of Theology, and a French teacher. The second department contained thirty-two poor boys, to whom in addition to what was furnished to those in the first, clothing was also given, and they were to be educated for the general good. Two or three teachers gave instruction to these pupils, who were selected out of the most advanced of their own number, and were prepared by proper training for this post, or for other situations of a similar kind in the schools of the country. It was therefore partly a normal school for the education of teachers. The third department contained a fixed number of female orphans, for whose benefit a Preceptor and female superintendent were selected, whose duty it was to promote their temporal and spiritual happiness. The fourth was intended for and occupied by aged, decrepid, blind, lame or deaf widows, or those who had been neglected in their youth, and they were prepared for a happy and blissful end. The whole Institution was governed by excellent regulations, and had been supported by this lady, the Baroness of Gersdorf, for a period of twenty-four years, at an annual cost of three thousand rix-dollars. It was also upon a Christian basis; and we cannot too highly value that religion, by whose gentle influence, such provision is made for the unfortunate and distressed, and the tresaures of the rich expended for the comfort and benefit of the poor. Worthy too, it may be added, are those of having treasures, who thus nobly expend them.

In superintending the concerns of this Institution, and performing the duties of associate pastor, he was usefully employed until the early part of the year 1741. During this time, a change had taken place with the external affairs of the Institution, and owing to the difficult times and reverses, it could no longer be continued on so extensive a scale as for-

merly. The teachers as well as the scholars were affected by this change of affairs, and he himself was reduced to straitened circumstances. Yet neither the difficulties, nor labors of his post induced him to wish for a change, nor did the adverse state of its affairs and his consequent want of a sufficiency for his support, at all diminish his desire for its welfare. Nay! satisfied of its being an important post in the Savior's kingdom, and unwilling to desert it, he adopted a course of conduct which cannot but excite our highest admiration, and is a proof of exalted virtue. He determined to make a visit to his friends, for the purpose of endeavoring to obtain from them what was necessary for his support, and then return to his post. In other words, he himself was willing to *pay*, for the privilege of laboring there. Whilst he was making preparations for this purpose, in July 1741, Baron von Gersdorf, Ambassador from East Friesland to Vienna, came to Gross-Hennersdorf, and offered to take him to his native place. His offer was at once accepted, and in his company he travelled free of expense, as far as Leipsic, and could have gone further, but thinking it right to ask the advice of his former kind patrons, the Counts Reuss the XXIV. and Erdman Henckel, he turned aside into Vogtland and Pöltzig. These generous noblemen dissuaded him from returning to his native place, and supplied him with the necessary means of support, and after taking grateful leave, he set out on his return to his station, intending to pass through Halle. On his arrival at this place, having been invited to take tea at Dr. Franké's, and having gone to his house for that purpose, before sitting down to the table, the Dr. informed him, that he had just then received a call for some suitable person to go as missionary to the scattered Lutherans in Pennsylvania. This was not intended by the Dr. merely as an item of information, but he had his attention directed to Mr. M. as a suitable person to answer this call, and he so informed him, adding, that he might make trial of it for a few years. To this very unexpected communication, he replied, with that sincere devotion to his Master's will, which all must commend, but all cannot imitate, "it was a matter of indifference to him, if it was the Lord's will; as a servant was necessarily dependent upon the wishes of his Lord." He was advised to take it into serious consideration, immediately after his return to Gross-Hennersdorf. It was his intention to have left for this, the next day in the stage coach, but something interfered to prevent it, and on that same day, the kind friend with whom he had gone to Leipsic, had very unexpectedly returned from East Friesland, and was on his way back to Gross-Henners-

dorf, on important business. This friend, learning of Mr. M's presence in Halle, immediately sent word to him, and offered him a place with himself. His kind offer was accepted, and with him he again returned to the scene of his former labors, Sept. 14, 1741, after some six weeks' absence. In the different events of the preceding two years' life of the subject of our memoir, how much is there to wonder at; how clearly can we see the hand of an overruling Providence, "who is wonderful in counsel."

How gladly he returned to his beloved place of labor, can be seen from the following short extract from his Journal, which shows quite clearly the state of his mind and feelings: "I now commenced a new period of service, much to the satisfaction and comfort of those entrusted to me. We thought of remaining henceforth together, if it were the Lord's will, though exposed to famine or the sword." This however was not to be the final scene of his earthly labors; the "Lord's thoughts are not our thoughts." Scarcely had six weeks passed, after his return, when he received a letter from Dr. Franké, informing him that he had sent his answer (given above) in reference to the Pennsylvania mission, to Dr. Ziegenhagen, in London, and had received a reply, in which the following conditions were given and approved:

1. That he should go to Pa. for three years, merely on trial, and at the close of this period could have permission to return, if he desired to do so.

2. That his travelling expenses from Lusatia to America, and back again, if he desired it, would be defrayed.

3. That in addition to his travelling expenses, a small salary, just sufficient to furnish him necessaries, would be given him from the collections, in the hands of Dr. Ziegenhagen.

4. That he should receive a formal call, embodying also these conditions, from Dr. Z. who had been empowered by the congregation in Pa. to make a selection for them.

The question of leaving for the distant shores of America, now came up for serious consideration. Immediately after his return from Halle, he had informed the Baroness of Gersdorf what had taken place, and she had then remarked in reference to Pa. that it was "an extensive and uncultivated field." On the receipt of the letter above mentioned, he again consulted with the Baroness, and she only directed him to write to Dr. Franké and ascertain when his services would be needed. Before the answer to this letter was received, by the advice of his Patroness, he wrote to his friends the Counts Reuss the XXIV. and Erdman Henckel, for the purpose of learning their

views, in reference to this new call. Whilst waiting for replies to both of the above letters, the Baroness of Gersdorf carried into execution a step, upon which she had for some time been meditating, and which was now, by the difficulties of the times, rendered absolutely necessary. As before stated, she had kept the Orphan House in constant operation for twenty-four years, solely out of her own means; but she was able to do so no longer, and she consequently resigned the whole of it, together with her possessions into the hands of her cousin, Assessor von Burgsdorf, by whom the Institution was to be considerably reduced. Scarcely had this act been completed, when Dr. Franké's answer arrived, saying that his services were needed as soon as he could possibly get away from Gross-Hennersdorf. Besides this, the two Counts before mentioned wrote to him, that in case of his leaving the post he then occupied, they would take him into their service, in Vogtland, unless God ordered otherwise. Still further, many of the pious members of the congregation, and also of the Orphan House waited upon the new rulers, and prayed them not to allow of his departure; to which they received answer, that they would very gladly see him remain, and that though the Orphan House would be reduced in extent, the change as regarded himself would principally consist in a reduction of labor. These several circumstances, to quote his own words, "hemmed me in, and gave me much mental anxiety. I prayed God to enable me to discover his will, and at the same time paid the closest attention to every thing that occurred." For the purpose also of still further enabling himself to ascertain the path of duty, he communicated the particulars above mentioned in a letter to Dr. Ziegenhagen, asking also his advice, and enclosed it in another to Dr. Franké, requesting him to send it to London, if he thought it advisable. The Dr. was not of this opinion, but wrote back to him, to come to a conclusion as soon as possible. Some of the circumstances had now, during the above interval, been changed; the Counts before mentioned had written to him again, saying, they were willing that he should go, and that it would be much easier to procure a suitable successor for him at Gross-Hennersdorf, than to find a person willing to go to America; the Orphan House had also been very much reduced in numbers, most of the pupils had returned to their friends, and many of the teachers also had engaged in other pursuits. The congregation was still supplied with a faithful pastor, and the successors of the Baroness promised to procure as soon as possible, a suitable person to succeed him in the Diaconate; so that after considering

all these circumstances, in a prayerful and conscientious manner, he was enabled to come to a decision, and that was, in reliance upon God, to accept of the call from Pa. He informed the congregation to this effect, appointing the ninth of December or the second Sunday in Advent, 1741, as the day for the delivery of his farewell discourse. With feelings of lively sorrow, he delivered this his last address, to those for whose welfare he was so warmly interested, selecting as his text, the 7th and 8th verses of the XI Chapter of Hosea. The remainder of the time between the 9th and 17th, was consumed in preparing and giving in his account as Inspector of the Orphan House, and bringing his other affairs into a satisfactory state. On the 16th, he took leave at the Castle. There was however no sumptuous entertainment, but an exercise more suitable and consoling to both parties, on so melancholy an occasion—prayer to the Author of all good. On the 17th, in company with one of the oldest Preceptors of the Orphan House, and a young nobleman, he left forever the scene of his useful labors, during cold and tempestuous weather. They went that day four miles. The next day they reached Bautzen, and were obliged to remain over night. In consequence of the very bad weather, and the great number of rough characters then found in the coaches, they hired a covered wagon to take them as far as Leipsic, which they reached late on the 21st, having also passed through Dresden, on their way. At Leipsic, he and his companion separated, as he was obliged, though it was a pleasant obligation, to visit his unchanged friends and patrons, the estimable Counts, so frequently before mentioned. Late in the evening of the 23d of December, he reached Pöltzig, where the Count Erdman Henckel resided. He experienced in the house of this nobleman the kindest treatment, and the writer cannot but consider it a very honorable testimonial in behalf of the subject of this memoir, that without any of the adventitious advantages of wealth or birth, he acquired and retained the friendship of such persons. We will give an account of the treatment he experienced, in his own words, rather than in any language of our own. "I had become so much exhausted, by the labors and sorrow of my departure from Gross-H., the rough weather, and bad accommodations along the road, that I could not have held out much longer. But the God of compassion sent me afterwards great relief. For when on the 23d, during the holy evening before Christmas, I arrived in Pöltzig, I was received as a child under his parental roof. My poor body was restored by means of medicine, and all possible kindness of treatment, and my soul

was so refreshed with spiritual food, that it could rejoice in the Lord and be joyful in God. Although I am unworthy of such favors, may the faithful Redeemer reward his whole house for it, with bliss in time and eternity for his name's sake. I remained in his house at Pöltzig, until the 2d of January, 1742. We cheered and strengthened ourselves in this time so much, that we certainly tasted the heavenly gifts, the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come." After taking affecting leave, he was sent by the Count, in his own conveyance, to Kösteritz in Vogtland, Jan. 2d, where the other nobleman Count Reuss the XXIV. resided. He remained here until the 8th, experiencing equally kind treatment as at Pöltzig and taking leave with much more emotion, because the Count had been regarded by him as a father, and his own mind was so saddened by the reflection, that as his venerable friend was now more than sixty years of age, they would not have the pleasure of meeting again on earth. At both places, he preached and held meetings for edification, at the request of these gentlemen; and with such exercises concluded their intercourse. On the 8th, he was sent in the carriage of his aged friend to Langendorf, where he remained at the Orphan House, until the 9th, whence he went to Halle. On his way thither, though well provided with clothing, the cold was so severe, that he had his hands and feet frosted. On his arrival at Halle, which was at 9 o'clock on the evening of the day above mentioned, he was first taken to the house of the lady of Dr. Götzin, and afterwards to that of Dr. Franké, where his wants were supplied, and he himself treated with that consideration and kindness, which sincere piety and education never fail to generate in their votaries. He remained in Halle, until the 4th of February, and every thing was provided for his anticipated voyage, which was thought necessary; and arrangements were also made, for obtaining a suitable fellow-laborer to accompany him; which would have considerably alleviated the burden of his cares; but their efforts were unsuccessful.

Without having any associate, therefore, he left Halle, Feb. 4th, with the kind wishes, prayers and parental benediction of the worthy gentlemen there, and passing through the cities of Halberstadt and Wernigerode, reached Göttingen the 11th of February; the part of his journey between the latter two places having been very unpleasant, owing to the cold and stormy weather. The whole of the above period was not spent in travelling. A portion of it was consumed in the cities of Halberstadt and Wernigerode, above mentioned, in delightful intercourse with highly valued ministerial and other friends.

Many hours were spent in their society, in pleasant reminiscences of the past, and joyful anticipation of future re-union in heaven. None of their meetings were concluded without prayer. In such pious and useful employments he found great delight. Of many such meetings to which he alludes in his Journal, it may not be inappropriate to quote what he says in reference to one in particular, held at Halberstadt at which many of his ministerial brethren were present. He remarks as to their employments: "We not only called to mind the wonderful and blessed dealings of Providence with respect to us, but also strengthened and refreshed ourselves with prayer, thanksgiving and praise, until twelve o'clock at night." At Göttingen, he staid a few days, with peculiar pleasure. Whilst there, he had the satisfaction of enjoying renewed intercourse with Dr. Oporin his valued instructor and spiritual father, and also other friends of former years. Besides this, that Charity school, for neglected beggars, which he had so great an agency in founding, and to which there had been so much unreasonable opposition, as even to threaten its continued existence, was now permanently established, had greatly increased in the number of its pupils and in usefulness, and was provided with six or seven instructors. After taking affectionate leave of his former instructors and acquaintances, he left Göttingen, and reached his native place the 17th of February, where he had the pleasure of finding his aged and feeble mother still living, and his brother and sisters in good health, though grieving deeply, that he was to be so distantly separated from them.

During the few weeks which he was allowed to spend in his native place, previously to his departure for America, the only unpleasant circumstances occurred, in any way disturbing the melancholy pleasure of his final interview with his friends. He met with bitter enemies in the place of his birth, in associates in the same field of labor. It is true, this is not strange. Prejndices against an individual are no where more apt to exist, or arise, than in the place of his birth. The men of olden time asked: "Is not this the carpenter?" "Whence then hath he this wisdom?" And truly, the servant must experience similar treatment with his master. The writer might pass the matter over in silence, without even alluding to it, but his regard for truth induces him to give a brief account of it; whilst at the same time, he is sensible the character of the individual whose biography he is writing will not suffer, for though he was unfortunate in exciting the opposition of some, who ought to have been his friends, his conduct was above reproach.—

Besides this, it turned out in his favor in the end; and adds another instance to the many on record, of good men suffering from hastiness of judgment on the part of those in authority.

He reached Einbeck on Saturday evening, the 17th of Feb., as before stated. On the following day, after the conclusion of the morning services in the church, a considerable number of his friends and acquaintances visited him, and whilst they were together, engaged in religious conversation, in which they desired to be useful to each other, and derive that comfort from the promises of Scripture, which they were intended to afford. This was construed by some of his enemies into a violation of the ordinance, in force in Hanover, in reference to conventicles; as he found out afterwards, and in the following way. The next day he called upon two of the clergymen of the city, one of whom was the Superintendent, and offered to officiate for them, on the following Lord's day, and was very much surprised to meet with a refusal in a manner not at all complimentary. After leaving these gentlemen, he waited upon the senior minister of the place, who had also been his pastor in former times, who at once granted him his pulpit for the next Sunday. The intervening days of the week, were spent in religious and other conversation, and social intercourse with his relations and acquaintances. Sunday having arrived, in accordance with previous appointment, he preached upon the Gospel for the day, viz. the 11th chapter of Luke; and he remarks: "that the word of God had its usual effect in inducing many to make inquiries about their salvation; whilst to others who had previously imbibed unfounded prejudices against Pietism, it became only an offence, and they sought an opportunity to traduce me." During the evening of the same day, many persons had assembled at his house for pious and profitable conversation: "Notwithstanding however," he says in the Journal, "I used the greatest precaution to abstain from every thing which would seem like to holding a religious service in a private house," yet three of the clergymen, among whom was the Superintendent, received it as such, and as a repetition of an offence, and made complaint against him, to the magistrate of the city, for holding Pietistic conventicles, contrary to the laws. Hereupon a messenger was sent to him, by the magistrate, ordering a stop to be put to the meetings. In reply to this message, he sent back word, that being a clergyman from Saxony, he was not acquainted with the laws of Hanover about Conventicles, but he thought no laws could

prevent him from meeting his friends, who alone amounted to twenty-four persons, and his acquaintances, when he was about to be separated from them forever, and spending the time in a useful and harmless manner, in pious conversation, and that he desired some information in regard to the laws. The magistrate deigned however to send him no further answer, than that "persons were not allowed to go out of their own houses to sing and pray." Not satisfied with this, he waited upon the magistrate the following day, and found out, as above stated, who were the authors of the complaint, viz. all the clergymen of the city, except the one for whom he preached. After making a full explanation of the circumstances, the magistrate was of the opinion, that the complaint was the result of private hatred, and consequently the meetings with his friends were allowed to continue. This did not satisfy the clergymen.—Baffled in their first attack, they tried a second. They prepared an abusive account, and complained of him to the Consistory at Hanover, and were successful in obtaining an order for the discontinuance of the meetings, with his friends. This was brought to his knowledge, as follows: He had, in the interval after the decision of the magistrate, made an engagement to preach for pastor Mayenberg, at a small town in the neighborhood, on the 11th of March. On the evening of the 10th, when he was preparing to set out for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement, he received notice from the Superintendent, that his presence was desired. He asked indulgence until the following Monday, as he was on the point of leaving for the purpose of preaching the next day, in the neighborhood. Upon this, the Superintendent wrote to this pastor, telling him not to allow the missionary Mühlenberg to preach, as positive orders had been received to this effect from Hanover. The clergyman was very much concerned upon the receipt of this letter, and for the purpose of removing his perplexity, the subject of our article at once said he could not preach, and returned home; prudently avoiding any improper expressions, for fear of causing a division among the people, who had heard of the proceedings, and had already expressed their views, either in his favor or against him. The next day he was summoned to appear before the magistrate, and the prohibitory mandate was read to him, to the following effect: that he should be forbidden to preach on peril of imprisonment, and in case of refusal, at once be taken into custody. After the mandate had been read, he asked the magistrate "whether he thought the course of proceeding in accordance with divine or human justice." The magistrate replied, that the matter had already

passed "ab exsequtione ad cognitionem causæ." To this he replied, "that the proceeding seemed to him to correspond with that of the Spanish Inquisition, which first cut off an individual's head, and afterwards inquired about his offence." Having taken his departure from the magistrate, without obtaining redress, he waited upon the Superintendent, to whom he gave a minute account of his life, the place of his education, where and by whom employed, the different examinations he had undergone; all of which he confirmed by the exhibition of the proper testimonials and certificates. At the close of his statements the Superintendent expressed his regret, that they had not had a conversation previously with each other, and apologised for his conduct, saying that he had been forced by the two other clergymen to sign the complaint. This gentleman then embraced him in a very friendly manner, and dismissed him in peace. The subject of our biography desired also, like a reasonable and Christian man, an interview with the two remaining clergymen, but it was refused; prejudice and hostile feeling had taken complete possession of them. Their conduct did not interfere with his triumph, for the magistrate of the city and the Superintendent at once wrote to Hanover, saying that they had found the case different, upon examination, from what it had at first been represented. No obstacles were afterwards thrown in the way of his holding unrestrained intercourse with his friends, until the period of his departure. The narrative which immediately follows, will still further show, how by a singular train of occurrences, the gentlemen of the Consistory at Hanover had been induced to send their prohibitory mandate against him, which made him the innocent victim of persecution, and interrupted his pleasure in his native place, in the society of his friends.

He left Einbeck on the 17th of March, and reached Hanover the next day at eleven o'clock P. M. It had been his intention to stop at the hotel, but the lady of rank, to whom he had been recommended by her brother Councillor Bornis of Einbeck, would not allow him to do so, but entertained him kindly at her house, whilst he remained. The first few days after his arrival, he remained in the house, for the purpose of recruiting himself, as he was suffering from indisposition and fatigue; and his feelings and reflections were not of the most pleasurable nature, situated as he then was—on the eve of bidding adieu to his native land forever. On the 21st he called upon Consistorial-Director Tappen, and had quite a lengthy conversation with him, upon his ill-treatment at Einbeck. After having exhibited to the Director the necessary testimonials

as to his education and character, he learned from him that he was suffering from sickness at the time of the preparation of the mandate, and that the prohibition had been obtained through gross misrepresentation. The Director moreover treated him with much kindness, and manifested sympathy for him, whilst he heard the plain statement of the shameful treatment he had received. Like a true friend also he gave him kindly advice, for when the subject of this article, from the consciousness of having been deeply wronged, expressed to him a half-formal resolution, of sending a full account of the matter to the Superintendents of the Mission, at London, and of returning to his former place of labor, the Director dissuaded him from this step, and at the same time added many soothing reflections derived from the word of God. These had an influence in weakening the acute perception of his wrongs, and urging him to submission to the will of God. The next day, however, he waited upon another member of the Consistory, who apologized for his conduct by saying, that under the representations which they had received from Einbeck, they could not have acted otherwise than they had done, that 'among the clergy at that place there must be bad characters, and in future they would be more careful.' We may add one further fact, as a consequence of this injurious treatment, before dismissing the subject. On the second Lord's day after his arrival in Hanover, he was to preach, by request, for pastor Flügge, and before the services had commenced, one of the members of the Consistory, whom he had not visited, wrote a note to the clergyman above mentioned, advising him not to allow of his preaching as he was "homo pietismi suspectissimus." The pastor wrote to him in reply, that he had invited him to preach not only by permission but also by the advice of Director Tappen. Hereupon this gentleman was induced to hear the discourse, and declared every thing strictly orthodox. Thus his "righteousness shone forth as the light"; but for the sake of preventing any difficulties after his absence, he had the proceedings recorded, and there the matter was brought to a close. He concludes the account of this subject, of which we have given as brief an analysis as possible, in the following words: "It can be seen, from this whole proceeding, what prejudices and preconceived opinions can effect. It is indeed, however, a great misfortune for a country, city or village, when those who ought to be careful for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the inhabitants, do not even act towards their neighbors, in accordance with the dictates of a sound understanding, still less the more exalted precepts of revelation. I sincerely wish

that God may view my unfortunate native country with compassion, and send faithful laborers into his harvest. The conduct of some of the clergymen at Einbeck did me no injury, but was of much spiritual benefit to me."

The 23d of March, Good Friday, he spent in meditation upon the death of his Savior, and the usual public religious services. He remained in Hanover and neighborhood, until the 5th of April, holding pleasant and profitable intercourse with the pastors and people in the city, and small towns in the vicinity, with many of whom he was acquainted and whom he highly esteemed, having visited this district some four years prior to this period. For these gentlemen he preached frequently, and likewise united with them in pious employments in private, rejoicing in their joy also, at the prosperous state of their Master's kingdom in that neighborhood. He made also many friendly visits to others of his acquaintance, not clerical, and in Hanover took very respectful leave of the Baron and Baroness Münchausen, to both of whom under God he was indebted for support at the University. It is honorable to both parties thus to act; the one in giving of their abundance to assist an humble individual struggling through deep poverty to obtain an education, the other in entertaining a lively sense of gratitude towards such kind benefactors. After taking leave of all his friends, he set off from Hanover, for Osnabrück, the 5th of April. In thus leaving his native country and friends, for he was now on his way to Holland, he was affected with the most lively emotions. He was leaving *all* the friends he most valued and loved behind him, all the favorite haunts of his early days, endeared to him by the most pleasant recollections, expecting to be exposed to the dangers attendant upon journeying by land and a voyage over the ocean; to endure fatigue and encounter difficulties, almost always magnified by the imagination in such gloomy hours; to labor *alone* in a far distant and neglected field, in building up his Master's kingdom. But he was not allowed to despair. "The Lord," he says, "had sympathy with my sufferings, and directed all things in such a way, that I was obliged to adore in silence, and ascribe them to his special providence and care." Two gentlemen entered the coach with him at Hanover, who represented themselves as old acquaintances at Göttingen, the one of whom accompanied him six miles, the other until some distance into Holland. They rode day and night without intermission, and reached Osnabrück, the 7th of April. As a French general was stationed there with several thousand soldiers, they were detained at the gates, and then taken by the

general into the presence of the officer, and after undergoing a brief examination allowed to pass. As the stage coach was shortly to leave, he had not time to visit any acquaintances there, but only sufficient to deliver a letter which he had to Apothecary Mayer, and enter in passing the Town Hall, where the peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, in which he was gratified in seeing the portraits of all these present at the completion of the treaty. This afforded him considerable instruction. After having their baggage properly disposed of, they left Osnabrück, at 12 o'clock. Notwithstanding he had been under great anxiety on account of his journey through Holland, he was agreeably disappointed in finding his fears thus far unfounded, and instead of its being unpleasant, it was quite agreeable, and attended with but few of the difficulties he had expected. In company with the gentlemen, with whom he started from Hanover, he went as far as Deventer, without having received any addition to his number, except that at Bentheim, a merchant entered the coach, who proved a valuable auxiliary to him after the first friend left him, at the place above mentioned. Doubtless many persons would see in this nothing but accident; the Christian recognizes the hand of a superintending Father, for he has received his instructions from the unerring oracles of God. Even Schiller says, "es giebt keinen Zufall," and it were well if, in this practical age, we dwelt more in the regions of *faith*, and less in those, we are too apt to call, those of *reason*. But to return from this digression. This latter gentleman was well acquainted with all the localities and customs of the people, and supplied thus that want of knowledge and experience in travelling, in which the subject of this biographical narrative was deficient. Both from Osnabrück to Deventer, and from this latter place to Amsterdam, they travelled day and night, without intermission, not stopping even to take their ordinary meals. This course protected them from being grossly imposed upon by the people, who were disposed to take advantage of strangers particularly. The author of the Journal playfully remarks, that there was nothing to be heard, without pay, except the beautiful chime of the bells. It is to be feared, that this habit of overcharging exists in all commercial states, where the ingenuity of man has been sharpened by frequent intercourse with others, and money is regarded as the great object of pursuit. It need hardly be added, that this is not the only error in the pursuit of happiness, into which men in their infatuation fall. From the latter of the two gentlemen he received some insight into the Dutch language, which he regarded as particularly difficult

to be understood, because the people were in the habit of speaking with great rapidity—a fact totally at variance with our present ideas of the phlegmatic Dutchman. On the morning of the 10th, they reached Narden, a small place about two miles from Amsterdam, where they went on board of the Dreck-sheute or canal boat, and were conveyed on it into the magnificent city, thus completing the first lesson he had ever taken in sailing. He was shown by his fellow traveller the residence of Mr. Deutz and sons, to whom he had letters of recommendation, from friends in Hanover, and was received by them with great politeness. He was taken by them to the house of a widow Hoffman, where he was allowed time to recover from his fatigue, by the enjoyment of undisturbed repose, having had no sleep of any consequence for the five preceding nights, whilst on the road between Hanover and Amsterdam.

He remained here until the 10th, having, in company with the gentleman above mentioned, seen many of the remarkable objects in the city. On the 11th in the afternoon he left in the sheute for Rotterdam, passed by Leyden on his way thither, and reached his destination on the 12th, provided with letters of recommendation to Mr. Hering op de Leuvenhaven, by de Swane-staeg, which may here be allowed an insertion as a curiosity. Having waited upon this gentleman, he was kindly received, compelled to dine with him, and then taken to his lodgings. Afterwards he politely showed him all the objects worthy of note in the city, and after making the necessary arrangements for the prosecution of his voyage, kindly took leave of him, when he had seen him on board of the boat for Briel. This place he reached on the 13th. He had now no further letters to friends or acquaintances, but with that success in finding friends, for which he was noted, he gained the friendly feeling and interest of a Dutch gentleman and an English hotel-keeper, on board of the boat. The latter took him to his house on their arrival at Briel, and "his wife," he remarks in his Journal, "treated me like a mother and made every provision for my future voyage in her power." He remained in Briel from the 13th to the 14th. Here he endeavored to turn the slight knowledge he had before acquired of the English language to account, but found it difficult to understand, owing to the rapidity of the pronunciation. In consequence of this he was much concerned, how he would be able to prosecute his voyage. This difficulty was however soon removed. For as he was taking his place in the stage to go to Helvoetshleuss, a Hungarian officer, who had arrived a short time before, with two servants also entered. This officer was somewhat ac-

quainted with English, French and Latin. "This gentleman," he says, "at once took an interest in me, and manifested for me a respectful regard, which was not deserved." They conversed with each other in a friendly way, making use of the three languages at intervals, just as they could best express themselves. The Hungarian showed a strong partiality for the Latin, and was besides a Catholic, though this did not prevent them from having friendly intercourse. The 14th of April they reached Helvoetshleuss, remained there a few hours, and then went on board the royal packet. They found here also a courier from Hanover. The whole party made stout resolves against sea sickness, but as they got out of the harbor and advanced into the North Sea, they found out, as others have done, their resolutions inefficient. He himself determined to hold out against it, only suffered so much the more, and during the remainder of the voyage was constantly sick. The Hungarian, having been on the ocean before, suffered the least, and in this emergency he waited upon his companion, and gave him that attention, which his situation needed. In consequence of contrary winds, they were somewhat detained, and did not reach Harwick, the nearest English port until the 14th. Though suffering so much from sea sickness that he was scarcely able to raise his head, he was notwithstanding obliged to disembark; and he finally succeeded in getting all his baggage into the Custom House. The next difficulty that presented, was the means of getting to London. The others being unencumbered with baggage, rode off on horseback immediately, to attend to the business with which they were entrusted, and he was compelled to help himself along as well as he could, with his imperfect acquaintance with the English language. He was obliged in the first place to hire a conveyance to take him to Colchester, which place he reached on the 16th, at six o'clock in the evening, having left Harwick that day at two. He was still fifty miles distant from London. That night he remained at Colchester, and the next morning started in an extra, and reached London the same day. On his arrival in London, he found no one knew where Dr. Ziegenhagen lived, but having recollected, that he had heard it said in Halle, that he resided in Kensington, he hired a hack to take him thither. After having his baggage put on, he learned that he had still four miles to go, through a heavy shower of rain. His journey terminated somewhat unclerically. For, he remarks, "that he had the fortune to get a driver who drank himself full to intoxication on his way, and besides took up with him on his box a companion of the same kind, to assist him in his bois-

terous songs." These two fellows made discordant music as he rode on, but their excess did not sharpen their wits or their eye-sight, for they were unable to find the place of their destination. In this perplexity, accustomed as he was to refer the smallest things to God, he had recourse to prayer, and he was happy in being brought in safety before night to the Dr's house, where he was first welcomed by Mr. Michaelis, an acquaintance at the University, and afterwards by the Dr. himself; and his privations and perplexity were, for the time, brought to an end.

He remained with this excellent man for nine weeks, viz. according to the O. S., until the 10th of June, and ample provision was made for his wants. A considerable interval of time for repose was necessary, for the purpose of allowing him to recover entirely from the effects of his previous, long-continued privations and sufferings on his way from Gross-Hennersdorf to London, and to make ample preparations for the equally toilsome voyage, which was to succeed. That his health would suffer by such a succession of unpleasant changes, as he experienced, is what we would naturally expect, without having a word written upon the subject, but his own confession gives additional truth to the statement, and shows the propriety of so long a stay in London. He remarks, "I was not without many infirmities, during my stay in England. My constitution had been somewhat injured by the frequent changes to which I had been exposed, and my mind also suffered; but it was restored to its wonted vigor." The period of his stay in London was also, not without reason, protracted for the accomplishment of an object, not less important than either of the two others mentioned above. He availed himself of its precious moments, for the purpose of receiving from the wisdom and experience of Dr. Ziegenhagen, that additional instruction and advice of which he felt himself in need. And most faithfully did he avail himself of every opportunity which offered for this purpose. Of this, his Journal gives the most indubitable evidence, in which the events and employments of each day are detailed with minute particularity, and which gives, when perused at length, the clearest insight into his character, but cannot be given entire for want of space. It may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, or keep up the continuity of the narrative, to give, in as few words as possible, a summary of his employments during his stay in London.

The time was spent, as has been above intimated, principally in constant attendance upon the valuable and faithful

public ministrations of the Court Chaplain, who officiated generally several times each Lord's day; still more however in daily conversations with him, in private, as far as the engagements and circumstances of the Dr. would allow, upon the doctrinal articles of the church, of the catechism of which he was a strenuous advocate, the best modes of instruction, and the anticipated duties of his new and distant field of labor. This daily habit, as regards their religious employments, was, after having conversed upon the important articles of our religious faith and practice, to conclude the day with the devotional exercises of prayer and praise. The employments of each day were such as these, and truly can it be said, he attended to the judicious and pious instructions of his superior in experience and age, with unaffected humility and meekness of wisdom. Nor did the frequency of the exercises cause his interest to subside. Each returning day seemed to add new fuel to the flame of his enkindled desires, which burned constantly brighter upon the altar of his piety. He adds his own testimony to this effect. "The time was entirely too short for me, and the subjects too numerous, upon which I would gladly have conversed with him; so numerous indeed, that I was in doubt often which should be taken first. * * * The consideration of these caused me greater joy, and was far more pleasing to me, than the possession of many pièces of gold or jewels." Owing to the difference of style also, and he had the privilege of participating in, and receiving benefit from the solemn ser vice of Passion week.

The less important employments, which occupied the remainder of his time, were making arrangements, with the aid of the Dr. and a gentleman by name Matthison, for his voyage; and also in corresponding with the friends and benefactors he had left behind, in various places in Germany, viz. Halle, Einbeck, Hanover &c., none of whom he had forgotten. On the 8th of June, in company with the Dr. he went to London to attend the meeting of the "*Societas de propaganda cognitione Christi*," and afterwards to the Trustees of the mission in Georgia, for the purpose of obtaining the necessaries for his voyage, as it was concluded by the brethren in London, that it would be better to have him sail thither first, whence in company with one of the clergymen of the station, he might proceed to Pa. After the above interview, he went with Mr. Matthison to obtain a gown and band, and we cannot resist the inference, that this was thought sufficient by the English clergymen of that day, to constitute a Lutheran pastor a regular apostolic minister, a course of proceeding strikingly in

contrast with the conduct of their successors, in the present age.

It was stated above, that the Trustees of the mission thought it better to send him first to Georgia; accordingly a passage was procured for him on board of the Georgia packet, which they were sending with provisions to Gen. Oglethorpe. This ship sailed from London, on the 11th of June, and fell down the river to Gravesend, anchoring opposite to it, in the evening of the 12th, without, however, having him on board. He remained the 11th in Kensington, availed himself of this last opportunity of conversing with the Dr. in a profitable manner, and after devotional exercises with him took leave, sorrowfully but yet not with despondence. He had a powerful though unseen Friend upon whom he could confidently rely. The 12th he left London in the tide boat and reached Gravesend, in company with Mr. Matthison, who accompanied him to the ship, by request of the Dr. He did not go on board that day, but the next, after dining with the Captain and Mr. M. at the house of another Trustee, being well provided with all the necessaries for his voyage.

For the sake of diversifying the narrative, and increasing the interest of it, the writer proposes to let the Journal of the author speak for itself, during the voyage. Several reasons induce him to adopt this course. In giving a condensed statement of facts in one's own language, there is frequently a sad want of minuteness of detail, which necessarily wearies the reader, being composed of mere generalities. Besides this, the judgment of the writer may frequently fail in making just deductions from the facts stated, and an improper estimate of character be made. For the above reasons, and also for the equally cogent one of wishing to have the Journal itself in print to preserve it from destruction, the remainder of the narrative, until the arrival of the subject of our memoir in Georgia, will be given in the exact words of the Journal itself, with such occasional remarks of the writer as may be necessary to preserve the connection, when any portions may, for reasons satisfactory to himself, be suppressed. It is not the design of the writer to give the *whole* of it, for much of it would probably not interest, and his want of space must confine him to such extracts as shall be sufficient to give a clear idea of the character of the author himself, as displayed under a different phase of human life — the difficulties and trials of a voyage over the ocean. Many things appear well in sunshine, which present but an indifferent picture in darkness. It may be well to state, before giving these extracts, that his situation on board

of this vessel was not likely to prove the most agreeable. For though he had given some attention to the English language, whilst he was remaining with Dr. Ziegenhagen, he may be regarded as having been virtually unacquainted with it for the purpose of holding any agreeable social intercourse with his fellow passengers, and a deprivation of this kind, during a monotonous and protracted voyage, is any thing but pleasant. Such a condition as this necessarily gave him many unpleasant feelings, and he expresses his regret, in this part of his autobiography, that he had not been able to have a companion from among his own countrymen, to share the difficulties of his new situation with him, to assist him with his advice, and give him an occasional opportunity at least of agreeable converse. This thought is introduced, for the purpose of explaining how much pleased he was, on going on board of the ship, to find that there was a family of Germans there, it is true, not in the same condition of life with himself, still interesting to him, both from the very fact of their being fellow countrymen and speaking the same language; and also from their sufferings, for he could apply to himself, the sentiment of the Roman poet: "*Haud ignarus mali, miseris succurrere disco.*" This family of Saltzburgers were refugees from religious persecution in Germany, and by the efforts of Dr. Z. at their own urgent solicitation, were on their way to join their brethren, who had preceded them, at Ebenezer in Georgia. Thus much it was necessary to premise, by way of explanation. His Journal then begins:

"I found these people already on board, and rejoiced that I would have some persons with whom I might profitably converse, in my native language. * * As soon as I went on board I looked about for my two chests of books, the one from Halle, the other from the "Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge," but I could not find them, because every thing was yet in a state of great confusion. Afterwards I learned, they had been kept back by some persons in London, commissioned for that purpose by Dr. Z. by whom they were to be sent, in the first ship, for Philadelphia. I had, however, the most necessary things with me, in my trunk and chest, including some medicine, which the kind lady of Dr. Götzen in Halle had given me. Afterwards I examined the ship and passengers, with whom I was for a time to live and travel. The ship had two masts, ten cannons of a small size, some swivels, muskets, pistols, sabres and a drum. There were on board seven sailors, a captive Spaniard as cook, a drummer, and a boy to act as waiter. In the cabin of the Captain where I

was to lodge, there were also seven other passengers, who were on their way to America, viz. a lawyer, an officer of the customs, a lieutenant, a merchant, two young men, and a single lady who had been re-captured from the Spaniards, and was now proceeding thither for the second time. I myself was the eighth and the Captain the ninth, who were to lodge, eat and sleep, in the same room. In the other part of the ship (the steerage) were the two old Saltzburgers, with their three children, four tailors, a female and the sailors. Our ship was not in a situation to hold out, and defend itself against enemies. The Trustees of the Mission, however, had asked for one of the royal ships of war to accompany us as a convoy, which was to meet us in the harbor at Portsmouth." * * * *

"The 13th of June, in the evening about 5 o'clock, we raised the anchor, and sailed away from Gravesend." * * * *

"June the 14th, I was obliged to keep my bed all day, in consequence of having taken a cold on the preceding day, and sea-sickness. * * We reached this day Ramsgate Roads, and anchored until the tide. The 15th, we passed Dover and had beautiful weather. * * * * June 16. We had windy weather, occasionally also a dead calm. This day I was able to be up out of bed, and take the first morsel of food on ship-board. * * In the afternoon, a small ship with two masts came towards us. Our Captain became uneasy, and said that the Spaniards had already taken several ships from the English, in the same way, representing themselves to be French fishing vessels. He therefore ordered the drummer to beat, and a noise to be made. The cannons were loaded, and every thing necessary for defence, prepared. When they came a little nearer, our Captain took the speaking trumpet and asked them: Who they were? and why they came so near? They replied they were French and wished to fish. Hereupon they withdrew, and we passed them quietly. My mind was easy and comfortable, confidently relying upon my reconciled Father in Heaven; and hearing one of the Saltzburgers singing: "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott," I was exceedingly pleased. * * This same day, I learned, how detestably and dreadfully the crew, and indeed all the English passengers cursed and swore. Before this time, I had never heard and understood any cursing in the English language. * * * As I had been for a long time principally among pious persons, and had heard things entirely different, it was particularly painful to me, especially as I could not express myself well enough, in the English language, to reprove them with earnestness."

"June 17th. We had fine weather, and passed Beachy Head. The conduct of the passengers, had such an effect upon me, that I was not able to be up, the whole day. They were both rude and wicked. They cursed continually, sang all kinds of loose songs, and were disorderly beyond measure. The Captain also participated. They desired to make me also a partner in their folly, but as I manifested my displeasure at their conduct by serious looks, they wished to abuse me, but the Captain forbade it. I was however calm, and thought God could take care of his honor. . . . . "

"June 18th. . . . . During the time I was able to be up, I was busily engaged in prayer, and instruction of the children of the Saltzbürgers. . . At 11 o'clock at night we reached Spithead. . .

"June 19th. The most of our passengers went to-day in a boat to Portsmouth, consequently I had an opportunity of bringing my affairs into a little order. I was however able to sleep but little, during the night, inasmuch as they returned at a late hour, in a state of intoxication, and were almost constantly noisy during the remainder of the night."

"Sunday the 20th. I was somewhat indisposed, however I went to the Saltzbürgers, sang a hymn with them, and explained the Gospel for the day. . . . "

The sickness of which he complains, continued without intermission, and increased in severity so much, that frequently, between the above mentioned date and July 7th, he was obliged to keep his bed the whole day, and the remainder of the day was in a weak condition. Various delays occurred to prevent their sailing. The ship of war, which was accompanying them was injured, and obliged to make repairs; this with other causes kept them in the neighborhood of England for some two weeks, so that by the 7th of July only, did they reach Land's End. We have thought it better to suppress this portion of the Journal, as it is occupied principally with a description of these delays, and other things of a similar kind, by no means of a pleasant character, to one anxious to reach his destination, but of no special interest. It will not be thought strange, that his sea-sickness should have continued so long, when he gives the following picture of their domestic arrangements: "Our beer had already become sour, the water bad, the food of those in health, viz. pies, pork, salted fish, salt smoked beef, though excellent gifts of God are not adapted to restore a sick man to health. Waiting upon also is a thing entirely out of the question, as every one is glad if he is only able to help himself." The Journal thus continues:

"July 10th. In the morning the ship of war left us, to return, and we proceeded on our voyage alone. . . . In the afternoon we had fair weather but little wind. Towards evening, the Captain gave orders that all the males on board should come on the quarter deck, for the purpose of being drilled. Nothing however was said to me. At 5 o'clock, they all came together, received their swords, pistols, muskets, guns and powder. One of the tailors, from fear, had secreted himself, but he was dragged out, by means of a rope. Hereupon each one had his place assigned him by the Captain, which he was to occupy in case of attack. They were drilled for several hours, even discharging thir pieces. . . For the first time, during the week, I ate a morsel with any appetite."

"July 11th. 4th Sunday after Trinity. I held divine service with the Saltzbürgers. . . . The Captain and some of the English passengers stood at a distance, and were moved by our prayers. They were consequently also invited to make a proper use of the Lord's day. One brought out the Book of Common Prayer, others, other books not of a religious kind. . . I took advantage of this opportunity to remind the Captain of his duty in reference to these passengers, that they were temporarily entrusted to him, yet he had made no provision for their hearing the word of God; . . and suggested to him that there were many of the passengers at leisure, who might read either from the Bible or a printed sermon for the benefit of the rest. The Captain however made no reply. At noon we observed the latitude and found it to be 47° 52′. We had west and north winds constantly."

"July 12. In the morning at 4 o'clock, we were all aroused and summoned to arms, as the guard had seen a ship in the distance. As we were in the neighborhood of Spain, we feared it might be a privateer. I had been the evening before indisposed, and felt in consequence weak, however I arose, commended my soul and body and all those on ship-board to the care of the compassionate Jesus. Afterwards, I went on deck, and placed myself in a position to assist in the defence. . . . We however lost sight of the ship and saw it no more."

July 13–14. His sickness sttll continued, though he says: "Whilst my body was very weak, and my mind in many respects disturbed, on account of the disorderly conduct of the passengers, yet my gracious Shepherd did not suffer me to stand in need of internal comfort. And indeed so long as Jehovah is my Shepherd, I shall not want. . . The wind was still w. . ."

"July 15. The wind was somewhat more favorable, viz. N. by E. and the weather beautiful. I was able to arise, and was somewhat refreshed by the pleasant weather, though still unable to eat. . . ." He mentions a conversation he had with the passengers in answer to the question: Why they were Protestants?

"July 16. . . The English passengers were outrageous, they cursed and swore, and were guilty of such wicked conduct, that I was greatly affected, and could scarcely hold up my head. They did not indeed come near me, but who can hear without pain, the name of God dishonored, especially when he is waiting for the speedy arrival of that time, when all shall sing, "Lord, our Lord, how excellent thy name in all the earth." Towards evening, an alarm was given, that four large ships were sailing towards us from a distance. As we were in a very dangerous region, in the neighborhood of Portugal, the Captain and passengers lost all courage, for they supposed they might be a Spanish man-of-war, with merchant ships. I myself was cheerful and happy in mind, for I was persuaded, that if we should be taken captive, my reconciled Father in Christ would be with me, and it could not be worse with me, than to hear the name of God blasphemed; if I should be killed, my sick and sinful body only would be destroyed, my soul, however, through grace, would enter into eternal rest. . . . The Captain ordered all the lights to be extinguished. We were anxious to sail away from the vessels, but the wind was contrary. I remained up almost the whole night, and praying to my Father in secret. The Captain and other passengers asked me what was the state of my mind? I replied that I was happy, because God was reconciled to me in Christ, and I did not wish to live if God were my enemy."

"July 17. Three of the ships came very near to us, and we placed ourselves in position, and waited for the end. The fourth sailed off in an oblique direction, as did also the three others; we were therefore glad and allowed them to pass us in silence. I exhorted the passengers, hereupon, to break off their sinful practices and turn to God through Jesus Christ. . . . . One of the passengers read aloud a beautiful English Tract, but they fell asleep. Ah! how corrupt are our hearts! . . ."

"July 18—5th Sunday after Trinity. . . . . In the afternoon the Captain came to me, and requested me to hold service for all the people on ship-board. I asked him to excuse me, as I was not able to express myself well enough in English to such an extent, and the people consequently would not understand me, if I attempted it, or else my inaccurate pro-

nunciation would only excite laughter. The Captain however pressed me, and said that it would occasion no difficulty. As the English have a regular service prescribed for them, to which they confine themselves very closely, I told the Captain to request one of the passengers to read the Evening Prayer, and I would afterwards read a portion of Scripture and say a few words upon it. The Captain hereupon rang the bell, and collected together all the people, and after the prayers had been read, I made some remarks upon the 24: 16–17 verses of Isaiah. They were attentive and curious, perhaps because they had not had an opportunity of hearing any religious discourse for a long period of time. . . . . ”

“July 19. Again indisposed; so that I was not able to be up in the morning. . . . About 12 o’clock the alarm was given, that two ships were again coming towards us. . . The ships came to us with such rapidity, that we had scarcely a half hour left; therefore there was very great confusion on board. . . I dressed myself quickly, commended my soul and body to my good Shepherd, and as the Captain requested all to assist in the defence, I girded a sword about me, took my post, loaded my swivel gun, but prayed God not to allow us to fall into the hands of our enemies. . . I felt a little trepidation, however, when the ships came near our weather-bow, but my heart was comforted and composed, as I thought, perhaps, I would have the privilege of being that day with my Lord in Paradise. The windows in our cabin had all been barred, and closed with thick oaken shutters, and the cannon shoved forward to the exposed side of the ship. We succeeded in getting into a tolerable state of order. As now the ship in advance constantly approached nearer, and we had already hung out the English colors, our Captain was still more of the opinion, that they were Spaniards. He thereupon gave orders to fire one of the cannon, to prevent them from coming too near, but before the order was executed, on reflection, he thought it better to speak to them. Twice he asked who they were? and was upon the point of firing, when a reply was received, that they were English ships, and supposed we were Spaniards. . . . . ”

“July 22. We had the first favorable wind.”

“July 23. The favorable wind not only continued but became stronger, and our ship darted forward like an arrow. . . .”

“July 24. . . . We thought we were now in the neighborhood of Madeira, our sailors consequently ran up the masts; but there was no land in sight. My mind was filled with the

thought, that we were now leaving Europe and I prayed God to forgive all the sins I had committed whilst living there, . . . to make the mediation of His Son always sufficient for me a sinner, so that in his own good time, I might be able, with a peaceful conscience, to leave this world, and enter that really New World above, and dwell there forever. . . . . "

"July 25. In the afternoon, at the request of the Captain, after prayers, I delivered a discourse, upon the 18th verse of the 27th chapter of Ezekiel. After the service, they were tolerably quiet, by degrees however they became noisy. . . . In our cabin they were quite reserved as long as I was with them, but after I had left them, and retired to bed, their sinful conduct and conversation were resumed. . . . "

July 26. He remarks in this part of his Journal, that he was obliged, as there was no physician on board, to act in this capacity, and administer some of the medicine, which he had brought with him from Halle, as he thought would be useful. His prescriptions were found of use in several cases, and in consequence many applications were made for his assistance. The above is mentioned, for the purpose of calling attention to the effect produced by it upon the minds of the passengers. He says: "The people, therefore, began to be drawn towards me, which I made use of, for the purpose of giving that spiritual instruction in private, which they needed. God grant that every thing may not prove ineffectual, as now appears to be the case."

"July 27. The favorable wind still continued. . . As we were now constantly approaching the line, the heat began to increase in the ship very much, which was a source of great inconvenience to me, as I was provided only with woollen, and no linen clothes. . . The rats also occasioned me very great trouble in my sleeping room, for they were so numerous on ship-board, that we might have counted several thousands. They occasioned me many sleepless nights, and came so near to me, in my bed, that I was obliged to frighten them away with my pocket handkerchief, like flies."

"July 28. . . One of the passengers, the merchant was distressed in mind. He withdrew from the others, . . entreating the other passengers to refrain from cursing, swearing and wicked conversation. He manifested also for me great and undeserved partiality. . . . I had also the Lieutenant under medical treatment, as he was sick. He showed, during his sickness, propriety of conduct, and was very quiet, abstaining from every thing improper. . . "

"July 29. Wind contrary. . . The Captain informed us, that the water would soon give out, if the contrary winds continued. On this account he prepared to put each person upon a daily allowance. . . . In such circumstances one learns to value properly the gift of God, which before he had lightly esteemed. Ah! how sweet is a draught of water to a thirsty person, even though it is half putrid. . . ."

July 30–31. The contrary wind still continued. In this part of the Journal is an account of another religious conversation, which he had with the English passengers, too long however to be transcribed in full. The object of it was to show, by a comparison of their conduct with the instructions they had received, and by their frequently broken resolutions of amendment, the necessity of a radical change, to which he exhorted them by the exercise of faith in Christ. He then continues: "They all listened with attention, admitted the justice of what I had said, and thanked me for my instructions. But how difficult is it to get the doctrine of regeneration permanently introduced into the minds of men. The numerous prejudices which cloud the understanding, the strong sinful habits, together with riches, worldly prosperity and cares, are powerful hindrances." . . . . .

August 1. 7th Sunday after Trinity. . . I had an interesting conversation with one who had been carefully and religiously brought up by his father in Scotland, but had not lived in accordance with his early instructions. By the earnest request of the Captain also, I preached in the afternoon and they were exceedingly attentive, and not a little affected. In the evening, every thing was quiet, and some were even heard, repeating what had been said, which is a very rare occurrence among such people."

Aug. 2–3. Wind contrary. The conduct of the passengers again very exceptionable, which he as usual endeavored to correct. . . . .

Aug. 4–5. These were the two worst days, during the whole voyage, as regards the conduct of the passengers. The Captain had foolishly supplied the crew with brandy, and they had become intoxicated. First, a fight arose between a drunken sailor, and the husband of a woman, who had been knocked down by the former, — the husband being in a like condition with the other combatant. The interference even of the Captain himself, could not terminate the scene. It was only checked, after one person had been stabbed, by the passengers interfering and confining the two in irons. Next ensued a regular boxing match, which the Captain himself and

most of the other passengers encouraged, insisting that it might be carried on decently, in accordance with rule, and two combatants regularly maltreated each other, and afterwards became friends again. Lastly, from a spirit of emulation towards these worthies, two of the latter class of passengers challenged each other to a duel—to take place immediately upon landing. Of this latter he himself happened to become cognizant as they were settling the terms, and it is pleasing to record, that by his faithful representation of the sinfulness and folly of their conduct, they were induced to withdraw the challenge and become friends. The parties in the other affray were generally conversed with, on the impropriety and sinfulness of their conduct. But no wonder that he concludes the record of one of these days as follows: "Weary of a life in such a Lazaretto and mad house, I prayed to my gracious Father in secret to send us speedily a favorable wind to bring us to our destination."—And the next day also: "When I awoke, the ship was in rapid motion, as God in his mercy had sent us a fine East wind, which incited me to praise and trust Him."

Aug. 6–7. Wind still East. Again engaged in a lengthy conversation with the passengers, which, as it gives nothing additional or necessary to the elucidation of his character, we think may properly be omitted.

Aug. 8. This day he was requested by the Captain and the lawyer to read also the Common Prayers, and though he asked to be excused, he was finally prevailed upon. He speaks as follows: "One dare not think that the prayers contain anything which is inconsistent with, or opposed to the doctrines of the Lutheran church, for they contain valuable sentiments and truths taken from the Bible. Besides this, they make use of the same prayers and ceremonies in the German Lutheran Court Chapel at London, as I myself know, for I heard them read by the Clerk before the sermon, and was edified by them. I read the prayers therefore, and the people were pleased. . . In the evening read the Evening Prayer, but was prevented from preaching, by a violent storm of wind and rain. . . . ."

"Aug. 9. . . In the afternoon a shark was seen under the ship. . . A hook of a large size baited with meat was let down by the sailors for the purpose of catching him. The fish, however, the first time adroitly managed to get the meat, without swallowing the hook. The hook was let down a second time, with more success. The crew dragged him out with joyful shouts and first cut off his tail. Notwithstanding this, he tossed himself about so violently on deck, that the

whole ship was shaken. . . We all made trial to eat him, each having received a share for this purpose, mine being the heart. The flesh however was rough and had a strong odor."

Aug. 10. He was permitted to be much alone on deck. In reference to this he says: "These periods, when I could retire from the others and be alone, were very blessed to me, and necessary to my spiritual health."

Aug. 11, 12, 13. Favorable wind constant. He continued his usual duties, and had renewed conversation with the passengers, to which he endeavored to give a religious turn. The following extract from his Journal may not be without its use. "To-day, with the exception of my ordinary reading and instruction, could not do much else than meditate a little upon a sermon for the approaching Sunday, because the motion of the ship, owing to the violence of the wind, was too great. I had an earnest desire to express myself correctly on the approaching Lord's day, and touch upon all the sins which had been committed, during the two preceding weeks, drinking, fighting, cursing, jesting and foolish amusements, if perchance their consciences might be awakened, and they induced to seek the Savior." . . . . .

Aug. 14. He had a lengthy conversation with the poor Spaniard, who was a Catholic, whom he endeavored to bring to a proper conviction of the truth, and he adds the following remark: "One must be very provident with such persons, as they have strong prejudices against us." . . . .

Aug. 15, 16, 17. During these days, the wind still continued favorable, and they crossed the Tropic of Cancer. The history of the occurrences on ship board, is given at considerable length, and doubtless some would wish to have it entire, but the writer thinks it sufficient to mention, that he again had an interesting discussion with the lawyer, upon the impropriety and sinfulness of "foolish jesting," and he refused for himself and the Saltzburgers to pay any thing, to avoid the usual treatment of those who cross the Tropic or the Line for the first time, because the money is usually spent in drinking. At the same time, he expressed his willingness to give his portion for the purpose of obtaining necessaries for the poor sailors, and a proposition to this effect on his part, induced them, to make disposition of the money he recommended, and to cease further preparations for celebrating the crossing of it with appropriate ceremonies. Blessed is indeed the influence of a good man, in all respects.

"Aug. 18. Favorable wind ceased and there was a calm. . . . . I observed the latitude myself, and found it 25° 9′.

In the afternoon we took the chart, drew a meridian, and sought the Latitudes and Longitudes of different places."

"Aug. 19. We had but little wind, occasionally a calm and vivid lightning. I observed the latitude and brought out 25° 43′. We saw some birds, and thought they were from the land. . . . . We caught also a dolphin. The glory of the Creator is very conspicuous in this fish. It is of the most beautiful golden and silver color, and whilst we had it in a barrel of water on ship-board, it changed its color, at least ten times, in a minute."

"Aug. 20. Less wind than before. Passengers somewhat quarrelsome. In the evening, suggested to the Captain, that he was too familiar with his men, and that this was the reason why he was obliged to complain of their neglect of their duties." In this conversation also, with him and the other passengers, they made the candid confession, after mutual explanations, that they had a high regard for him, that they still retained in their memories, what he had preached, and acknowledged its truth, but were often misled and induced to commit acts of folly, in a way they could not explain.

Aug. 21. This day there is the following interesting passage. "The English female, who is also a passenger with us in the cabin, has shown herself, for a long time, to be quite different from what she was at the beginning. She shows much reverence for the word of God, and displeasure at the foolish conversation of the others, withdraws from unprofitable company as much as possible, and reproves, when any thing is spoken against God."

Aug. 22. The Captain went several times to him requesting him to preach. At first he declined, supposing the Captain not to be serious in desiring it. However in the afternoon, he consented and preached from the text: "Blessed are the poor in spirit." He says, "God assisted me, so that I could express myself as I wished. The hearers were all very attentive and affected, . . and the discourse seemed to be more successful than on previous occasions, for they were orderly and quiet during the evening."

Aug. 23 – 26. Wind generally very moderate and becoming less each day. He continued his usual employments.

"Aug. 27. We had again to-day no wind, which indeed may yet make our voyage distressing, as the water for drinking and cooking is almost exhausted. The Captain has ordered all the hogs, chickens and ducks to be killed, for the purpose of saving the water. He has also given to us this week smaller portions, which is a serious deprivation during these hot days,

especially for the crew, who are obliged to labor and wash frequently. . . . . ."

"Aug. 28. To-day we had no wind. . . . . In bed I prayed to my Father in secret, and desired if it was in accordance with his will and for our good, he would send us a favorable wind, to confirm my belief in a particular Providence and to put to shame those who were unbelieving."

"Aug. 29. We had a fresh breeze from the E. which carried us onward, refreshed and gladdened us. . . In the afternoon, at the request of the Captain, preached again upon the beautiful passage: "If any man thirsts, let him come to me and drink." . . . .

"Aug. 30. The wind changed to the N. and became cold. We had also, in the morning, violent rain. The people on board were all very active, and hung out table cloths, bedclothes and sails for the purpose of catching the rain water. It was truly surprising to see how eagerly they collected and drank the water. The suddenness of the change, from great heat to cold, caused sickness among the crew. The cold and wet weather also gave me such a violent shock, that I lost my strength and appetite, and was obliged to lie in bed. . . In our present condition, when we are so much in want of water, it is still more distressing to be sick, than at the commencement of the voyage. Yet every thing which our faithful God sends, turns out for the best."

Aug. 31 to Sept. 4. The wind continued favorable and was occasionally accompanied with rain. After suffering for several days, he regained his health, though the scarcity of the water still continued.

Sept. 4. Contrary wind, with violent thunder and lightning. The crew prepared the anchors and with the passengers looked with anxious eyes for land. The want of water made the people serious, and this light affliction made them attentive readers of the Scripture. Some brought out their Bibles, others their Prayer books. The lawyer was reading the Bible constantly. The Saltzburgers for some days, had dipped their pieces of bread in half salt and half fresh water, for they did not venture, owing to the great scarcity of fresh water, to eat the salted provisions on ship-board. As I observed them to be somewhat weak, I gave them daily some tea or coffee, that they might not be compelled to drink the foul water alone, but have it made more palatable and useful. They were thus continued in health. . . In the evening our people sounded, but could find no bottom, and as there was no land in sight, they became despondent."

"Sept. 5. 13th Sunday after Trinity. . . We prayed for favorable wind, and God in his mercy caused an East wind to blow, which carried us onward rapidly. . . . In the evening our people gave vent to joyful feelings prematurely, as they thought they saw land."

"Sept. 6. . . . . In the evening the crew sank the lead, but they could find no bottom, and land was not visible even from the masts, which occasioned much depression of spirits, as the water for drinking had given out, and only a small quantity could be given to each one. The crew murmured, and said they could not work, if they had nothing to drink. I told them to complain, not of God, but of their sins."

"Sept. 7. The wind was again somewhat contrary so that we were obliged to tack. The Captain was depressed, because his calculation for longitude had been completed and they had as yet found no bottom or land. . . In the afternoon, we saw two ships in the distance. One came from the left, the other from the right towards us. The one from the left continued to sail in her regular course, the other which was small, came towards us, under full sail. Our Captain examined it with the spy-glass and said that it looked like a privateer, but whether it was an English or Spanish, he could not tell, whereupon the cannon were placed in position, and the arms put in readiness. Each one was stationed at his post. When they saw our preparations from the strange ship, they sailed away in another direction. We were glad that God in his mercy had removed this threatened danger . . though the passengers declared if they met another ship, whether friend or foe, they would abide the consequences of hailing it, in order to get water."

"Sept. 8. . . Again we saw a large ship in the distance. . . The Captain determined to sail towards it. The wind however was too much ahead, he therefore hung out the English colors and fired our largest cannon. . . As soon, however, as this was done, the strange ship crowded on all their canvass, and rapidly sailed away from us, and our hope of getting water went with it. We were in perplexity, as to the proper course to be pursued. The crew said it would be better for them to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, than to die of thirst. The passengers found fault with the Captain, because he had erred so much in his calculations, and been negligent, in consequence of which, we did not know where we were. I reminded them, that they should not fail to recognize the true reason for present affliction, that God designed them for their

benefit, that they might be brought to a knowledge of their sins, and faith in Jesus Christ. . . ."

"Sept. 9. To-day we had no wind at all. We consulted how we might preserve our lives, some days, without drinking. The Captain said he had yet a considerable quantity of *oil*, of which each might drink a little daily and thus preserve his life. He had also some bottles of vinegar, of which we occasionally took a little. The Saltzburgers complained of weakness in their limbs, and were troubled also with the scurvy. I gave them some medicine, and coffee, which, with the blessing of God, produced an excellent effect. We comforted ourselves with the promises of God's word, and determined to strengthen ourselves by partaking of the Holy Sacrament, when we were to die. . . In the evening, our crew sought again for the bottom, and looked out for land, but were disappointed in both. I spoke with some of the crew, and explained to them how lamentable their condition was, so long as they were out of the family of God." . .

"Sept. 10. To-day we had little wind, but our gracious God refreshed us with rain. Although the rain water is very bitter, still our people collected all the drops they could, and licked up every part of it. In the evening the sea was very calm, and four whales came about our ship, which were sixty feet long, and made a preat noise. The Captain was somewhat concerned, and said that they sometimes go under the ship and occasion danger. . . . . We had also another annoyance. As long as there was sweet water on board, the rats used it with ourselves. For some of the passengers observed, that they had eaten holes into the top of the water casks, and saw them putting their tails through these, and licking off the water adhering to them, after being withdrawn. But as they now had no water, and could not drink the seawater, they came in troops by night, into our sleeping rooms, and licked the perspiration from our faces. I myself had the fortune of having a rat come to my face, and licking the perspiration from it, until I awoke and drove it away. The bugs tormented me so much also, that I could have slept only a few nights more. The crew sank the lead, but could find no bottom, nor see any land. In short, we did not know where we were, and we appeared to be out of the reach of human aid."

"Sept. 11. Again a calm. We ventured to eat little or nothing, as we could get but little to drink. We observed by the latitude that we were far from Carolina. Our Captain had

sailed in this direction for the first time. I sang with the Saltzburgers some hymns about faith and death, and spoke to them of a happy end. The Lord comforted us, for we knew we could lose nothing by death. In the afternoon, a whirl-wind blew quite unexpectedly, but the crew hastily furled the sails and we escaped the danger. . . . ."

"Sept. 13. When I arose this morning, I felt very weak and badly, owing to the sickness of the previous day, and the rapid motion of the ship. The crew were very joyful, and said they had not had such a wind during the whole voyage. . . It was indeed so strong, that we sometimes made eight miles in an hour, and the waves on either side were dashed into the ship. . . . ."

"Sept. 14. God in his mercy preserved us during the last night, and allowed the strong favorable wind to continue all day. I was lying sick the whole day. The Captain had still a little wine left, of which he occasionally gave me some. In the evening, they tried again to find bottom, and were at last successful in finding it at twenty-five fathoms. As soon as it was found, a great noise was made on board by the passengers and crew, so that I thought some accident had happened. The people, in the excess of their joy, leaped off from the ground into the air, and cried out bottom! bottom!! the Captain ran down to me, pressed my hand and welcomed me to the coast of Carolina. I exhorted him and the passengers to be heartily grateful to God. The wind remained good, and brought us during the night into twelve fathoms."

"The water presented quite a different appearance. It now became light green, whilst upon the ocean generally it is dark even approaching to black. . . . ."

Sept. 15. They were driven by contrary winds backwards again. . . .

"Sept. 16. To-day our water for drinking was entirely exhausted. A little was collected out of the vessels, but it was more like dirt than water. What were we to do? We were not able to get to land. In the distance, however, we saw two ships of war and knew, by their flags, that they were English. Our Captain neared the ships, as if he were sailing towards St. Augustine, or the Spanish countries, for the purpose of enticing the English ships towards us, and obtaining some water. As soon as they observed this, they followed in pursuit, supposing us to be Spaniards. . . Our Captain did not hoist the English colors, otherwise the ships would have sailed away from us. As we neither waited nor showed the colors, the admiral ship fired a cannon, on which account we were ob-

liged to stop, until they both came up. The Captain of the ship of war demanded of our Captain why we acted so strangely, to which he replied, that we were out of water, and were obliged to adopt this means of obtaining it. They gave us three casks of water. When it had been brought on board, we felt as if we had been presented with wine or nectar, although it was half putrid. . . In such circumstances as these, one learns to value properly the gifts of God. As we now had water, our Captain desired to sail for Georgia, but was deterred from adopting this course, by the intelligence from the Captain of the ship-of-war, that the Spaniards had made an incursion into Georgia, a few weeks before, with five thousand men, and that some might still be lingering about that neighborhood." . .

Sept. 17–21. Again they found to their disappointment, the wind contrary, and were driven about and kept off from the coast until the 21st of Sept., when they obtained a pilot from Charleston and sailed, until about seven miles from it.

"Sept. 22. Early this morning we raised the anchor, passed by the fort, and reached the town, about 8 o'clock. We fired a cannon as a joyful salute, and it was returned from the Commodore's ship. Here ended a period, during which our reconciled Father in Christ, from pure compassion, and the many prayers offered up in my behalf, by his children in England and Germany, manifested his special providence, goodness and patience towards me." . . . . .

Sept. 24. Accompanied by the Captain of the vessel to the wharf, he left in the boat for Savannah, in company with the Saltzburger family, who had been his associates also, in his voyage over the Atlantic. They sailed through the small rivers along the coast, which communicated with each other, and without accident of any consequence reached Beaufort the 30th of the same month. . . At Beaufort he was very kindly treated by an Episcopal clergyman named Jones and thence continued their voyage, night and day until they reached Savannah.

Oct. 2. He was fortunate in finding here the Rev. Mr. Gronau, one of the pastors at Ebenezer, and in company with him, he rode on horseback to the place above mentioned, and, on his arrival, was received in a kind and Christian manner by Rev. Mr. Boltzius, to whom he had been recommended by letter. At Ebenezer, he remained until the 11th of Oct., having been much pleased with the promising condition of the Orphan-house, and participating, with the pastors and people, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Boltzius had been requested, by Dr. Ziegenhagen in the letter, to accompany

Mr. M. to Pa. Many circumstances rendered this an undertaking of questionable expediency, at that time, arising from the condition of the pastor's family and the Orphan house. However, after deliberate and prayerful consultation, with the consent of the congregation, he determined to accompany him thither. Accordingly, with this intention, they left together, in the boat from Ebenezer, the 11th of Oct., arriving at Savannah the 12th, and Charleston the 20th of the month. On their arrival at the latter place, they found to their great disappointment, that there was no ship then about sailing for Pa., and none intending to sail that season, as the winter was just setting in. After waiting four days, and seeking, to no purpose, an opportunity of reaching their destination, Mr. B. thought it advisable to return to Ebenezer. Mr. M. did not return with him, but remained for the purpose of making still further inquiries, and if these should prove fruitless, it was agreed, that it would be better for him to spend the winter in Ebenezer, and go to Pa. early in the Spring. He remained consequently in Charleston, until the 12th of Nov., for the above purpose. He was entertained with some hopes of a passage, but they were slight. One opportunity presented of going by land, but as it would have been necessary for him, in this case, to purchase a horse, and also leave his baggage behind him, it was declined. . . Whilst he was in this perplexity, he heard of a small sloop, which was to sail shortly for Philadelphia. He consulted with several of his friends, and the Captain of one of the ships, but they all advised him not to go on board of such a dangerous vessel. However, after taking all the circumstances into prayerful consideration, he determined to go. It may, perhaps, be interesting to quote his own words. "Hereupon, I again returned home and reflected over the matter with prayer to God, examined my call, and was well satisfied my destination was not Charleston or Savannah, but Philadelphia. I recalled to mind, the expression of the Danish missionary Zeylin:

> "Willt du mich tod
> Hier bin ich, mein Gott,
> Willt du, dass ich soll leben
> Will ich mich drein ergeben." "

Hereupon, he waited upon the Captain of the sloop, and although he freely acknowledged the uncomfortable state of his vessel, and bad accommodations, he charged him for them five Guineas. . . .

Nov. 12th, as above stated, he sailed in the small sloop, from Charleston, there being in all nine persons on board. They

did not get further the first day, than the Fort, where, whilst supping with the commandant, he heard some persons singing in a neighboring room, a well known German tune, and upon asking who they were, was informed, they were "Dutch people." He paid them a visit, before his departure, had a pleasant and instructive conversation with them, and before leaving, at their earnest request, presented them with a volume of sermons.

The next day, they succeeded in reaching the open sea again, but he did not escape from sea-sickness, although having suffered so much, from the same cause, on his voyage from England. The motion of the small sloop was so violent and abrupt, that he suffered very much from sickness. Besides this, his situation was rendered still worse by the excessive cold, and the wickedness of the persons on the sloop, who gave him pain by the dreadful oaths they used, notwithstanding his frequent admonitions to the contrary.

Wednesday Nov. 17th. He remarks in his Journal: "The rain and violent wind continued, our crew were all night in the rain and sea-water: they are consequently half frozen and and half dead. . . Our small cabin is about large enough for three men. The men have however no way of helping themselves, they creep in to us, lie and trample upon, and incommode each other greatly. Since Saturday, I have been lying in my nest, and been constantly sick. I dare not lay off my clothes, on account of the cold, and am not able to change them, on account of the dreadful motion of the sloop, besides wanting the room and strength necessary for it."

"Nov. 18. . . I have not been able either to eat or drink any thing, since Friday evening last, and now have in addition a violent fever. I asked the Captain whether it were possible for him to place me any where on the land, but he replied, if I would give him a hundred pounds, he could not reach it."

"Nov. 19. During the past night, it rained violently, and the wind was so strong, that we sailed more *below* than *above* the water. The crew were again lying about us. . . Oh! how long did the minutes and quarter hours appear to me. About me, were the drenched people with their dreadful cursing. From above, the rain fell down upon me. From below, and through the sides, the sea-water came into my bed. Besides, there was constant nausea in my stomach, the fever was raging in my veins, and the vermin were preying upon my body. . . One thought comforted me, and still kept me patient — when the timbers creaked, I thought the sloop would

sink, drown my poor body of sin in the waves, and cause my soul to be transferred to my Redeemer. . . ."

Without making further extracts, as enough has doubtless been given to satisfy, without surfeiting the curiosity of the reader, it will be proper to bring this part of the narrative to a close, by stating, that after enduring for a few days longer a life of the kind above mentioned, certainly not an enviable one, and endeavoring to dissuade the people from their horrid oaths and curses by frequent exhortations, a termination was put to his sufferings, by his arrival in Philadelphia, Nov. 25th, 1742.

The writer has now reached that point in his narrative, with which it was his intention to conclude. It may not be thought inappropriate, to present in the compass of a few paragraphs, an estimate of his character, based upon the facts recorded in the preceding extracts. It cannot have escaped the notice of the most inattentive reader, that the situation in which the subject of this memoir was placed was one of *peculiar* trial. It was a trial of *endurance*.

Protracted sickness reduced his bodily strength, whilst to this was added a constant want of the comforts, and ofttimes the veriest necessaries of human existence. His Journal, almost on every page, but especially in the description of the latter part of his voyage, from England to S. Carolina, and thence to Philadelphia in an unseaworthy sloop, presents a picture sad enough to contemplate, still harder for fortitude to endure. It was a trial of his *Christian character*. He was *confined*, without the possibility of escape, in the midst of a number of the most uncongenial characters, who found pleasure in low and even brutal gratifications, and with whom, at first, argument and sincere concern for their welfare had but little other effect, than to excite their ridicule, or provoke their hostility. He was compelled to hear and see things, painful to a gentleman of refined feelings, literary culture and sincere piety, almost without the means of defence, for his knowledge of the English language was at best imperfect, and they unacquainted with the German. And how did these things affect him? His bodily sufferings he endured almost without complaint—danger, whether real or imaginary it matters not, he met with the courage of a veteran soldier,—hunger and thirst occasioned no murmurs, but quickened him to increased watchfulness.

As a Christian and a Christian minister he endeavored to imitate his Divine Master. "He reproved, rebuked, was patient towards all." He gave constant instruction to the poor German emigrants and their children—suffered no false notions of superiority to lead him to neglect the humblest of the crew

—he spoke the truth with the same impartiality to the captious lawyer, and the uneducated Catholic cook; hence none can doubt the sincerity of his desire to honor that cause he had espoused, and to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of all. Though using the English language with difficulty, he did not refuse, on this account, to preach, but with this feeble instrument his labors were not unattended with benefit. For if they were not *all* Christians, they were at least *then* impressed with a sense of the importance of religion, and showed frequently external propriety of conduct, and respect for himself. The seed which is sown does not always *at once* spring up, blossom and bring forth fruit in luxuriance. Time only reveals the golden ears. Happy, however, the man whose conscience testifies, that he has embraced every opportunity "to cast his bread upon the waters, for he shall find it after many days." This he faithfully did, and though in the judgment of the writer, he may have been sometimes too strict in his requirements, it is but charitable to suppose, he knew best the persons with whom he was dealing. Rough characters require severity of treatment; the hardy oak of the forest will not yield to the breeze, which bends the humble flower to the earth; these were the general principles, doubtless, by which his conduct towards them was regulated; and the writer, therefore, may have doubts about the propriety of their application, in the case of these individuals, only because he is not fully acquainted with the circumstances. Be this as it may, the motives by which he was influenced were good, and his conduct met with its customary reward. For whatever be the *result* of human action, if it be guided by purity of motive, though based upon an error in judgment, the promise for the individual remains sure: *Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life.*

ARTICLE II.

SCRIPTURAL CHARACTER OE THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

By the Rev. H. I. Schmidt, D. D., New York.

For a good many years past a great deal has been written, and in various ways published, by ministers in connexion with the Lutheran church in America, from which those without, and christians of other denominations, can only draw one of two inferences: either that the Lutheran is a confessionless church; or that her confession is a dead letter—long since defunct and buried in oblivion, or, at best, existing only as a target to be shot at, or as a starting-point for all sorts of subjective speculations. Indeed, the most recent exhibitions, on the part of those who sustain this singular relation to our standards, which are really not yet quite moribund, are calculated to produce the impression abroad, that there is about Lutheranism nothing definite and fixed; that Lutheranism is a vague abstraction, having no hold on men's minds or hearts; waiting to be rendered acceptable to this enlightened and progressive age, admitting and requiring indefinite development, in accordance with the liberal ideas, and expanding views of this highly intelligent and rapidly advancing generation. We have, of late years, seen one publication follow fast upon the other, calculated to produce this impression upon those who are not of our communion, and equally so upon many who worship in our sanctuaries, but who, from sundry causes not to be here investigated, are ignorant of the standards, the doctrines, principles and usages of the first church of the Reformation,—the church of their fathers. In vain do writers, whose efforts tend to create such impressions, allege that the system which they are advocating is genuine Lutheranism. The plea would be summarily ruled out of every court of justice, and scouted by every competent and impartial jury. If Lutheranism be indeed a dogmatic system, susceptible of indefinite development in all sorts of subjetive directions, then, truly, it would be time to renounce it as having no foundation on that eternal rock of truth, the word of God:—if it be indeed a shifting quicksand, never the same, but ever changing its shape and bearings, with every tide of human opinion sweeping over it, who could maintain his foothold on it? Who would venture

to erect upon it the spiritual dwelling of his sojourn in this mortal state? But Lutheranism is no such baseless and unstable system — no such ever-varying, ever-shifting sandbank.

We deplore deeply and bitterly these destructive efforts, not only because we fervently love the church of our fathers, and feel the wrongs heaped upon her as though they were done to ourselves, but because we see but too plainly whither all this naturally and necessarily tends; to the multiplication of controversies, to the destruction of harmony in feeling and action, to the increase and perpetuation of disunion, if not eventually of something still more earnestly to be deprecated.

We have repeatedly intended and undertaken to discuss the subject named at the head of this article, and have refrained from carrying our purpose into effect, merely because we did not wish rashly and prematurely to provoke controversy, or to lay ourselves open to the ready charge of distracting the church by a needless agitation of contested points. But silence on such points has ceased to be a virtue in those who are true to the doctrinal system of our church. A war of extermination has long been carried on against the distinctive doctrinal views of our church, leaving those who are not willing to see her standard pulled down and trodden in the dust, no alternative but to buckle on their armor, and to enter the lists. We dare not sit still, and composedly regard, with cowardly indifference, the unceasing assaults made upon the articles of our faith.

The second article of the Evang. Review for April 1851, presents a mournful exhibition of hostility to our evangelical standards. The writer of that article here prominently displays his fixed aversion to the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper, as set forth in the Augustana and the subsequent symbolical books. Although we earnestly hope that abler pens than ours will undertake the defence of this so pertinaciously contested view, we are impelled, by a sense of duty, to say something in vindication of a doctrine which we hold sacred and precious; but ere we proceed to the direct discussion of the subject itself, we would yet premise a few remarks with reference to an assertion made in that same article just specified. Dr. S. there asserts, that Luther had receded from the doctrine of "the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's body, and that therefore he was himself no symbolic Lutheran." For this assertion no authority is given. Now we frankly acknowledge that we are utterly ignorant of any other foundation for this allegation, than the well-known fact that, at the Mar-

burg Colloquium, Luther, in his desire to promote or preserve the peace of the church, did at one time concede that Christ's body was circumscribed, whilst all who know this fact, also know, that the concession was retracted almost as soon as made, as a measure of compromise incompatible with his honest convictions. So much for Luther's being no symbolic Lutheran. But if this assertion be based upon the story so oft repeated, and only recently again reiterated in Henry's Life of Calvin, that Luther had, shortly before his death, changed his view of the Lord's Supper, we have only to say, that this has not the slightest historical foundation, and is utterly and notoriously false. He is, indeed, reported to have, a short time before his death, admitted that he might have gone to too great lengths in his disputes concerning the Lord's Supper, in the severity with which he treated his opponents; but that his own views had undergone a change he no where intimates.

In the above-mentioned article of Dr. S. a good deal is said about Luther's protesting "against the practice of designating the church of the Reformation by his name," and "against investing his writings with binding authority on his successors." But of these protests an improper use is here made. So far as the first point is concerned, the title: "Church of the Augsburg Confession," is quite as acceptable, and in some places nearly as current, as that of "the Lutheran Church:" in Hungary indeed, the former is the only appellative allowed by government to be used. And as respects the second particular, the Doct. knows very well, that Luther's protest has reference only to his private writings, and not to those which had, by special command, and with the aid of other learned and godly men, been drawn up for the benefit of the church, for the establishment and defence, the exhibition and diffusion of her faith. That with these, Melanchthon was only too much disposed to tamper, is well known, so that Luther one day seriously reproved him for it, adding that *these* writings were not private property, as they belonged to the church which had received and owned them as the exponents of her faith.

But, we proceed to the subject more immediately in hand, the real presence of our Savior's glorified humanity in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; a doctrine which, together with those with which it is most intimately connected, stands, as we shall have occasion incidentally to show, in the most momentous and vital relation to the doctrine of the atonement. Dr. Schmucker gives, on p. 249 of his Popular Theology, what he considers a correct statement of the Lutheran view of this subject. That his statement is imperfect, every symbolic

Lutheran will perceive at a glance. But we accept it for the present, as sufficiently accurate and explicit upon the point which here more particularly claims our attention, and as presenting in itself a satisfactory answer to sundry idle objections frequently made to the doctrine. His words are as follows: "The bread and wine remain in all respects unchanged; but the invisible, glorified body and blood of Christ are also actually present at the celebration of the eucharist, and exert an influence on all those who receive the bread and wine; not indeed present in that form nor with those properties which belonged to the Savior's body on earth, such as visibility, tangibility &c., for these it no longer possesses, but with the new and elevated properties which now belong to its glorified state."

Although we may, ere we conclude, give, in a few words, what we conceive to be a just exhibition of the view taken by the church, from the earliest times, of the Sacred Supper, and now held by the Lutheran church, our present business is, to notice and briefly to answer sundry objections, which, though a hundred times refuted, are again and again brought forward, with as much confidence as if they were perfectly valid and unanswerable. We begin with a few observations upon what will, of course, not be denied,[1] viz.: that the view of the eucharist which, though found in the writings of the earliest fathers, it is now usual to designate as the Lutheran, is based upon the literal interpretation of the words of institution.—Those who deny the correctness of this view maintain, that our Savior's words are to be regarded as figurative. And we are accustomed to see it confidently affirmed, that the expressions employed by the Savior, in instituting this most solemn ordinance, come under the same category as these: "I am the door": "I am the vine": "I am the good Shepherd:" &c. &c. To this view of the subject there are many serious objections: we shall state only a few. And first, the instances just cited, and many others of the same character, occur in discourses in which our Savior was communicating important instruction, and illustrating truth, in that parabolic or highly figurative mode of expression, which he so often adopted; and in these instances there was no danger of his being misunderstood.—But on the occasion of his last solemn passover with his disciples, he was not teaching, not communicating instruction, in

[1] This *is* denied by Dr. Schmucker, in the article which we received after this was written, and which is hereinafter answered: he calls Luther's "The first *figurative* interpretation."

no sense of the word preaching, but he was appointing a sacred rite, instituting, for all coming time, the most holy of Christian ordinances; an occasion therefore on which, it strikes us, figurative language would have been singularly out of place. We trust that we are not presumptuous in supposing, that our Lord would, in a transaction like the present, most earnestly and solicitously seek to avoid using any language capable of the least misconception or misconstruction, (except it were wilful), and therefore free from the slightest ambiguity. We are, of course, not authorized to judge what was, or what was not, proper to be said or done by our Lord; but, at the same time, we are not to put constructions on his words, which, departing from their literal meaning, their direct and plain sense, are irreconcilable with that perfect wisdom which characterized all his proceedings. And we are compelled by common sense, and by our reverence for Him who "spake as never man spake," to regard the present occasion as one which preëminently demanded the utmost definiteness, or precision of language; so that if he should be thereafter misunderstood or misinterpreted, it could only be by rejecting the simple, literal meaning of his words, by distorting his language, and putting upon it an arbitrary and unwarranted construction. If the church has been distracted and divided by controversies respecting the nature of the Holy Supper, let not its Holy Founder be made responsible for these lamentable results, by representing his direct and simple language as being so infelicitous, so obscurely figurative, as naturally and necessarily to give rise to conflicting views. Take him as he speaks, and the whole difficulty vanishes. It is well known, that here was Luther's strongest foothold, in all his discussions and controversies concerning this important subject. He could never be induced to depart one hair's breadth from the only construction of which, according to the simplest principles of interpretation, our Savior's words will admit; because, as he declared, the text was too stringent, and left him no choice.

But again: the instances referred to, and so often cited as coming under the same category, and as showing how the words of the institution are to be understood, are not by any means parallel. It is contended that the words, "this is my body": "this is my blood": are to be thus explained: "this *denotes* or *signifies* my body": &c. If this be correct, and if the words of institution be in the same manner figurative as those figurative expressions which have been quoted, then it will be proper to construe these in the same way in which it is proposed to construe the words before us, thus: I signify the

door: I signify the vine: I signify the light of the world: I signify the good shepherd. It needs not that we should labor to show how preposterous this would be.

There is nothing more easy, nothing that men are more ready to do, in explaining passages of Scripture that do not accord with their notions and theories, than to set up the plea that the langnage is figurative. It is in this way that Unitarians get rid of the Divinity of Christ: they hold the language of Scripture bearing upon this point to be strongly metaphorical, or, more strictly speaking, that figure of speech termed hyperbole, and denoting no more than a very eminent degree of that divinity, which they ascribe to mankind in general. It is well known, that in this way also the Universalists get rid of the doctrine of future and eternal punishments. We need not cite any more instances to show how cautious we ought to be in accepting such explanations, and how dangerous it is to apply the figurative theory, except in cases where the language is so palpably metaphorical, that it is impossible to understand it in any other way. That the words employed by our Savior in instituting the sacrament of his Supper, present a case of this kind, has never yet been shown to the satisfaction of more than one-fourth of christendom; and until those, who maintain that the language here *is* figurative, advance better reasons in support of their theory than we have yet seen, we must persist in peremptorily rejecting it. In the case of the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation the thing is perfectly clear, because here certain substances which are obviously one thing, are represented to be actually quite another thing. But with this absurdity the Lutheran view of the real presence of Christ's glorified humanity has evidently no connexion whatever. We know very well that papists, who, though they imagine that they are most literal in their interpretation, are not so at all in reality, have been obliged to admit, that the cup is used figuratively for its contents. According to their view of the whole subject, this admission was unavoidable: but according to the Lutheran view it is perfectly immaterial whether we adopt it or not, because we do not believe in any transmutation or transubstantiation at all. And to our real view of this subject we are constrained to call the reader's particular attention, because writers on the opposite side are wont studiously to conceal it, or to express themselves in such a manner as to create the impression, that we are all but papistical transubstantiationists. We hold, that it is in the sacrament itself, in the solemn celebration of this sacred ordinance, that christians enjoy the actual presence of the glorified Redeemer, and that the un-

changed bread and wine, received by the communicant, are not only the outward visible signs of an inward spiritual grace; but, connected with the word and promise of God, the vehicles through whose instrumentality the divine Savior communicates himself to those who partake of them. Hence the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, as believed by Lutherans, is frequently designated as a "sacramental presence." That this view is founded on a far more literal interpretation of the words of the institution, one philologically more correct, than is that of the papists, it is not difficult to show. Luther himself very well knew what an advantage he had here; and he did not fail to make good use of it, treating with merited indignation and scorn Carlstadt's perversions of the grammatical structure of the sentences containing the words of institutiou.

The point, which we have here particularly in view, is this. The English version of the N. T. reads thus: "This is my body:" "This is my blood of the New Testament" &c. The translation is perfectly correct; but, as the demonstrative has in English no gender, it leaves room for a misapprehension, which might be avoided by circumlocution. As we have reason to look for the utmost precision in the words employed on the occasion of such an institution, the fact that our Lord does not say ουτος ὁ ἄρτος &c. This bread is my body &c., is certainly not to be considered as accidental or unimportant. And when he says: τϐτο ἐϛι τὸ σῶμά μϐ: and τϐτο γάρ ἐϛι τὸ αἷμα μϐ, we are by no means satisfied that this is merely because it is usual in all languages to use the demonstrative in the neuter gender, in pointing to an object that is directly before us, and concerning which we are about to say something. We conconceive the τϐτο to be used with wise design, in calling the attention of his disciples to that which is bestowed upon them, in the act of giving them the bread: to the sacramental gift bestowed in connexion with,and instrumentally through, the gift of the bread. Bengel's exposition of the words, which accords with this view, and embodies it, has met with general acceptance: "hoc quod vos sumere jubeo" &c. And this vigilant caution of the Savior to guard against misapprehension, appears still more plainly in his afterwards saying: οὗτος ὁ οινος, &c. but, if the words of Luke should be preferred as the most full and precise: "τϐτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ" &c. That ποτήριον (cup) is here employed figuratively for its contents, does not, as we have already remarked, concern us at all, as it does not affect our position in the least; for we are not defending the transubstantiation of papists, but the mysterious, sacramental presence taught, in accordance with Scripture, by the Lutheran church,

which believes the Savior to say: That which I give you in presenting you this cup, that which ye receive in drinking its contents, is my blood, is the fulness of the blessing of the New Testament [covenant] in my blood.

Again, the Sacred Supper of the New Covenant has come, with all its substantial realities, into the place of the passover under the old. The passover stood in a peculiar and mysterious relation to a great historical event, which it afterwards symbolically shadowed forth, and commemorated. The event itself was typical of the greater deliverance which we owe to Christ our passover, sacrificed for us; and the celebration of the passover pointed to that sacred institution, in which believers feast sacramentally, in a manner mysterious and inexplicable, upon the body broken and the blood shed for the salvation of their souls. In the passover we have the shadow, in the eucharist the reality; and this same typical relation of the former to the latter justifies the view which we take, viz. that the τϐτο is to be understood to mean: this which I now give you; or: this which I now appoint and institute to be partaken of by you, and all who shall believe through your word. If we reject this view of the subject, we lose the actual, positive, objective reality of the Christian Sacrament, as distinguished from the typical rite of the old covenant.

Not to prolong too much this part of our discussion, we will only add, that the passages which are so confidently appealed to as illustrating, and even proving, the figurative character of our Savior's language in instituting his Holy Supper, are in yet another respect unsatisfactory: they are figurative only in a very modified and limited sense: expressions which would apply in a very narrow, and in a highly metaphorical sense to ordinary human beings, are applicable to him with a breadth and comprehensiveness of scope, with a reality, depth, height and force of meaning, which they but faintly express. Thus it is a strong metaphor to say, that a distinguished statesman is the pillar of the state, or that some gifted politician is the soul of his party. But, on the other hand, when Christ calls himself the light of the world, the way and the truth and the life, the door, the vine, the good shepherd, &c. there is a vast and unsearchable and unfigurative reality in these representations, which sets the widest reach of metaphor at nought. He *is* the religious and moral light of the world, its central and only Sun:—there is no door or way of access to God but himself, and through him, actually and exclusively, we come to the Father: He *is the* truth, its impersonation, imbodiment and essence; and whatsoever in the religious and moral world

does not emanate from him, point and lead to him, is not truth: He *is* life, its very author, source and fulness, and out of him there is no life; nothing but death dark and dismal. It needs not that we should dwell on other instances, showing that even where the language used by the Savior of himself may, in a certain limited sense, be regarded as figurative, the words have a literal force of reality, which the loftiest figures, into which the boldest fancy could mould human language, cannot adequately describe: and if so, how idle is it to talk of figurative in connexion with that solemn institution, into which the obscurity of metaphor can only introduce inextricable confusion, as the writings of all who adopt the figurative theory so amply and lamentably prove. Taking the personage who spoke, and the occasion on which he spoke, together, we conceive all figurative language to be utterly and totally out of the question.

The next objection made to our view of the eucharist, which we would briefly notice, is, that it is a novel doctrine — a doctrine invented in later times. That the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation is comparatively modern; that, indeed, it did not assume its present form, until it was, in the ninth century, distinctly thus stated by Paschasius Radbert, is undoubtedly true: evidence of its having been rejected by the early fathers can be found collected, in ample detail, in Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. But what have Lutherans to do with this Popish dogma? We know it in this connexion only, because those who oppose the Lutheran doctrine concerning the Sacrament, are, from motives best known to themselves, perpetually dragging the absurdities of papistry into their discussions, and bringing them into some sort of connection with the views set forth in our confessions. We might as well bring in and belabor the doctrines of Zerduscht or Kongfutsé, for the purpose of casting odium upon the anxious bench. That the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, which is held by the Lutheran church is modern — that it was either not known, or offensive, to the early church, is not true; and although, as we have on a former occasion distinctly declared, we do not ascribe to the fathers any authority to define and settle, for all subsequent ages, the doctrine of the church, we regard, and must regard and believe them, as competent and true witnesses concerning the common faith and practice of the primitive church. But on the entire point here at issue we do not intend to expatiate at any length: we shall content ourselves with translating the following short passage from Stier's commentary on the Discourses of our Lord, Vol. VI.

p. 161. "The testimony of the fathers, from Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus downward, is known to the learned. In opposition to the opinions, the ὁμολογεῖν [unanimous testimony, Tr.] of the church is clear and decided: "τὴν ἐυχαριςίαν σάρκα εἰναι τȣ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησȣ Χριςȣ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθȣσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηςότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.[1] They know and confidently testify: "Ου γὰρ ὡς κόινὸν ἄρτον ὀυδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν — ἐκείνȣ τȣ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησȣ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἰναι."[2] To explain away this κοινὴ πίςις [common faith] of the church from the beginning, is sophistry; and to contradict it, from a conceit of superior wisdom, is, for that very reason, at least suspicious." On a subject of this kind we do not consider the speculations of modern theologians, however vastly learned or wonderfully enlightened, worth a rush, in comparison with the doctrinal views of those who lived and wrote in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, from whom their knowledge of christian doctrine was directly derived.

We proceed now to examine, as briefly as possible, an argument which is constantly used, and very much relied upon, as quite conclusive against the doctrine of our confessions concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This doctrine, it is contended, is contrary to all experience, and utterly at variance with the laws of matter,—the laws which govern bodily existences, and confine each distinct body to some particular space or locality. With respect to the first point, the contrariety of our doctrine, to experience, we do not think it worth while to say much, as it is of very little moment. Every well educated man knows that this is Hume's argument against our Lord's miracles—against the possibility of miracles. The futility of his premises or general principles has been demonstrated, and the rottenness of his argument fully exposed, in a variety of dissertations written by grave and able men; and arch-bishop Whately has effectually exposed his fallacies, and held them up to the ridicule and scorn which they deserve, in his celebrated work entitled: "Historic Doubts relative to Na-

[1] "That the eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which, through his goodness, the Father raised"—i. e. from the dead.

[2] "We do not receive these as common bread or a common drink—we have been taught that they are both the flesh and the blood of that same Jesus who was made flesh."

By this the early fathers meant no such thing as transubstantiation. We have already stated where a great number of citations from their writings may be found collected, showing that they repudiated the doctrine which the Romish church afterwards embraced. They could then have held none other than the Lutheran view.

poleon Bonaparte." Theologians had better be careful how they avail themselves of modes of reasoning adopted by infidels, when they seek to discredit doctrines, which a great part of christendom find in the Scriptures, but which are irreconcilable with their subjective views—their own theories. For the past experience of mankind we would not give a groat, when it comes in conflict with any thing revealed in the word of Him who has made all things, and knows all things.

To this argument about human experience, the animus of the present age is not very favorable; for the discoveries in physical science, and the countless inventions in all the mechanical arts, which have, for many years past, been astonishing and revolutionizing the world, have long since turned all implicit reliance upon the past experience of mankind most unceremoniously out of doors; and there we shall leave it, to be condoled with by those who regard it with sympathy.

But the other point deserves a more extended notice, though we do not think it will be difficult to show, that it has no greater value than the one which we have just considered.—There is, then, no objection more frequently and confidently urged against the Lutheran view of the Eucharist than this, that it contradicts the evidence of our senses, and the universal observation of mankind, by which it is fully ascertained, that a body cannot be in more than one place at a time. Now, that this is entirely true, and that this objection is perfectly valid, in respect of the ordinary bodies or substances belonging to this terrestrial globe, this temporal, mundane economy, is unhesitatingly admitted; although there are even here, as we shall see, some startling phenomena not a little perplexing to positive generalizers. Nor do we doubt, that bodies or substances, *such as we are conversant with*, are subject to the same law, in whatever part of God's universe they may be found. But this does not prove, that there may not be corporeal, substantial existences of a much higher order, and subject to far other laws, than those which come under our observation. It seems to us in the last degree impertinent and presumptuous for the tenants of this little globe, this speck in the vast universe, confidently to assert that the laws which govern their existence, and the position and movements of the bodies which surround them, must be the same throughout the immeasurable realms of creation. It is perfectly clear from Scripture, that angelic beings either have bodies, or have often assumed them for special purposes; and all (we believe without exception) the angelic appearances related in the Bible clearly prove, that the laws which govern their presence and movements are totally differ-

ent from those to which we are subject. And, in view of all this, it certainly does not become us to assert, that, in devising and ordaining the order of things prevailing on earth, or throughout our solar system, the Almighty has exhausted his power of invention and design. It would be preposterous arrogance to assert, that other regions of the universe may not be subject to physical laws, the very reverse of those which prevail on our sphere of action. And although all this is mere speculation, it is, at all events, evident that to elevate the evidence of our senses, or universal *human* observation, into a universal law for the entire creation, is nonsense; especially when we are certain that beings belonging to a higher economy, and coming frequently, perhaps being constantly, in contact with human affairs, obey far other laws than those which govern grosser elements of our nature.

But letting all this pass, we remark again, that the evidence of our senses, or the universal observation of mankind, is trustworthy and valuable only *as far as it goes*, which, in some directions, is certainly not very far. For all the ordinary practical purposes of life its availability is perfect, and its value inappreciable. But let it be considered, that even within the sphere of daily inspection and inquiry it encounters mysteries, which are as utterly inexplicable as the doctrine which we are discussing. Let it be remembered, that in numberless instances, the evidence of our senses, or the universal observation of mankind, bears witness only of undeniable facts, whose rationale to ascertain, whose mode of being to discover and define, is utterly beyond the reach of human capacity. There are facts in natural history and chemistry, which, however clearly ascertained as facts, no human intellect can, or ever will, understand or explain, except, perhaps, amid the light of the future world. And some of these are isolated things, standing solitary and alone, having no analogies in the wide compass of nature, defying our senses to discover any thing like them anywhere else, appealing to universal observation for their utter singularity, flatly contradicting all collateral experience, and refusing to bestow upon the acutest sagacity, and the keenest scrutiny, even the minutest spark of information respecting their real nature, or mode of being. And do we therefore ever dream of denying such facts?

We would scorn to employ the sophistry which is so common in discussions of this kind. Let it not, therefore, be supposed, that we are urging these considerations with the design of producing, any where, the impression, that they have any *direct* bearing upon the great subject of the present article.

We present them merely in order to show, that the appeal to our senses, and the universal observation of mankind, must go for nothing in a case, which lies confessedly beyond the scope of our senses, and could not be searched out, if all the power of observation possessed by the whole human race, were concentrated into one intensely keen and piercingly scrutinizing gaze; while, on the other hand, even the common material world offers to our inspection countless facts and phenomena of extraordinary interest, the real nature of which our senses strive in vain to penetrate and ascertain. And here we wish to enter our solemn protest against the practice so often resorted to, of applying the so-called laws of nature, or of matter, to facts or doctrines revealed in the word of God respecting a higher economy than ours, and then determining, according to these laws, (in other words, according to the evidence of our senses, or of universal observation), in what manner these facts or doctrines are to be explained. What, we would ask, *are* the laws of nature or of matter? Are they unalterable statutes, imposed by nature (who *is* nature?) upon herself? Are they laws, evolved by matter out of itself, and determining the nature or mode of its existence and its movements, with a precision and a stringency that admit of no exceptions or changes? Have these laws so much even as a shadow of existence, independent of the will, of the originating and sustaining power of Him who alone did and could ordain them? If he should will their discontinuance or abrogation; nay, if he ceased to will that they shall continue to exist and to operate, would they not instantaneously cease to be, as utterly as if they had never been? And can He not then change or annihilate them at pleasure? Or are they green withes, with which the Almighty Creator has so completely tied up his own hands, that he cannot move, or control at pleasure, his own works?—When our Savior, while on earth, healed diseases with a touch or a word, nay, at a distance probably of miles from those upon whom his power was exerted, how much of the process was submitted to the senses of those around him? Did they see any thing more than an effect? Had they not, up to that time, the most decided evidence of their senses, and of universal observation, that diseases, and those the most frightful, are not healed by a touch or a word? And when with a word he raised the dead, did they not unanimously testify, that such a thing had never been seen, or heard of, before?—We repeat, that we advance these considerations merely in order to insist, that when the Almighty chooses to adopt some mode of procedure different from any ever witnessed before, and in which

our senses shall be completely at fault; when it is his pleasure that Moses shall see a bush obviously burning and yet not burning; — when it pleases him to set at nought all the past experience and observation of men; — when the disciples can walk all the way to Emmaus with Jesus, and sit at meat with him, and yet not know him, though they had known him for years, it is all folly and presumption to say, that these things cannot and must not be, because they contradict the evidence of men's senses, and universal observation.[1] And if thus it is folly and impertinence to assert, in a general way, that God shall do nothing, and reveal nothing, or that no interpretation of his word shall stand, that does not accord with the evidence of *our* senses, as if these were infallible and could not be deceived, or that does not correspond with the past universal observation of mankind, how much more impertinent and arrogant is it, to apply this canon to a doctrine which has reference to a glorified body, mysteriously and inseparably united with an infinitely glorious divine nature, and when we know nothing of the capabilities of a glorified body, least of all of a glorified body united, like our Savior's, with the divine nature of the Son of God. But for the further discussion of this point we are not yet ready. For the present we wish to show, that even with reference to our Savior's humanity, previous to his being glorified, it is inadmissible to reason from the universal observation and experience of mankind. We contend, that divers important events in the history of our Lord's earthly life forbid us to apply to his person the ordinary laws of matter, or to erect them into barriers to his movements and activity, when, in his infinite wisdom, he sees fit to disregard what is no

[1] Dr. Schmucker says, in his Art. on the Nature of the Savior's Presence in the Eucharist, p. 38, Ev. Rev. for July 1851, "No testimony is so strong as that of the senses; because on it rests our belief even of the Scriptures." This assertion calls for important qualifications. The testimony of the senses is so sure as to be safely relied upon in all the ordinary affairs, and common practical interests of life. But it is reliable only when the senses observe under favorable circumstances: when the object seen is near, and in a clear light: when the sound heard is distinct, and when the object from which it proceeds, is seen, or, at least, certainly known to be the only one in the place capable of producing it. But our senses are so notoriously subject to a great many illusions, that the fact has been, long since, put into the form of a proverb: as, "Der Schein trügt:" — "Appearances are deceitful." What becomes of the evidence of the senses, as respects the feats performed by modern Hindoo and Egyptian magicians, by such jugglers as Blitz and Adriann, and by many so-called ventriloquists? What is the origin of most ghost stories? When Dr. Webster was under trial, two very respectable women testified under oath, that they had *seen* Dr. Parkman after the time of his alleged murder. Every body knows that our senses are liable to be deceived in numberless ways.

doubt the ordinary course of things, and to dissolve relations which, though ascertained to prevail as far as we know, in general, we have no authority to consider as imperative laws, by which the Creator himself, (and is not the Son of God the Creator?) had literally tied his own hands. On one occasion Christ was seen walking on the sea, and even enabled Peter to do the same, so long as he believed. What became here, in the persons of Peter and the Lord, of the laws of matter? Was the law of gravitation suspended, or was the water congealed, or were their bodies sublimated into something lighter than water? The answer is due from those who reject the doctrine of the real presence, because it conflicts with the *known and established laws* of matter or corporeity. Thus also our Lord seems, after his resurrection, to have appeared to his disciples in different forms (see Mark 16: 12.); and on one occasion, as related by Luke (24: 36.) and John (20: 19.), he suddenly stood in their midst, when, for fear of the Jews, the doors were shut, or rather, locked—bolted—barred—secured—fastened: "τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων." Were the well-known laws of matter or corporeity observed on these occasions? But again, at the marriage in Cana the Lord turned a great quantity of water into wine, so that, in defiance of the evidence of the senses of those who had poured the water into the vessels, the space just occupied by the water was now full of wine. On another occasion he fed four thousand men, besides women and children, with what to their senses was obviously nothing more than five loaves and two fishes, and yet there were afterwards twelve baskets full of broken meat taken up. At another time he fed about four thousand persons, with what no mortal senses could make out to be more than seven loaves and a few small fishes, and afterwards seven baskets full of broken meat were taken up. It may be objected to these instances, that they were miracles. So doubtless they were: but what, pray, *are* miracles? The question, however, here is, what became then, what ever becomes, of the well-known and established laws of matter or corporeity, as applied to Christ's person and activity? In the last two instances mentioned it may be urged, that there was an exercise of creative power, put forth in the production of the more that was needed in addition to what was on hand. The explanation *may be* correct: we do not profess to know or understand, when "God moves in a mysterious way." All that we do know about it, is, what our Lord himself afterwards said to his disciples respecting these two events, when they were indulging in unprofitable surmises: "Do ye not remember? *When I brake the five loaves among five thousand*, how many bas-

kets full of fragments took ye up? *And when the seven among four thousand*, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?" Mark 8: 19. 20.

We once more repeat, that we do not bring forward these remarkable and wonderful occurrences, to which others might be added, because we regard them as having any *direct* connexion with the subject here under consideration, but because they prove, that to oppose the laws of matter to the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of Christ's glorified humanity in the Lord's Supper, amounts to nothing; that it will not do to apply the ordinary laws of matter or corporeity to the glorified humanity of Him, who, while on earth, was subject to these laws no further than it pleased him and the Father that he should be. If the doctrine of transubstantiation involves an absurdity or impossibility, it would obviously be carrying human presumption entirely too far, to affirm the same of the view of the Lord's Supper inculcated in Scripture, held by the early church, and set forth in our confessions.

Thus far we had written, when Dr. Schmucker's article in the last number of this Review having come to hand, we glanced our eye over its pages. The obvious necessity of replying to this production will give to the present article a form entirely different from what we had intended. But ere we take it up regularly, we shall proceed briefly to discuss the point which, in our original plan, came next in order. The objection to which we here refer has been brought forward time and again, but as Dr. S. states it anew with undiminished confidence, we shall refer the reader to his remarks, which we have not space to quote in full. They will be found on p. 42 sq. under c., d., and e. The sum and substance of the objection is, that the Lutheran "interpretation" of the words of institution "cannot be correct, because the glorified body, which is said to be received with the elements, had actually not yet any existence, and therefore could not have been given by the Savior to his disciples at the Holy Supper; that the eucharist could not have conferred the *broken* body to the disciples at its institution, because it was not yet broken" &c. that "the old Lutheran theory cannot be correct, according to the language of Christ; because he says, Luke 22: 19. 'Do this in remembrance of me'" &c. The amount of this formidable objection is just this, that, if the eucharist be what we Lutherans believe and say it is, then the disciples did not, at the time of the institution, receive it actually, in its real nature, and in the fulness of its power and blessing, and that hence the Lord's Supper, as celebrated subsequently to our

Lord's ascension and glorification, is totally different from what it was at the institution. We shall presently show that it is perfectly competent and safe for us to take this position ourselves. But ere we explain ourselves on this particular point, there is another, the third above stated, which must be noticed. The three objections to which we have just referred constitute, in fact, the three links of one connected chain of argument; and it is only strange that those, who use this argument against the Lutheran interpretation of the words of institution, do not see that, if it proves any thing at all, it proves entirely too much for their purpose. If the Lutheran doctrine is wrong, because the eucharist could not, at its institution, be what it is now claimed to be, inasmuch as the Savior was then reclining, in his ordinary humanity, under the very eyes of his disciples, do not those who thus argue, discern, that this very same reasoning annihilates their own view of the Lord's Supper? It is to them a commemorative ordinance: very little, if any thing, more, so far as we can discover. If such it be, it has, of course, ever since the events which it commemorates, been entirely different from what it was at the time of institution; for how could it, at that time, commemorate what was yet future—our Lord's last sufferings and death? To the opponents of the Lutheran doctrine this argument is therefore worse than useless for their purpose: if the eucharist must needs have been, at the time of institution, what it now is, their reasoning reduces *their* sacramental supper to an unmeaning ceremony—a positive farce. Now it is very strange that Dr. S., who very clearly perceives this state of the case, and gives up entirely (p. 43. e., and on subsequent pages) the view that the eucharist, in its commemorative character, was at the time of institution what it afterwards was and now is, does not perceive, that he renounces all right and title to the argument which he advances on p. 42., c. and d. If it was not, at the time of institution, commemorative, because the facts to be commemorated had not yet occurred, then, is it consistent with truth and justice to condemn the Lutheran doctrine, because, for the same reason, the eucharist could not then have bestowed what we maintain it was designed to bestow, and does confer, after and since the crucifixion, ascension and glorification?

We shall, we hope, be pardoned for unfolding our view of the whole of this subject a little more fully. We regard it as perfectly clear and indisputable, that to the disciples the eucharist could not, at its institution, have been what it subsequently was to the church, the actual communion of the body and blood of Christ, and that not only because the Savior had

not yet suffered and died, but for this reason also, that at that time they were evidently still entirely incapable of understanding him. Notwithstanding his discourse recorded in the sixth Chap. of John's Gospel, by which the Lord obviously sought to prepare their minds for the institution of his holy supper and for just views of its nature; and notwithstanding his repeated declarations, that he was about to suffer and to die, it is entirely clear, not only from the manner in which they are described as having repeatedly expressed themselves in reply to such declarations, but from their whole conduct up to the time, when they could no longer doubt that he was risen again, that they had never fairly comprehended the nature, or duly appreciated the design of his mission; that they had utterly failed to understand what he had come to accomplish, and how his purpose was to be accomplished; that, full of the unwarranted Messianic expectations of the Jews, they were persuaded, up to the moment when he was seized by the emissaries of the chief-priests and elders, that he would throw off what they seem to have regarded as a disguise, and, placing himself at the head of the people, fulfil those political hopes which the Jewish nation connected with the coming of the Messiah. But when he was arrested by his enemies, they were overwhelmed with disappointment, and, filled with fear and dismay, "*then all the disciples forsook him and fled.*" Previous to this event they had eaten the last passover with their Master. And is it not perfectly clear, that under such circumstances, while they entertained such views and feelings and hopes, the eucharist could not have had for them any intelligibible present meaning and significance. We cannot conceive it possible that they should have discerned, at the time, its true import and design. For this reason, therefore, as well as for this, that their Master's body had not yet been scourged, and nailed to the cross, and pierced with the spear, the eucharist could not, at the time of institution, have been what it afterwards became, and has been ever since to the church, in whatever peculiar light it may be regarded; whether received from the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, or the Zuinglian standpoint. We may regard the whole transaction as *prospective;* the words used by the Savior as indicating the nature and design of the institution, and the entire action, on his part and that of the disciples, as presenting a normal type of the mode in which the eucharist was thereafter to be celebrated: the whole as appointing and establishing a most sacred and solemn rite, to be observed by the church in all coming time. We find the same

view advanced by Stier, who very properly urges, that the case is the same as in the institution of the passover, as recorded Exod. 12: 27. — 13: 14. 15., where the deliverance and exode are regarded, and prospectively spoken of, as having already taken place. A similar instance of prospective language not only, but of prospective action, is recorded John 20: 22. The disciples did not really receive the Holy Spirit until long after this occurrence. All these occurrences tend to render manifest the folly and disingenuousness of every attempt to prove from the peculiar circumstances under which the Lord's Supper was instituted, that it cannot *now* be, what it clearly could not *then* have been. This view of the subject we have long held, and have found it, on the whole, satisfactory. And yet the question sometimes arises, whether it be not conceding more than is just, to the cavils of human reason. And when we consider, that this holy sacrament has a distinct objective character of its own, independent entirely of men's views respecting it, and that in the Savior's person there was so much, at all times, at variance with the evidence of our gross and imperfect senses and the universal experience of mankind, we are almost prepared to insist, that even at the institution, the Holy Supper was, however mysteriously, yet truly and actually, the communion of the body and blood of that Lamb which was slain from the foundation of the world. While either view can be held consistently with our confessions, we confess that we are strongly inclining to the latter.

It had been our intention to carry out our discussion without direct reference to any writers opposed to the Lutheran confessions; but as the oft-repeated objections of those who reject the doctrine of our church concerning the eucharist have beeen presented, in martial array, in Dr. Schmucker's recent article, it will, for various reasons, be best that we should take them up in the form, if not quite in the order, in which they are there exhibited. And this we shall accordingly proceed to do.

There is but one point in the Doctor's Introduction which we feel called upon to notice. Respecting the doctrine here before us he states (p. 34), that "it has been a bone of contention in the Protestant church, with but little intermission, ever since its origin, until about fifty years ago, when the Lutheran church almost universally abandoned the views, which Luther and his co-laborers, with few exceptions, entertained." If the word "origin" here refers to the doctrine, we have only to repeat, what has already been shown, that the origin of the doctrine dates back to the beginning of the Christian church. As

to the rest, we incline to think, that a correct knowledge of the true state of the case would reduce the expression, "almost universally," to "to a considerable extent." If the statement has any particular reference to the Lutheran church in this country, we can only express the hope, that the condition in which she was fifty years and more ago, is not, in any respect, to be held up to us as a model. But, admitting that at that time and earlier, the Lutheran clergy of Germany and many in this country, did forsake, not only as respects the eucharist, but as regards other doctrines of fundamental importance, the sound, scriptural confessions of our church, why did they thus abandon her views? Was it not because rationalistic speculation and neological exegesis had come into the place of the docile spirit, and the simple faith, of the church, and had usurped the authority to decide what the sacred word must, and must not, teach? And if such were, according to the Doctor's own admission, the views of the Lutheran church up to that time, how can they now be different? Has a general council of the entire Lutheran church altered or abrogated these views? Has the church delegated to him, or to the General Synod, or to any body else, authority to modify and alter our doctrines, so as to adapt them to the speculative tendencies of the age? We trow not: we have not yet heard of any formal, universal abrogation of our confessions; and the event is less likely than ever to occur. Is it not quite noteworthy and thankworthy that, as the pernicious miasmata and the illusive ignes fatui of modern rationalism and neology in Germany were compelled to give way before the light diffused through the revival of a candid, humble, reverent and devout study of the Scriptures, and as theology again learned submission to the Bible, the most thoroughly educated and enlightened theologians of our church began to return to the unaltered text of her confession, the loyal adherents of which are daily increasing in number?

In his first section (p. 35. sq.) Doctor S. lays down certain "general principles of interpretation," respecting which we have little to say. The first paragraph contains an assertion concerning the nature of words, which a superficial acquaintance with the subject may seem to warrant, but which, upon thorough research, and a profound study of the sources of our modern languages, is proved to be untenable and utterly incorrect. This, however, merely en passant: we have no time for philological disquisitions.

But in this same section the Doctor makes an admission for which we might be disposed to thank him, if the making of it involved any merit, and were not simply to be ascribed to the

fact, that its opposite could have been asserted only in defiance of what *is* known to be a general principle or law in the use of language. We refer to the following statement: "Yet the great mass of men ordinarily employ words in their natural, most obvious, and *literal* sense. Therefore a sound rule of interpretation is, that *the literal sense must be adhered to in the interpretation of all authors, sacred or profane, until reasons occur to justify us in deviating from it.*" We have already shown, that in the instance before us the occasion with all its circumstances requires that we adhere to the literal import of the words. We shall have occasion for further reference to this canon, as we are fairly entitled to hold the Doctor strictly to what he so fully recognizes as true.

We had arrived at this point of our discussion, when we read, for the first time, the dissertation on the doctrine of the eucharist, which Dr. Schmucker appended to the first edition of his translation of Storr and Flatt's Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, published in 1826. Viewed by the side of his article now before us, this dssertation possesses a peculiar interest. It is composed mainly of extended extracts from the writings of Reinhard and Mosheim, in which it is clearly shown that the words of institution are not, and cannot be, figurative, and the entire consistency of the Lutheran view with Scripture and reason is most effectually vindicated. We have not room, in this place, to quote from these extracts; we may do so on a subsequent page. If our readers will look them up, and read them in connexion with the article to which we are now endeavoring to reply, we promise them that they will find them quite rich and delicious. In his conclusion, the Doctor himself labors very successfully, by a train of reasoning totally different, in the main, from that which we have presented supra, to show that the appeal to the "properties and laws of matter," in arguing against the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper, is fallacious and absurd: adding that, in view of our church's denial "that the glorified body of Christ is possessed of those properties and subject to those laws which we denominate properties and laws of matter, nothing but a want of penetration and logical clearness can induce an honest disputant to charge the doctrine with contradiction." In this we agree with him entirely. Again he says: "As the glorified body of Christ is far more exalted in its properties (i. e. nature) than our material bodies are, it is even probable, a priori, that these properties may be susceptible of the greatest exaltation from his union with God, without destroying the properties (unknown to us) of his glorified body." Bene dixisti. His concluding remark

is as follows: "By these remarks we wish merely to prove, that there is nothing in the nature of this doctrine which can justify us in rejecting it if taught in Scripture, and that, as in the case of the doctrine of the Trinity, the only question is, Have the inspired writers taught it? And this question has been fully discussed in the preceding paragraph of our author, and in the extracts from the work of Dr. Reinhard." When we turn our eye from this elaborate and successful effort to vindicate and place in a favorable light the doctrine of our church concerning the eucharist, to the assault made upon it in the article before us, the exclamation, quantum mutatus ab illo! is extorted from us by a deep regret, that our author should have been led, by philosophical speculations, to abandon a doctrine, which is so obviously taught by the sacred Scriptures, and of which his birth, position and abilities should constitute him a prominent defender.

In proceeding now to examine the article in the last No. of the Review, we can, of course, have but little to say respecting what is there given as "The literal sense of the words of the Institution;" meaning thereby the Popish interpretation which teaches transubstantiation. We have already denied that this interpretation is literal, inasmuch as the Savior says τετό, and not οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος; and τετο τὸ ποτήριον, and not οὗτος ὁ οἶνος. We would merely protest, most emphatically, against the manner in which Savior's words are, in this section, between marks of quotation, amplified, distorted, and made self-contradictory, for the purpose of caricaturing the so-called literal interpretation of the Romanists. Such proceedings are unworthy a grave and dignified divine. — To the writer's strong assertion respecting the superior validity of the testimony of our senses, we have replied in a note on p. 211.

Having disposed of the Romish superstition, Dr. S. proceeds to give what he is pleased to style "the first figurative interpretation (that of Luther)" of the words of the institution, in a burlesque amplification, and a downright caricature of our Savior's language. If the Doctor imagines that such outrages are creditable to himself and those who agree with him, and that they will gain friends to the side which he has espoused, he will, we fancy, find himself sadly mistaken. For our part, we shall not further meddle with his unwarranted and bizarre paraphrase of words, which, in their plain and direct meaning, are susceptible of one widely different from his, as we have already shown; he is welcome to all the praise which his efforts as a caricaturist may procure him. That the Lutheran interpretation is not figurative at all, but the only truly literal

one that we know of, we have also fully set forth on a preceding page. It therefore only remains in this place, that we briefly notice another instance of his promptness to supply words which those, upon whose language he is commenting, never used, and meanings which they never intended. In a note on p. 39. he puts the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession into the following words: "the body and blood of the Lord are *truly* and *substantially* (vere et substantialiter) present, and tendered and received, *as the Romish church has hitherto believed*[1] (wie man bis anher in der Kirchen gehalten hat.)" Now this is a downright perversion, an inexcusable instance of misrepresentation, and calculated to mislead every reader unacquainted with the German language. The article in question says not a word about the *Romish* church, but speaks of the church in general terms — of that church which existed long before Romanism was born; and that the primitive church held those views, which he is here assiduously laboring to bring into discredit, we have already proved by the requisite evidence. But what must candid readers think of a cause which requires such methods of defence as that to which our author has here resorted?

In another note on p. 41, he cites the language of the Visitation Articles of Saxony, in order to render that of the symbolical books more offensive. We shall here only reply, that it has always been well understood, that the language quoted from the Visitation Articles was never intended to be received in so gross a sense as to identify our Lord's body in the sacrament with his earthly body, as will, moreover, clearly appear upon a candid examination of the whole context. And, at all events, whatever may be thought of the representation made in these articles, the symbolical books of the Lutheran church are not at all responsible for it: those Articles have never had authority out of Saxony, where sovereign power imposed, and required subscription to them, and hence they ought never to have been printed with the symbolical books of our church, except in an appendix. We do wish, that those who controvert our confessions would confine themselves to such books as have real symbolical authority.

We proceed. The general drift of the argument advanced by our author under b., c., d., e., on pp. 41 sqq. has already been answered in that part of our discussion, which was written before we received the article before us. We have therefore yet only to attend to a few of his specifications. The

[1] The italics are his own.

manner in which instances are mentioned, in which the risen Savior appeared to one or more of his disciples, and not at the same time to others, amounts to nothing more than transparent special pleading: we might as well be told, that when he pronounced the parable of the sower, he was not, at the same time, uttering that of the good Samaritan, and so on. If the risen Savior deemed it proper to show himself, on different occasions, to one or more of his friends, while others were absent, does this prove any thing more than that he chose, in his wisdom, to act so and not otherwise? Does it demonstrate the impossibility of his doing a thousand other things which he did not do? But does our author forget, that shortly before his ascension our Savior probably *ate* with his disciples? We say *probably*, because the fact is not stated, but may be inferred from the circumstances recorded John 21: 1–14. But whether this inference be correct or not (and we are by no means anxious to urge it), it is quite evident, from other considerations, that up to his ascension into heaven our Lord's human nature was not yet perfectly glorified. His body still obviously possessed certain ordinary properties of terrestrial bodies, such as visibility, tangibility &c. We know very well, that the state which is, in systematic divinity, termed the status exaltationis, began with the resurrection; but we conceive it to be indisputable that the Son of Man was not fully glorified, until he ascended to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father Almighty; and as the controversy respecting the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist has reference to his perfectly glorified humanity, the argument here employed by Dr. S. necessarily falls to the ground.

But there is another point, already discussed in extenso, to be briefly noticed here: this, namely, that the Lutheran interpretation of the words of institution "contradicts the observation of all ages and nations, that all bodies, (material substances) must occupy definite portions of space, and cannot be at more than one place at the same time." [See the whole statement on p. 41. b.,] We would here merely present a few analogies from nature, which those who are applying the ordinary laws of matter or corporeity to the glorified body of Christ may take into serious consideration. The sun is sensibly present throughout at least the whole of our system, by its light, its heat, and its power of attraction, whereby it centralizes the movements of all the bodies that belong to our section of the universe. If a telegraph wire extended, in one unbroken line, from New York to St. Louis [the effect would be the same if it ran round the globe], and the electric current

were passed into it at either terminus, the same electric spark would, be at one and the same moment, in St. Louis and New York, and at all intermediate places, certainly without any appreciable difference of time.[1] More analogies of a similar nature might be given; not, certainly, to prove any thing positive respecting the ubiquity of our Lord's glorified humanity, but merely to show, that if material objects with which men are regularly conversant, and which are, in a greater or less degree, subject to the direct inspection of our senses, and even to our control, exhibit such remarkable properties, such astonishing phenomena, it is in the highest degree presumptuous to assert, that the Lord of glory cannot, in his infinitely exalted and glorified humanity, be present, entire and undivided, if it so please him, in all places of his dominions.

On p. 42 we find the following assertion: "The alleged 'spiritual' presence of the Savior's body is a contradiction in terms." Is it indeed? Well, we can supply our author with a few more such contradictions, and he may dispose of them as he best can: "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a *spiritual body*. There is a natural body, and there is a *spiritual body*." [I. Cor. 15: 44]. Really, the apostle Paul shows very little deference to the decisions of philosophers. But here is another: "But a moral signification, as is evident from the passages just quoted, is far more agreeable to the usus loquendi, and is perfectly easy and natural. The cup of the blessing—is it not the communion, does it not bring us *spiritually* into communion with the body of Christ" &c.—[Dr. Schmucker on the Nature of the Savior's Presence in the Eucharist: Ev. Rev. for July 1851, p. 46.] What does our friend mean by being brought *spiritually* into communion with the *body* of Christ? What does this *spiritual* communion with a *body* mean? According to our author it is simply a point-blank contradiction in terms. We, who hold that the reception of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, is, though connected with the reception of material elements, not grossly sensuous, but in an important sense a spiritual communion, have no difficulty with the subject. But more of this when this point comes up in due order.

Having already answered the objections under c., d., and e., we proceed to f., on p. 43.—It is here argued, that the doctrine of the real presence cannot be true, because the Scrip-

[1] "Electricity passes instantaneously to any distance on the earth's surface." "The news received from foreign countries may reach all parts of the United States at the same moment." "The velocity of electricity amounts to 288,000 miles per second."—*Gray's Elements of Natural Philosophy.*

tures represent Christ as having left this world, as having returned to the Father, and as being seated at his right hand in heaven: it is urged, that "he was carried up into *heaven*," and that Peter declares, that "the heavens must receive him until the times of the restitution of all things, which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, since the world began." &c. &c. If this argument avails any thing, it must prove, that though there be a *divine* presence in the church on earth, the exalted Mediator, the glorified Redeemer, is in heaven, and cannot, therefore, be in his church, or have any thing to do with it, as the God-man. For surely, in his person the two natures are inseparably united, constituting the one only Mediator; and where he is at all, there he is totus, entire and undivided. We are really surprised that a veteran theologian, like Dr. S., should use arguments like this, to prove the impossibility of the glorified Savior's presence, in his personal integrity or entirety, among his people; and especially that he should support his reasoning by an appeal to Matth. 24: 23., as if this passage had any connexion whatever with the subject in hand, and were not directly intended to caution his disciples against the pretensions of pseudo-messiahs, and various false rumors. But if this argument has any bearing against the Lutheran view of the eucharist, its force must reach far beyond this, for it is equally valid, (as we have seen), against the Savior's being in any sense present in his church, and indeed, against the entire doctrine of the divine omnipresence. We will not weary our readers by citing the numberless passages in the Old and New Testaments, which, on the one hand, directly declare, and on the other indirectly imply, that God dwelleth and reigneth in heaven: let a single one suffice: "Our Father *who art in heaven!*" Now, if the argument under consideration proves, that he, who is in the undivided integrity of his divine and human nature the glorious head of the church universal, cannot thus be present among his people on earth, it also proves that the Almighty Father is not and cannot be omnipresent, is not and cannot be present any where but in heaven; for this part of the Doctor's argument rests entirely on the declarations that represent Christ as having gone to, and as being in, heaven.

In connexion with the passages cited by Dr. S., we may here refer to John 16: 16.: "A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father;" and John 16: 22.: "And ye now therefore have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart

shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you:"—which seeing of him, after his brief removal, the best commentators understand, for divers cogent reasons, to mean the perpetual communion of believers with him.

As respects the passage, Acts 3:21., ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι: translated, "whom the heaven must receive," and thus quoted here; does not our author know, that, according to the grammatical construction, the words are as readily and correctly translated: "who must take possession of heaven:" ὅν, and not οὐρανὸν, being the accusative before the infinitive? The use of a middle verb confirms the propriety of this rendering, which is, in every respect, more accordant with the exalted dignity of the personage spoken of, who is constantly represented, not as being carried to heaven by other agents, but as *ascending* into heaven, and whom St. Paul expressly describes as having "*ascended* up *far above all heavens, that he might fill all things;*" Eph. 4:10., and not that heaven might so receive him, as there locally to confine and shut him up. And the apostle evidently says this of the glorified Redeemer; for, that God was universally present did not, in this place, demand so solemn an announcement. Of course the whole passage refers to Christ.

In this same connexion the author says: "And although the Savior left on record the delightful promise, that he would be always with his disciples till the end of the world, it was in his *divine* nature, which is omnipresent; and his next *visible* appearance, the angels informed the men of Galilee at his ascension, would again be from heaven in like manner as they had seen him ascend."—We should like to ask Dr. S. whether, either in the sanctuary, or at the domestic altar, or in the closet, he ever prays for the divine presence, ever entreats the exalted Mediator and Redeemer to bestow the favor of his gracious presence; and if so, whether he means no more than this, that the divine omnipresence might not be suspended, but be continued unto and over those with and for whom he prays? In fact, this manner of explaining the Savior's delightful promise robs it of all its force, and strips it of all that special comfort and joy which it was designed to communicate. If it implied no more than the divine omnipresence, then it is simply tantamount to saying: that providence which, as God, I exercise over all my works, will not be withdrawn from you, but will be over and with you at all times, unto the end of the world. Such promises, rich, indeed, in blessing and comfort, but entirely general, they had doubtless often read in the Old Testament. But the context, the entire occasion, compels the belief that something special and peculiar was intended—that

he would be present in his church and with his people, in a peculiar manner, different from his presence in the world by his overruling providence. And we contend, that he promised to be present in the character in which he spake, as the Son of God and man, in the indivisible oneness of his divine and human nature; nor are we any where told, that he is ever otherwise present, in one nature and not in the other. And whether men choose to call this a perpetual miracle or not, the promise remains sure, that the divine and human person constituting the one Mediator, will be with his people *always*, even unto the *end* of the world.

Next objection. P. 44. g.: "Again, whilst the idea, that Christ is figuratively represented as the *spiritual food* of the believer, is a delightful, consoling and becoming one; the supposition that the believer is to eat the actual flesh of his best friend, and drink his real blood, is a gross, repulsive and unnatural idea, which nothing but the clearest evidence would authorize us to adopt." "Gross, repulsive, and unnatural idea"! Yes, if we held that gross sort of reception, which Luther calls Capernaitish eating, or if, like the Papists, we taught transubstantiation. But of this elsewhere. With reference to the objection here more particularly before us, we, in the first place, translate the following sentences from Sartorius: [Christi Person and Werk.]—"It is further said, that to partake of Christ's body and blood is a revolting idea: where, however, those who make this objection, themselves carry the revolting element into the idea, by representing to themselves the act, as did the Jews at Capernaum, in the most grossly sensuous and inhuman manner. But there is surely, in another form, a partaking of the flesh and blood of a human being, which, although still very material and sensuous, yet not only presents nothing revolting, but is rather an emblem (Bild) of the tenderest love; we mean this, when a mother nourishes her sucking child with her flesh and blood.[1] But with this also, our partaking of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament is not to be compared, because here every thing that is materially (or grossly Tr.) sensuous is out of the question, and only the supersensuous substance thereof is received with and under the bread and wine. Thus every thing offensive and repulsive disappears," &c.—This is well said. But we have

[1] We would go still further, (though we rather suppose that Sartorius really means what we now intend to say), and instance the manner in which the life of the unborn child is sustained, nourished, and developed in the mother's womb. Is there any thing repulsive or revolting in this? Verbum sapienti sat.

yet another, and, we think, most important consideration to urge. If the reception of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist "is a gross, repulsive, and unnatural idea," what are we to say of the doctrine, that mankind were redeemed from sin and eternal death through Christ's atoning sacrifice? It will not, we suppose, be pretended, that Christ came into the world to deliver men from physical infirmities and sufferings, otherwise than indirectly through the cure and removal of that moral disease, by which all sorts of physical sufferings are brought upon the children of men; and certainly the disciples of Christ have not, through their connexion with him, obtained exemption from those infirmities and sufferings which are the common lot of humanity. It was the moral, the spiritual relations of mankind to their Creator, which he came to restore, from the disordered and evil state into which they had fallen, to their normal and legitimate condition; he came to save men's souls; to reconcile man, as a moral being, to his God; to heal his moral diseases; to effect his moral or spiritual renovation; and to fit him for the enjoyment of happiness flowing from moral sources, having a moral or spiritual basis. And yet, notwithstanding this moral or spiritual design of his mission, it was necessary that the Son of God should appear in the flesh; should suffer and bleed and die in the flesh; that his body should be broken and his blood shed, as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, to which pointed all the sin-offerings offered from the beginning of time. Whatever else was necessary to render the sacrifice effectual, nothing is more certain than that the physical sufferings and death of Christ, as the Lamb of God, were indispensable, "forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," I. Pet. 1 : 18. 19.; and while we are told that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission," we are also assured that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." Now, viewing this subject from the standpoint of the opponents of our confession, we ask, what means more gross and unnatural could have been employed to effect the great moral ends of the gospel scheme? What idea can be more repulsive than this, that, in order to accomplish the reconciliation of man's soul with the eternal Spirit, such a bodily sacrifice, such physical sufferings and death of the innocent Jesus should have been imperatively necessary? God forbid that we should intimate, that in all this there *is* aught gross, repulsive and unnatural: but we do say, that, if this

charge lies against the Lutheran view, not mis-stated or distorted, respecting the eucharist, it holds with equal comprehensiveness and force against the doctrine of atonement through a bleeding and crucified Savior. *We* see nothing gross, repulsive, or unnatural in either doctrine: but those who make *such* objections against the one, are bound, in consistency, to make them against the other.

As respects the remarks at the close of this section, 9., with respect to the term *spiritual* applied by the Form of Concord to eating and drinking material flesh and blood, [recollect, Lutherans believe that Christ's body is glorified], in a manner utterly unintelligible, we do not deem it necessary to say more, than that to us it is quite as intelligible as Dr. Schmucker's assertion, that the cup of blessing brings us *spiritually* into communion [i. e. spiritual communion] with the *body* of Christ.—See p. 46.

Our author next proceeds to examine "several expressions in the portion of Scripture discussing this subject, which have been supposed to favor Luther's interpretation;" and he labors hard to show that they can have no such bearing. The first passage which passes through the ordeal of his criticism is, I Cor. 11: 27. The reader is referred to p. 45 of the July No. of the Review. Hear our author: "It has been said, 'How could we be guilty of the body of Christ, if it were not present?' We answer; To be guilty of the body, means in the original, to be guilty or commit sin in reference to the body; that is, to make the body of Christ the occasion of committing sin." Very well said. But how is this to be accomplished, except that body be present, is far beyond our feeble powers of comprehension. To treat with irreverence, or to insult, *on earth*, a *body* that is *in heaven*, and far above all heavens, is a mystery entirely too deep for us to penetrate. However, we are having help. The Doctor proceeds, and gives us as wonderful a piece of argumentation as we have ever had the felicity of inspecting. "And must not all admit, that we can and often do commit sin in regard to absent persons or things? May we not sin, or be guilty, in regard to an absent friend [rather a shabby sort of friendship this, at all events], by slandering or even thinking ill of him, just as well as when he is present?" Why yes, to be sure; but what in all the world can this have to do with our friend's *body*, unless we go and commit assault and battery upon him? And even if, when he is absent, we were to say of him, that he is a paragon of ugliness, and this were to be repeated to him, we fancy that he would regard the offence as committed, not against his *body*,

but against him, the intellectual and moral man, our friend. We go on. "Do we not insult the majesty of an absent king, when we treat with indignity a monument or other memorial which has been established in honor of him?" Ay, surely: we grant, that, if he were to hear of such disrespectful proceedings, his pride might be offended, his dignity wounded, his conscious soul aggrieved: but unless, in addition to all this, we should assail him personally and lay violent hands on him, his *body* would, we conceive, care nothing at all about the affair, and certainly be none the worse for it. No sir, no! We must keep serious. And we do most solemnly contend, that this very declaration of St. Paul is one which the opponents of the Lutheran confession never can get over, never can torture to any thing else, than that unworthy communicants are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; guilty of insulting and treating with irreverence and indignity the body and blood of our Lord, because his body and blood are present in the Holy Sacrament, which such unworthy communicants dishonor, by not discerning, not bearing in mind and devoutly considering, that it is the glorified body of Christ which, in mysterious connexion with the visible elements, is presented to them; by not receiving it with a believing and loving soul, and therefore by treating it with irreverence and contumely. If the apostle had meant only, that the unworthy communicant treated his absent Savior with disrespect and indignity, why did he not say so? Why did he not say ἔνοχος Χριστοῦ, or ἔνοχος Ἰησοῦ? But not meaning this, he says what he *does* mean: "ἔνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυριου:" guilty of the *body* and *blood* of the Lord: thereby distinctly declaring, that he regards the Savior as, in his glorified humanity, actually present in the eucharist; so that he who partakes unworthily of the bread and wine, treats with disrespect and irreverence what is most sacred, and thus incurs unspeakable guilt.

As respects the passage quoted from St. James, it has not the slightest connexion with the matter in hand. It is not the word ἔνοχος, but the words τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος Κυριου, which are under discussion: and moreover, the man who knowingly and wilfully breaks one divine command, thereby shows that he has no respect for God's law; that he is ready for any sin; and thereby actually, virtually offends against the whole law. We cannot in any way discover, by what principle of exegesis this passage is brought to bear unfavorably upon the subject under discussion. The same remark applies to what follows on this 45th page. This is precisely the guilt of unworthy communicants, that they do not distinguish between the eat-

ing and drinking in the eucharist, and their ordinary eating and drinking: that they do not consider what a sacred object is offered to them in the celebration of that solemn rite. Men may explain as much as they please, to the end of time, and they will never get rid of the overwhelming power of I. Cor. 11: 27.

The second passage examined by our author, is I. Cor. 10: 16. — see p. 46. He gives a number of different significations in which the word κοινωνία, communion, fellowship, is used, and cites passages to establish and illustrate his definitions. Now it may be quite interesting to show that κοινωνία has different meanings; but what has all this philological criticism to do with the matter in hand? The particular signification of a word that has many meanings, must be determined by the particular context in which it occurs; just as in English we determine from the connexion, whether the word press means a crowd of people, or a wardrobe, or a machine for printing, or a cheese-press. The whole argument here is as irrelevent and inconsistent, as opaque and confused, as the one on p. 45, about ἔνοχος. None of the Doctor's citations make any thing against the Lutheran doctrine concerning the eucharist, and some of them fully confirm the correctness of our view. Thus, for example, he refers to Rom. 15: 26. and II. Cor. 9: 13., as passages in which κοινωνία signifies "communication or bestowment of a benefit, beneficence." Now we do not at all object to thus translating the word in these passages; but how came it here to have this signification? In two ways. Firstly, because the bestowment of a benefit establishes a peculiar communion or fellowship between the donors and receivers: but secondly, and chiefly, because in the one case the Macedonians and Achaians made up their "benefit" by a joint collection, by uniting and fellowshipping in raising a contribution: in the other, the same is reported of the Corinthians. — It is not the benefit, but the manner of it, that gave rise to this use of the word. We have neither time nor space to bestow upon his other meanings, and the passages cited to confirm them; nor is it necessary, as they cannot alter, or in any way affect, the signification of the word in the passage under consideration. The point to be determined here is, what is meant by the communion of the body and blood of our Lord; and that it can mean any thing else than direct, actual communion, it is impossible to prove, and idle to assert. Dr. S., evidently conscious of the difficulty under which he labors here, comes to the conclusion already referred to: "The cup of blessing — is it not the communion, does it not bring us *spiritually* into

communion with the body of Christ," &c. — in which, altering the apostle's language, he makes the *cup* the communion of the *body*. But as he has decided (p. 42.), that any thing *spiritual* affirmed concerning bodies, or any thing *spiritually* affirmed respecting them, is a contradiction in terms, we do not see why we should give ourselves any further trouble on this point. —

But he goes on to speak of I. Cor. 10: 18., "are not they who eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?" We cannot discover what service this passage is to render him here. Communion with the altar, and participation in the blessing connected with its sacred use, was in part effected *by eating the sacrifice* which lay upon the altar. The presence of Christ's body and blood, in connexion with visible signs, renders the eucharist a sacrament, a sacred mystery; and we partake of the fulness of its blessing, by receiving, in, with, or under the consecrated elements, the body and blood of that Lamb that was slain for the remission of sins. While we admit that, I. Cor. 10: 16., does not definitely determine any thing as respects the relation of Christ's body and blood, in the sacrament, to the bread and wine, but only asserts positively our communion with his body and blood, verse 18 can, by no ingenuity, be made to say any thing against our view: it is, as far as it has any bearing upon the subject before us, decidedly in our favor. All the sacrifices under the old covenant were types of Christ, our sin-offering: and in the fact, that a great part of the victim was eaten, we can scarcely help discovering some typical reference to the mysteries of the sacrament of the altar. As to what the Doctor says about the Jews eating the God whom they worshipped, we have nothing to do with, or to say about, such enormities.

Our author next cites v. 20., and then asks: "Who would suppose that the gentiles, in their sacrifices, had communion with the bodies of the dead heroes and demigods whom they worshipped?" No one, probably, entertains any such nonsense. — "Yet, if the word κοινωνία and κοινωνὸς in the one case means the actual participation of the flesh and body of the being commemorated, what reason can be assigned for its having so different a signification in the other?" Why simply this, that in the one case the body and blood are distinctly specified, in the other not; and that communion with a body can only mean what the words directly express, while fellowship with devils may be entirely spiritual, or, for aught we know to the contrary, bodily. — And yet there is even here a singular circumstance to be noted, viz. that the gods were supposed

to feast upon, or to *eat* the sacrifices offered them; so that even here there is an *eating* in the case, which fact we do not mention because we attach any importance to the crude notions of the heathens, but because it is quite remarkable that the κοινωνία was supposed to be effected by means of eating, in which the Gentiles considered both parties to take part.

We have now reached that part of our author's treatise, in which he contests the doctrine of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ's person, and of the consequent communicatio idiomatum, which has been so fully developed, and so clearly and satisfactorily set forth, by later Lutheran divines, in strict accordance with Luther's views, as derived from, and based upon, the Sacred Scriptures. Here then is the proper place to present an extended discussion of this doctrine, which is of essential importance, not only to our doctrine concerning the eucharist, but equally so to that of the atonement. But ere we proceed to perform this duty, we shall first dispose of a few detached positions taken in the dissertation before us:—to take up in detail, and answer in extenso, all the assertions made, all the positions taken, all the criticisms presented, all the conclusions drawn, in the whole course of the Doctor's argument, would lead us entirely too far: we shall, therefore, merely place a general disquisition in opposition to his general train of reasoning.

But, for the present we are to instance a few prominent particulars. And first, he again asserts that Luther himself in part rejected a theological argument or theory in favor of the presence of the body of the Savior in the Lord's Supper, more amply developed since his time. He again fails to specify the particular view which Luther is alleged to have rejected; and we, left to conjecture, and supposing that he alludes to the affair referred to near the commencement of our present article, simply assert in reply that the Doctor is misinformed: we know of no doctrinal point respecting the Lord's Supper which Luther, when once he had taken his ground, ever gave up.

Secondly: Coloss. 2: 9. "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily:" σωματικῶς. The exposition which Dr. S. gives of this passage is simply his own, entirely arbitrary, and fortified by not one satisfactory reason. We fear that he has but a very indifferent opinion of St. Paul's philological acquirements, and power of language. If the apostle meant to say: really, truly, actually, verily, fully, why did he not use one of the many words which his knowledge of the copious Greek language afforded him, to express this meaning?

Why, if he meant no more than this, did he *make* a new word to express a distinct and different meaning? For, be it observed, neither the adjective σωματικός, nor the adverb σωματικῶς, is a classical word: both occur only in ecclesiastical writers, by whom they were doubtless adopted from the N. Testament, in which the adverb under consideration occurs only in this one place. According to the Doctor's criticism, both of this passage and of I. Cor. 11: 27, St. Paul must be regarded [and what right have we *thus* to criticise an inspired writer] as having indulged in an extraordinary infelicity of expression, if by σῶμα and αἷμα he did *not* mean body and blood, and by σωματικῶς *not bodily*, but really, truly, fully. The other passages of Scripture here cited have no bearing on the case, for they are not parallel; and the quotations from the classics have no more to do with the matter than the death-song of Regner Lodbrok. If they determine any thing at all with regard to the matter before us, it must be by serving to show that the Apostle's language means, that the *person of the Godhead* dwelleth in Christ; which, we acknowledge, would be quite unintelligible to us. St. Paul cannot here have intended to inform the Colossians merely, that the Deity was united with humanity in Christ's person: this idea he could have expressed and did elsewhere express, in suitable language: he evidently meant what he does say, viz: that the fulness of the divine nature pervaded Christ's body, and that thus his humanity was made to partake fully of the Divine nature. We commend to consideration the following exposition of this passage by Dr. Albert Barnes, whose critical vision was not blinded by polemic zeal against the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum: and although his explanation does not satisfy us entirely, it goes far beyond Dr. Schmucker's interpretation. We cite only the interpretation: for the sound reasons with which he vindicates and fortifies it against heretics, see Barnes in loc.—"The fair sense of the phrase is, that the fulness of the divine nature became incarnate, and was indwelling in the body of the Redeemer." Again: "The meaning is, that it was not any *one* attribute of the Deity that became incarnate in the Savior; that he was not merely endowed with the knowledge, *or* the power, *or* the wisdom of God; but that the whole Deity thus became incarnate, and appeared in human form."

Thirdly. Matth. 28: 18. It is astonishing how the necessity of hunting up arguments, wherewith to bolster up a theory, can lead men to misunderstand the language of Scripture. A number of passages are here cited to show that ἐξουσία, power, means, in this place, "not power or omnipotence; but all or

full authority to command and direct all things on earth to the accomplishment of the purposes of his mediatorial reign." Is this really *all* that is expressed by the words: "all power [or, if you will, authority] in heaven and on earth"? If so, we shall have to go to school again, to learn the use and power of words. Admitting even, that the Savior told his disciples this for the purpose of assuring them, that he was able to control and overrule *all things* for the good of his church, he grounds his declaration upon the fact, that *all* power, *all* authority, in heaven and on earth, was vested in him. And suppose even *this* were no appeal to his omnipotence, what matters that, if, according to other Scripture passages, e. g. Phil. 3: 21., he possesses this attribute? Hence even the angels worship him: "Jesus Christ, who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God, angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject to him." (I. Pet. 3: 22.)

To the doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ, our author brings forth numerous, and as he thinks, formidable objections.

1. "The idea that the properties of one substance can become the properties of a different substance, is a philosophical absurdity." Is it indeed? Why there are hundreds of chemical processes which directly contradict this statement; but we cannot tarry to specify. We shall, however, present a few facts, by which this philosophical absurdity is effectually done away with.—Canton's Phosphorus, and a variety of other substances, upon being exposed to the light, themselves become luminous, so as to give out light in the dark; and this property they retain for some time. Again: when you isolate a man by placing him upon glass, and then, having brought him into communication with a foreign and different object, in the shape of an electric machine, and pass into him a stream of the electric fluid, you may perfectly saturate him with electricity, making this so completely, for a time, a property of his whole body, that, touch him at any point, you draw forth electric sparks; and yet, though electricity has thus temporarily become a property of his body, its own properties remain the same, undergoing no change. The next is better.—When hardened steel is brought into contact with a magnet, it becomes magnetic: in other words, the properties of the magnet become the properties of the steel, which retains them permanently, and in effective activity, without therefore losing any of its own properties, and without robbing the magnet of its properties. But we have a still stronger case. At the marriage in Cana our Lord commanded the servants to fill six large water-pots with

water: they did so, and they all knew that nothing but water had been put into the pots; and when now he ordered them to draw out, and to bear unto the governor of the feast, it was found to be wine, much better than they had yet had: the distinctive properties of the water had disappeared, and it had received in their place, to all intents and purposes, as evidenced by the senses of sight and taste, the properties of excellent wine. The case affords a perfect refutation of our author's assertion. Of course, the plea that this was a miracle, can be of no possible use to him: we are speaking now of that very personage who wrought this miracle; and the only question at issue here is, whether it is possible for the properties of one object or substance to become the properties of another object or substance, which is here conclusively demonstrated by a plain matter of fact.

2. "It is impossible, in the nature of things, that the infinite properties of God, the uncreated one, should be communicated to any creature" &c. This assertion, if it were true, would be utterly subversive of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. If the declaration of Scripture that God became incarnate, mean nothing more than that God employed a human being, called Jesus of Nazareth, as an instrument for the manifestation of his goodness, compassion and love towards our race, without communicating to that personage his own divine attributes, then, certainly, Trinitarians are making a very needless ado about the divinity of *Christ;* for this is precisely what we assert, in opposition to Unitarians and Socinians, not only that there are three persons in the Deity, but that Christ Jesus, the Mediator, is, in his entire personality, Divine, and the Second Person in the Trinity. If the human nature and form of Christ were nothing but a mask, behind and under which the Almighty spoke and acted, leaving that nature entirely unaffected by the indwelling Divinity, entering into no absolute, intimate, inseparable union with it, communicating to it no divine attributes, the whole event ceases to be any thing more wonderful than the inspiration of the prophets, and we can only be surprised that St. Paul should speak of it as a great mystery: "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." I. Tim. 3: 16. But such positions are wide of the truth. To use Dr. Schmucker's own language, only beginning with *as* for *if*, and referring to the expositions of the Communio naturarum, and of the Communicatio idiomatum, for a full exhibition of our meaning, we

say: "as the human nature of Christ acquired possession of divine attributes, it must itself be divine." "Yes, the finite has become infinite, the creature has become the Creator, and a feeble mortal like unto us, in all things, sin only excepted, has become the immortal God." To deny this, as hereinafter explained, is Docetism and Socinianism. We by no means intend to charge our author with these heresies: we know that he abhors them as much as we do; but we contend that he makes assertions in this article, which, when carried out into their legitimate consequences, must lead to them.

Nor is the Doctor more happy in stating, 3. this general principle, that, "wherever any one divine attribute is found, there the others must also be, and that is God." This is not as universally and absolutely true as here taken for granted. Is foreknowledge, the power of foreseeing, and distinctly foretelling very remote future events, a divine attribute? Yes. But prophets and apostles possessed it, without having all, and becoming gods. Is the power of working miracles, of controlling nature, of healing diseases with a word or a touch, nay, of raising the dead, a divine attribute? Yes: yet prophets and apostles possessed and exercised it; thus showing that God can delegate, in a measure, to ordinary human beings, attributes entirely his own, without making them his equals. How different, however, is the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily, and who himself bestowed upon his servants a measure of those powers which we have just instanced.

4. "If the hypostatic union in Christ implies a communication of attributes, it must be reciprocal, and whilst the humanity of Christ is clothed in the attributes of divinity, his divinity must also have assumed the attributes of humanity; have become human; which the opponents are unwilling to admit." This is a mere assumption, an authoritative dictum, which we can see no reason for accepting: for, in the first place, humanity has nothing to communicate to God—has nothing which it has not received from God: and again, this assumption is contrary to the express design of the incarnation, which is not to degrade the Deity, but to elevate and ennoble human nature, and to assimilate it to the divine. The discussion, infra, of the communicatio idiomatum will more fully answer this objection. The reader is also referred to: Das Bekenntniss der Ev. Luth. Kirche in der Consequenz seines Princips, von Thomasius, p. 204 sqq.

5. *We* teach, that in Christ there were *two* natures in *one* person. Does Dr. S. deny, that in Christ the divine and hu-

man natures are intimately and inseparably united, so as to constitute the one God-man? If not, (and without running into positive heresy, he cannot), he has, if he refuses to adopt the distinct definitions of the Lutheran church, no alternative but to mix up the two natures in indiscriminate confusion; for there is no way of keeping them distinct, while yet inseparably united, except by receiving the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum, without utterly denying the validity and efficacy of the atonement. For a more extended discussion of this point, as also of the Doctor's 9th objection, we refer to the remarks on the Comm. Idiom. on a following page.

6. This is a strange position for a believer in the Bible to take. Granted that we hold that, by virtue of the hypostatic union and the consequent comm. idiom., Christ is omnipresent in both his natures, or rather in the undivided integrity of his person, does this prove that he is not present in the eucharist in a peculiar manner, for a special purpose, to be received in a special, mysterious and inexplicable manner by those who engage in this ordinance? Does the certainty of God's omnipresence prove, that all that we read in the Old Testament respecting his being, in a special manner, for the communication of special favors, and the accomplishment of special purposes, with Moses, with Israel in the desert, in the tabernacle, in the temple, with Samuel and other judges, with David and other godly kings, with prophets, with armies, and with many pious individuals, is all false, simply because some men assert, that there can be no special presence where there is a general omnipresence? Nothing but the great length of this article prevents us from inserting here, Luther's admirable reasoning on this point. See the work above referred to, p. 158. Note.

7. To this objection we reply, that our doctrine is not one iota more liable to the charge of favoring pantheism, than is the doctrine of the divine omnipresence, and that Dr. S. knows right well.

8. This objection is so scandalous, that we cannot think of replying to it. We presume that Dr. S. does worship the God-man Jesus Christ; and, if so, we would advise him to abstain from directing his worship to the elements of the eucharist.

Finally, our author totally denies that our Lord's discourse, recorded John 6: 25–56., has any reference to the Holy Supper. We shall presently show that it has; but we must first notice briefly two particular objections advanced in this connexion.—1., "If this passage [John 6: 56] teaches a *physical* eating and indwelling of the Savior's body in the communicant, it also affirms that the communicant's body dwells in the body

of the Savior, which is absurd." True enough, absurd. Our author reasons here again on the assumption, that Lutherans teach a gross, materially sensuous, Capernaïtish eating of Christ's body; but while we believe that the Savior's glorified humanity is, in a mysterious, inexplicable manner, received by the communicant in partaking of the bread and wine, and see no difficulty in the case at all, we know very well that our gross, material and polluted bodies cannot be transferred into his glorified body: we do not believe that the Scriptures teach impossibilities: we admit that this our dwelling in Christ is by faith; and Dr. S. ought to know that his inference here is a non sequitur, just as much so, as if he were to maintain that, because Jehovah dwelt, in the visible form of the Schechinah, in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Old Covenant, therefore the tabernacle and the temple dwelt bodily in him: and that the Jewish nation had dwelt bodily in God, because Moses addressed the Lord thus: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations." Our dwelling in Christ is here represented as the effect or result of our receiving him, and is further explained in the following verse: "he that eateth me, even he shall live by me:" and thus we are really *in* him, in a spiritual sense, in that he is our life; that in him we live, and move, and have our being physically, and that out of him we have no spiritual life at all.

2. A few words on the assertion, that "the union of the two natures in Christ" "produced not even a shadow of a communicatio idiomatum (transfer or communication of attributes) on earth" &c.—here follow inferences. How can our author hazard such an assertion, in the face of such passages as Matth. 28: 18., John 5: 22. 26. 27. &c.? That omnipotence belonged to God; that the right to judge all men, and the authority to execute judgment, pertaineth unto God, the disciples knew, and had no need of being so solemnly informed, even if to communicate *this* information had been (which is quite out of the question) the Savior's design. There is nothing more perfectly clear than this, that the Savior here declares, in his human nature, that omnipotence and the authority to hold the judgment, were conferred upon him: it was not necessary to *give* his divine nature what this already possessed: nay, he himself adds, v. 27. "because he is the Son of Man."

We are now ready for the general question, whether John 6: 25–56., has any reference to the Lord's Supper.[1] That

[1] The substance of our remarks on this point, and the sentences in marks of quotation, are taken from Stier's Commentary, Vol. IV. p. 310 sqq.

such was the view held by the primitive church, is certain; so that "even Lampe," who would have been glad to deny it, if this had been possible, "is compelled to acknowledge: 'It cannot be denied that the majority of the fathers understood this portion of Scripture to speak of a sacramental manducation.'"[1] "Nothing is more simple than the view which was held of old, that the evangelist John, who records historically neither the appointment of baptism, nor the institution of the Lord's Supper, reports instead, how, in chapt. III., the Lord speaks prophetically of the essential nature of baptism, and here, in ch. VI., in like manner of the Holy Supper. Thus much, at least, von Gerlach also admits: 'as baptism is the sacrament of regeneration through water and the Spirit, so is the Holy Supper of our Lord the sacrament of this restoration to life, and renewal through the flesh and blood of Christ, and sustains therefore the same relation to this discourse, as baptism to the conversation with Nicodemus.'" There is an obvious reciprocal relation between the discourse in this chapter, and the words of the institution, which renders it proper, and even necessary, to explain each by the other, just as the works of God throw the right light upon his words, and vice versa, his words throw the right light upon his works. The connexion is here so obvious, that it is impossible to conceive how Luther and other critics should have failed to perceive and urge it. "Can it be conceived that our Lord, when, being on the point of giving his flesh for the life of the world, he ordained for the future the eating of his body and the drinking of his blood, should *not* have had in his mind what he had said in Capernaum, and *not* have reminded his disciples of it? That the two should be *without any connexion*? It will always be impossible for us to assert any such thing. And if, as would be natural, it should at the same time be said, that Christ, when discoursing at Capernaum, had not at all thought of the future sacrament, we regard this as equally impossible, and inconceivable. Bengel says: 'This sacrament is of such importance, that it may be readily conceived, that Jesus, just as he predicted the treachery of Judas (v. 71.), and his death, had in the same manner predicted, a year before [its institution], also the Sacred Supper, of which he was certainly thinking while uttering these words, in order that his disciples might afterwards remember his prediction. This whole discourse respecting the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, has reference to

[1] "Negari nequit, Patrum maximum numerum nostrum locum de sacramentali manducatione intellexisse."

his passion, and with it to the Sacred Supper. For this reason the flesh and blood are throughout mentioned separately.'"[1]

Admitting that there may be an extra-sacramental communion, a spiritual reception of his flesh and blood by faith, "this cannot be regarded as a spiritualis fruitio or manducatio in the strictest sense, as opposed to all corporeity; for *without*, as well as *in*, the sacrament, that which we receive remains truly σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα [flesh and blood], and consequently there is an eating and drinking with the mouth of the inward man. And hence the words of the institution are to be interpreted according to John VI.," and, in return, the very words of the institution serve to show, that the Savior here had the Sacred Supper in his mind, and that he intended, by this discourse, to prepare the minds of his disciples for the institution of that solemn rite. And "precisely because they were Jews, they could understand the real eating and drinking of flesh and blood, offered in sacrifice, much better than the ideal reception of our speculative theologians, had they not been blinded by the prejudice, which led them to take offence at the human personality in which he appeared; . . . especially as, about this time, the reference to the paschal lamb was obvious to the hearers, as well as to the speaker." Even the incorrigibly perverse Lange maintains here that τρώγειν, used for φαγεῖν, can only mean to eat, really and veritably." It is here however, in respect of this discourse in the VIth ch. of John's gospel, that the figurative theory is most strenuously insisted upon, and most liberally applied. Dr. S. even refers us to v. 63., to prove by it the justness of his figurative interpretation; thus only showing, that he has failed to discover the correct interpretation of this verse. The whole context shows, that it was designed to set right the Jews, who so perversely and grossly misunderstood him, as though he had meant that they should eat him bodily as he there stood before them, and as an ordinary human being, such as they conceived him to be. Our Lord graciously condescends to rectify their error, and his words are obviously to be thus interpreted: what you understand me to mean, is not what I intend: mere flesh, flesh per se, as flesh destitute of spirit, which you think I am speaking of, that indeed can profit nothing, cannot make alive.

[1] "Tanti hoc sacramentum est momenti, ut facile existimari possit, Jesum, ut proditionem Judae v. 71., et mortem suam, ita etiam S. Coenam, de qua inter haec verba certissime secum cogitavit, uno ante anno praedixisse, ut discipuli possent praedictionis postea recordari. Tota haec de carne et sanguine J. C. oratio passionem spectat et cum ea S. Coenam. Hinc separata carnis et sanguinis mentio constanter."

But how comes it to be overlooked, that in this verse the Savior does not, as elsewhere in this chapter, say: "*my* flesh?" Will any one affirm respecting *his* flesh, *his* body, οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν — it profiteth nothing? And if the Lord had said this of *his own* flesh, would he not have contradicted what he had, a few minutes before, said, when he told them directly, v. 51., that his flesh was the life of the world? But when Dr. S. explains this: "Here the Savior seems expressly to teach, that the *literal* eating of his flesh would profit them nothing," how is it that he does not perceive that, if his explanation were correct, this verse would just as clearly and positively teach, that the *literal* crucifixion of his flesh, the literal breaking of his body on the cross, would profit them nothing? If he insists upon his interpretation, on the grounds alleged, in the one case, he must, to be consistent, accept it in the other. Here then we say with Stier: "as regards these words of the Lord we protest, again and again, against all talk about 'figurative forms of speech.' We consider it entirely unworthy of the Lord, that 'all these forcibly impressive, repeated, accumulated figures should denote nothing more than the spiritual connexion with him,'" as says J. von Müller. In conclusion on this point, we translate Stier's concluding remarks on v. 55. After insisting that ἀληθῶς, and not as Lachmann prefers, ἀληθής, is the correct reading, he proceeds: "Away then, in the presence of this ἀληθῶς, with all idealities, put in the place of βρῶσις, and πόσις, φαγεῖν and πίνειν, and even in the place of σὰρξ; and with all abstractions designed to explain the truth which is given in the words of Jesus, whilst, in reality, they detract from and enfeeble it. 'The Savior certainly did not ordinarily speak in a manner so grossly corporeal, but had, on the contrary, at all times spiritual words for spiritual things; and when he spoke figuratively, he never did it in such a way that the figure was greater than the thing signified: with him figure was reality, as his own name is reality [Bild ist bei ihm Wesen, so wie sein Name Wesen ist.]. If it was here his design to be understood only in a spiritual sense, why did he not employ the expressions so frequently used elsewhere, which are surely plain and strong enough, and why did he not retain as sufficient the more spiritual term: Bread of Life? Why does he speak also of flesh, and even of blood? In the word 'Bread' there was figure enough to make his meaning clear; but the words 'flesh and blood,' taken merely as a figure, could contribute nothing to the elucidation of his meaning. And when he moreover perceived, how greatly the Jews, and even many of his disciples, were offended at his words, how imperatively did his

wisdom as a teacher, and his love, require that he should clear up the misconception, in such words, perhaps, as these: as ye eat meat (flesh) and bread, and thereby receive it into yourselves, so shall ye receive me into your hearts. — But, in the very face of the doubts of the Jews, he goes on to express what he had said, in still stronger language, and leaves them no other conclusion, than that they must eat his flesh and drink his blood. Nay he says expressly (emphatically) my flesh is (truly) meat *indeed*, and my blood is (truly) drink *indeed* ἀληθῶς [truly, used in each instance. Tr.]; and *this is the reverse of figurative and unreal.*' (Kapff, Communionbuch, p. 74 sq.). Yes truly, as even Lange premises, without knowing what a sentence he thus pronounces upon his own subsequent abstractions: 'he declared in a manner *so concrete*, so definite, the truth that with his flesh and blood he was the real life-bread of the world.'"

We proceed now to present, in as brief a space as possible, the view which, according to our confessions, our church still holds and defends, respecting the union of the two natures in Christ, and the communicatio idiomatum, the communication of divine attributes to Jesus the Son of Man. In no church has a profound, thoroughly scriptural, and perfectly consistent Christology been so fully developed, and so satisfactorily stated, strictly on the basis of revealed truth, as in ours: several distinguished living divines of Germany have produced most admirable works on the great theme; and among these none has written with more clearness, and more triumphantly confuted the objections of opponents, than Thomasius, in his "Beiträge zur Kirchlichen Christologie." In order to exhibit this subject in all its fulness, it would be necessary to translate this entire work: but the dimensions, to which this article has already grown, barely leave us room for two fragmentary extracts, in which a great deal that precedes them is assumed to be now perfectly understood. He concludes his work, by presenting, under five distinct heads, the great truths which, in the preceding dissertation, he had completely vindicated against the objections of all sorts of opponents; the first exhibits in full the Scripture doctrine of the hypostatic union; the second that of the communio naturarum; the third that of the communicatio idiomatum. We can barely make room for the second and third, marking them I and II.

I. The Communio Naturarum.

"If we consider, on the basis of what we have thus far fully ascertained, the person of the Redeemer, we have, in the first

instance, the genuineness (Wahrheit) of his human and divine nature. For his human nature is perfectly homogeneous with ours. Sprung from our race, consisting of body and soul, having the properties of a creature [Kreatürlich], capable of suffering, mortal: feeling, thinking, willing in the manner of men, but without sin. It is true that it does not possess the same originalness and independence [Ursprünglichkeit und Selbständigkeit] as the divine, but it has in the latter the principle of its existence and subsistence. And this constitutes the truth of our church's doctrine of the ἐνυποστασία. If the case were otherwise, we would, in the place of a Godman, have a mere man, of whom we could only affirm that he is enlighted and animated by the divine. The objection, however, that in this way the hamanity is deprived of an integrating element of its being, particularly of personality, falls to the ground of itself, according to the view which we take of the subject. For an absolute self-dependence or independence is not, at any rate, an attribute of human nature, but it is in all its members, and in every respect, determined in its condition by God, and is so far from being impaired or infringed upon, by this want of self-dependence (Selbständigkeit), that through this, precisely, it is what it is (dass sie gerade an ihr ihre Wahrheit hat.). Its peculiarity is dependent upon this, that it bears within itself a divine fundamental element of life. The same is true of the Redeemer, of whose life the Logos is the fundamental element. The only difference is this, that in him life is eternal, absolute, self-existent, and identical with that of the Father, ἡ ζωὴ, ὁ λογος τῆς ζωῆς, I. John, 1 and 2. (ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, as the ancients correctly expressed it), ἡ ζωὴ ἀιώνιὸς. John 5: 26. ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῶ; whereas in us it exists as life from God, limited as pertaining to creatures [auf Kreatürlich beschränkte Weise], in a finite form; so that therefore, his being and ours are really of a kindred nature, ours being spirit of his spirit, life from the fulness of his life. But do we not thus fall into the error of the ancient Apollinarism, which denied that the Redeemer had any human personality? Not by any means. For that divine fundamental element of life within us, whose union with our animal nature is alone competent to produce human self-consciousness, and to give it reality, to fit us for the knowledge of God and for conscious communion with him, and to effect these in reality, is not itself, in fact, either the one or the other of these, but the basis upon which they are developed. This fundamental element of life [Lebensgrund] does not, in fact, develop itself, but man's thought and will [Das menschliche Denken und Wollen] grow up, as it were, into it, and thus

only acquire their distinct character and their full import. In a similar manner the divine Logos constitutes, in the Redeemer, the basis of his human consciousness, the possibility of a humanly thinking and willing *me*, without therefore being this itself, or subsisting as a second distinct consciousness along side of it; for he has, in his incarnation, humbled, emptied himself, and laid aside his divine consciousness, in order to resume it again in the form of the human.

This humiliation [or exinanition] however, which constitutes him a real man, does not, on the other hand, in any sense infringe upon the reality of his divinity. For, self-limitation is nothing else than self-determination; and when the divine Self determines itself to exist in a certain manner, or to operate within a limit fixed by itself, when it appoints for itself a definite mode or limit, it does not thereby cease to be the absolute. The creation of the world, the production of personal beings with a free self-determination, together with the possibility of the fall, and the permission of evil; nay, the entire government of the world, in its patience and long-suffering towards sinners, are all acts of self-limitation; for here God abstains from the manifestation of his absolute power, without therefore giving it up; just as when, on the other hand, he punishes the wicked, and withdraws his blessing from them, he does not cease to be Love. But this divine self-limitation and self-humiliation [Selbstverleugnung] is preëminently displayed in the entire scheme of salvation revealed in the Gospel, of which the incarnation is the central point. That to which the whole history of man's salvation points, appears here in its highest perfection [tritt hier im höchsten Maase ein]. The Son gives up the fulness of his attributes, the relation in which he stands to the world as its Creator and Ruler, the ἴσα εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ [the being equal to God. Tr.]; but only actu, [i. e., so far as their active exercise is concerned]; *he does not give up his divine being or essence.* In laying aside his divine glory (δόξα), he does not lose his oneness of being or essence with the Father. As to his essence he remains God, whilst he divests himself of the μορφὴ Θεϐ — the form of God.

If from this we proceed to consider, in the second place, the mutual relation between the divine and human in Christ, it necessarily follows from the definitions given above, that we dare not regard the two as connected together externally, or in a manner merely ethical (συνάφεια); for in this way the *one* being Christ would again become divided into a duality of persons; or we would have to come back to that mere indwelling of the divine, which we have already rejected, as in itself utterly in-

compatible with the idea of the God-man. But an absorption of the human nature, or its transmutation into the divine, is just as much out of the question, as he would thus utterly cease to be essentially like unto us. The view which we are giving excludes, of itself, both these modes of representation. They are, in like manner, at variance with Scripture, and moreover, they rob the whole work of redemption of its significance and value. For if the divine and human natures in Christ are only externally connected, all that he did and suffered can be predicated only of his human nature, and ceases, as merely human, to have any redeeming value; but if the human has been absorbed by and into the divine nature, his human activity loses all its genuineness, and becomes a mere semblance or feint, as taught by the Docetae. In opposition to these erroneous conceptions (Nestorianism and Eutychianism), the distinctions and definitions given by our church are impregnably true: "In Christo duo naturae, divina et humana, in unitate personae ἀσυγχύτως et ἀχωρίστως, inconfuse et inseparabiliter conjunctae sunt. [In Christ, the two natures, the divine and the human, are united, in the oneness of his person, without confusion, and inseparably.] But the most weighty consideration is the oneness, the unity; for, ever since the act of the unio hypòstatica, it is entirely improper to ascribe to him *two separate natures*, a *twofold* consciousness, a *twofold* will; it is, on the contrary, One undivided person of the Godman (una indivisa persona), in which the divine and human natures so pervade each other, as that neither can be regarded, or so much as thought of, as existing by itself, i. e. alongside or outside of the other. (Unio arctissima, intima, realis.) And here the declarations of our Confessions claim our unqualified assent: ad integritatem personae Christi incarnati non modo divina sed etiam humana natura pertinet. (Form. Conc. VIII. 11.) To the integrity of the person of the incarnate Christ pertains not only the divine, but also the human nature.]: again: nec λόγος extra carnem, nec caro extra λόγος &c. [The Logos is not separate from the flesh, nor the flesh from the Logos.] But every abstraction, which seeks to keep the two natures separate, is obviously entirely wrong, because no such separateness is found in concreto: [in the actual person]. Even the analogy of body and soul, which it is usual to adduce, is utterly useless for illustrating this connection. It is too external. The well-known similitude of heated iron, which, at all events, is inapplicable to spiritual things, is equally useless. Only the relation of the human πνεῦμα to soul and body, or of

the Holy Spirit to the regenerated, presents a suitable point of comparison.

II. The Communicatio idiomatum.

Such being the state of the case as respects the person of the Redeemer, it follows that the whole of his active life cannot be regarded as a double series of acts transpiring alongside of each other, or interlocking, like two cog-wheels; on the contrary, just as his person is a true, living unity, so also are his *consciousness*, his inward *life*, and his external *activity* to be considered as strictly integral, and belonging equally to both constituents of his being. For, (as we have shown above), the divine Logos has not reserved to himself a separate existence, and hence also no separate mode of action, alongside of, or exterior to, the human, but has, on the contrary, condescended to enter, into this respect also, entirely into the form of humanity. And with this we have, at the same time, the possibility of a naturally-human development on the basis of the already given unio hypostatica, from which that oneness of life can be more accurately explained according to its particular manifestations.

For, even as in every human being self-consciousness exists potentially from the beginning, but attains to actuality only in the way of successive development, thus also the Redeemer had not from the beginning a developed knowledge respecting his divino-human being (gottmenschliches Wesen). In childhood his knowledge and consciousness are those of a child. But, as the consciousness of his innermost nature gradually unfolds itself to his view, the consciousness of his divine Sonship, of his relation to the Father, and of his call to be the Redeemer of the world, discloses itself to him at the same time; in a manner similar to that in which, with the progressive development of the spiritual elements of our nature, the consciousness of the relation in which we stand to God, and of our earthly destination, is disclosed to us. It is a process, therefore, in which the personality of the Godman is realized; but this process does not first affect the communion between the divine and human within him; this, on the contrary, being given, it proceeds from that which already exists, and only carries it onward to a state of consciousness. This consciousness itself is not, therefore, to be partially regarded either as human, or as divine, but as integral (einheitliches), i. e. as divino-human.[1]

[1] With the Redeemer, as with us, this development is mediately effected through the influence of the Holy Spirit, which affected him through all the divinely-ordered relations of his early life, and particularly through the word of his Father: there is here, however, this essential difference that, whilst

What is true of his consciousness, is therefore true also of his entire life and activity. This is, like the former, integral, divino-human. What he speaks, feels, and suffers in the performance of his mediatorial office on earth, — his sympathy with the misery of the world, his participation in the poverty and weakness of our nature, the conflict with temptation, his grief and suffering — all these purely human acts are at the same time divine, because they proceed from the one person of the Godman. "Wherefore ("though made so much better than the angels") in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God." Heb. 2: 17. — "Though he were a Son [better: although he was the Son], yet learned he obedience by things which he suffered." Heb. 5: 8. And therefore also the Scriptures describe his whole work of redemption at one time as the ἔργον of the Son of Man, at another as the ἔργον of the Son of God. They say: ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης (designating his divine nature) is crucified, I. Cor. 2: 8.—but also ὁ υἱὸς τȣ ἀνθρώπȣ ἔπαθεν σαρκὶ. Luke 9: 22 sqq. I. Pet. 4: 1.; on the one hand they ascribe his sufferings to his human nature, and on the other they derive its efficacy to atone for the sins of the whole world, from its being the suffering of the Son of God: Cf. I. Pet. 1: 19. 20. Matth. 20: 28. with I. John 1: 7. αἷμα Ἰησȣ Χριστȣ τȣ υἱȣ τȣ Θεȣ. Act. 20: 18. For this very reason we do not suffer ourselves to be at all disturbed by the oft repeated objection, that thus the divine nature in Christ is degraded into that which is human. On the contrary we teach, as the Scriptures do, not only a co-knowledge, but an actual participation, a real sharing in the same feelings and sufferings on the part of the divinity of the Redeemer, in respect of the condition and sufferings of his humanity,[1] nay, we regard this as a necessary consequence of the incarnation, and refer the entire significance [Bedeutung: import:] of all that he did and suffered, precisely to this, that it is divino-

ours is at all times passing through sin and error, his not only remained free from all pollution, but unfolded itself with a clearness and continuousness, by virtue of which every moment of his life, being animated by humble obedience and holy love to God, contained within itself a living impulse to farther progress, so that, with Schleiermacher, we may regard the unfolding of his personality, from earliest childhood to the maturity of manhood, as an unbroken course of transition from the purest innocence to a perfect fulness of spiritual strength, which is widely different from every thing that we call virtue.

[1] The main force of the above-cited passages, Heb. 5: 8. — 4: 15. — 5: 2. cf. II. Cor. 5: 19. with Hebr. 1: 3., rests entirely upon his suffering being that of the Son of God.

human.[1] We comprehend what has been said above, in this aphorism: *What the Redeemer does as man he does also as God.*

But this truth directly includes within itself this other, that what he does as God, he does also as man. For, as the human life of the Son is actively manifested in and with the divine, so is his divine actively manifested only in and with his human life. The light, the truth, the power of the Logos so entirely pervade and illumine the human spirit, that no separation is here possible. What he thinks in his divine nature, he thinks at the same time in his human nature, just as his divine word is, in the strictest sense, human. Those manifestations of power, those acts which we are wont to ascribe, preëminently, to that which is divine in him; not only the miracles which he wrought in the days of his flesh, but also those far greater ones which he continues to work; the diffusion of light in the world (John 8: 12.), the victory over spiritual and physical death, the restoration of life (John 5: 21. sqq. John 11: 25. 26.), the government of the church, the communication of spiritual gifts and graces (Eph. 4: 8. sqq.), the bestowing of the bread of life (John 6: 51. sqq.), the raising of the dead, and the final judgment (John 5: 27.)—all these pertain also to his humanity, because they proceed from the one person of the Godman. The same being that suffers and dies, enlightens and animates the world—the same being that works miracles, shares also the poverty and the limited condition (Beschränktheit) of the flesh. So far as the Logos possesses and exercises the divine glory, to the same extent he possesses and exercises it also as Man.

During the whole of his mediatorial activity on earth, however, this possession was limited. It is only at the close of his earthly career, that it attains its full measure and completeness; the glory, which the divine Logos had laid aside, is restored to him as the Godman, and thus, eo ipso, communicated also to his humanity."

We regret that want of space, as it forbade our presenting what precedes the extracts above given, prevents our transla-

[1] It is usual here also to appeal to the relation between body and soul. It is common to say that, when the body suffers, the soul suffers with it, but in a different manner. It would, however, be better to urge this fact, that the soul can suffer (sympathize) with the body, without being violently [leidenschaftlich] affected by this fellow-suffering. It can preserve, in the midst of it, its peace in God, its serene, equable spiritual life: — and thus also the divinity suffers with humanity, without losing its own eternal serenity.

ting the sections which follow, and in which the author shows how consistent, how unswervingly faithful to Scripture, the church has been throughout, in carrying out these views with reference to both our Lord's state of humiliation, and his state of exaltation. We had designed in our own manner and language to discuss this entire subject in extenso; but, finding that we could not possibly condense what we had to say within a sufficiently narrow space, we abandoned the attempt. And, although the extracts above translated are only fragments of an extensive treatise, they are sufficiently complete and satisfactory to show what our church believes in respect of the great theme so strenuously assailed in the article before us. To offer such a statement seemed imperatively necessary, as Dr. S. shows no favor either to the doctrine of the hypostatic union, or that of the communicatio idiomatum, as taught by our church.—What, without the hypostatic union, his belief respecting Christ's person and work can be, and what, according to his views, is to become of the whole doctrine of the atonement, is more than we are able to comprehend. We believe that, if the Scriptures teach any thing clearly, definitely and positively, they do thus teach the doctrine of the hypostatic union of the Divine and human natures in Christ. And we further believe, that from this doctrine, in connexion with the words of the institution, the view set forth in our confessions respecting the Lord's Supper necessarily follows, and is, accordingly, distinctly taught in Scripture. "As Christ is a divino-human person, he is, wherever he is, personally, entire, undivided, not merely as God, but also as man: and this is especially true respecting the manner of presence, in which, as the exalted Redeemer, he dwells and operates in his church." Luther says: "Distance and space do not divide the nature in him, which certainly neither death nor all devils can tear asunder. Where you tell me that God is, there you must also admit the humanity to be, for they cannot be divided or separated." To this position he firmly adhered, without wavering; and this is the more to his credit, as he had strong temptations, which cost him great inward conflicts, to give up his views, because he well knew, that he could thus most easily give the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass its deathblow. But he was not to be induced to do evil, in order that good might come thereby. "I confess," he writes A. D. 1524, "that, if Carlstadt or any one else had been able to prove to me, five years ago, that there was nothing more than bread and wine in the sacrament, he would have rendered me a great service. I have, in this matter, endured severe conflicts, have striven, and turned myself

hither and thither, to find my way out, because I saw clearly, that thus I would be enabled to give the papacy the hardest knock; but I am held captive, and cannot get out: the text is too strong, and words do not suffice to strip it of its meaning." He would not and could not yield to arguments of human reason, because the power of God's word, in the Gospels and in the I. Ep. to the Corinthians held him bound. And when the Swiss protested that it was a contradiction to say, that Christ is in heaven and at the same time in the Eucharist, he did not for a moment suffer this *seeming* incongruity to perplex him, but argued in reply, that "both must be true, because the Scriptures teach both." Human reasonings, and objections invented by the ingenuity and wisdom of man, could not lead him astray, even when plied with passages of Scripture, which *seemed* to be contradictory. "The Scriptures," he declared, "cannot contradict themselves; and *because*, according to them, Christ's body is present in the Lord's Supper, it *must* be possible." And here we take, with him, our stand, leaving to others the foundations laid by human reason, if they please them better, aud afford them safety and peace.

The author of the article before us now proceeds, in § 4., to present what he calls, "*The second tropical Interpretation (by Calvin.)*" With this we have no concern, as we are defending the doctrine of the Lutheran church; and although we find here sundry points that are open to criticism, we cannot spare room, and therefore pass on to what is announced to be "§ 5., *The true, Historical and Pauline interpretation of the Words of the Institution.*." The arrogance, with which this rationalistic interpretation is put forward as alone true and historical, and even saddled upon St. Paul, would be ludicrous, if it were not so presumptuous. The great Apostle of the Gentiles would probably not have been very grateful for the compliment here offered to him. But let all this pass. There is, in this exegetical effort, a good deal that is irrelevant, or again, mere arbitrary assumption. To the general position here taken, we have already replied on the preceding pages. We have seen, that the arguments advanced against the correctness of the interpretation given by the Lutheran church in her confessions — against the strictly scriptural soundness of this interpretation, are feeble and untenable. We maintain that the Lutheran interpretation is the only consistently liberal one: that the doctrine of the perfect and inseparable union of the two natures in Christ, which constitutes the true basis of the doctrine of the atonement, involves equally the doctrine which we have been compelled to defend; and such being

the case, this "true, historical, and Pauline interpretation" is neither true, nor historical, nor Pauline. After all that has been said, it would be quite unnecessary to examine and criticise this exegetical attempt in detail. We shall notice only a few particulars, and then conclude with a brief statement of the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper.

The Doctor begins with the passover, and insists that "it *is* the Lord's passing over" is equivalent to "it *signifies* the angel of the Lord's passing over," &c. We should really like to be informed how the slain and roasted lamb was to *signify* the angel: Exod. 12. says nothing of this kind. Referring to Exod. 12: 26. 27., he says: "No one imagines these words to mean: 'The lamb that was slain at the passover, was the passing over of the Lord's angel.' All admit that "is" here is equivalent to *signifies.*" There are here several points which our author overlooks. The paschal lamb was slain as a sacrificial victim, and as such, eaten. It is not the lamb itself which is called the Lord's passover, but (as appears from Exod. 12: 26. 27.) the sacrificial meal or feast — the act of partaking of the flesh of the victim in the manner appointed,— the entire service, or, if any prefer, the sacramental rite; and herein is a true and unmistakable analogy between the type and the anti-type. And moreover, at the very time when that lamb was eaten, the Lord was passing over, and sparing Israel, so that the appointed rite exhibited a present reality.

Our author again urges the *figurative* nature of the words of the institution. In addition to what has already been said, we here merely transcribe a few sentences from his own translation from Reinhard, in the first edition of Storr and Flatt's Theol., vol. II. p. 330 sq., simply reminding the reader, that in that treatise the Dr. calls these views of Reinhard "lucid and philosophical." "The context," (says Reinhard), "affords us not the least ground for supposing them to be figurative, which would have to be the case before we should be authorized to depart from the natural meaning of the words. In addition to this, we should make decided tautology of Luke 22: 19., by explaining figuratively the words 'this is my body;' for their meaning would then be the same as that expressed by the succeeding words, 'do this in remembrance of me.' But that these last words are not an explanation of the preceding, is evident from the circumstance that they are given os a command. The same remarks apply also to I. Cor. 11: 24. 25." &c. Although Reinhard is not strictly Lutheran in his views, the reader may consult, with advantage, the pages which follow this quotation: we have not space for more.

Again, see our author's article, p. 55 sqq. The entire argument against the Lutheran interpretation, here derived from the breaking of the bread, is impertinent and entirely gratuitous. That Christ's body should be broken, was determined from the foundation of the world: when the Holy Supper was instituted, it was on the eve of being broken: if it had not been broken, the world would not have been saved; and, though the *breaking of the bread* signify, or symbolically represent *the breaking of the Saviour's body*, this cannot prove that the sacrament is *not*, what the Savior and St. Paul say it *is;* and as the Savior declares, that this sacrament *is* his body and blood, that in it communicants receive his body and blood, we must look upon all such interpretations as that before us, as arbitrary misinterpretations, and hold with Luther that in the eucharist "the real, substantial, or natural body and the real blood of Christ are present; and that the same body which once was broken for us, the same blood which once was shed for our sins, and which now are glorified; not in the same form or mode, but in the same essence and nature."

Again: p. 56., 2. This whole argument, designed to show that commemoration is the *sole* design of the Lord's Supper, is mere speculation, and not less absurd than if we were to argue that, because flame is designed to give light, therefore it cannot be intended to be hot, and to communicate heat. And as we have shown, that the literal interpretation given by the Lutheran church is alone correct, just and consistent, we cannot see how any further onus probandi can rest upon us, as regards the reception of the Savior's body and blood by communicants. Our author here loses sight entirely of the fact, that the sacrament is, according to the words of the institution, and the strong language of St. Paul, to be viewed under two aspects, objectively and subjectively. The objective character of the eucharist depends, in no wise, upon our viewing it aright, or duly remembering the sacrifice for our sins; but the subjective benefit, the unspeakable blessing which we are to derive from partaking of the elements, depends upon our subjective position, as worthy or unworthy communicants; as duly discerning the Lord's body or not; as suitably remembering, or indifferently disregarding, what he suffered, how he died for our sins, all which is sufficiently obvious from St. Paul's language, I. Cor. 11: 29.; although our critic, for the sake of supporting his argument, presumes to intimate, on p. 59., that *communion* and *recollection* are synonymous terms. How is it possible to place any reliance upon exegetical principles that admit of such interpretations of language? A similar instance

of exegetical license we find on p. 58., in these words: "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is (or is to be) broken for you." What are we to think of such interpolations? And again, p. 61., he cites a number of Scripture-passages to show that his interpretation of "is," as meaning "signifies," is correct: and according to this principle of interpretation we must, of course, read: The Lord *signifies* my rock and my fortress — *signifies* my buckler — *signifies* the horn of my salvation — *signifies* my high tower. The Lord *signifies* my shepherd, &c. &c. If these readings, substituted for the "is," which, in every instance cited, denotes a great and blessed reality, can afford our author any comfort and edification, even so let him read for his own special benefit.

There is but one point more, belonging to this "Pauline Interpretation," for which we can make room: it is the 3d, at the bottom of p. 58 sq. There is here a great glorifying over the words: "For, as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup τὸν θάνατον τȣ̃ Κυρίȣ καταγγέλλετε, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." Our author evidently imagines that this passage, or rather his exposition of it, must put an end to all further discussion, by hermetically sealing the mouth of every confessional Lutheran. Among other things he says: "This declaration of the apostle is of incalculable value. The greater portion of the language of Christ is or may be figurative, and therefore admits of a diversity of interpretations, and it may remain questionable which is their true sense. But this language of Paul is literal, nothing figurative about it, and therefore in its import all agree. All admit that he designs to say, as often as ye celebrate this holy supper, ye commemorate, perpetuate the memory of, revive the recollection of the death of Jesus on the cross." Now this is truly a most amazing affair. The impression made upon us by this paragraph is, that the Doctor's principles of interpretation are rather unsettled, or that he is unfortunate in applying them. For it so happens, that it is precisely in this aspect, which these words of the apostle exhibits, that the eucharist is symbolical: it is here that the apostle's language is figurative. Does Dr. S. mean that, by eating bread and drinking wine, we literally show the Lord's death? If not, then he means nothing. In our humble opinion this could be *literally* done, only if we had him bodily under our hands, and could nail him *bodily* to the cross: or, to say the least, if we could exhibit to men his lacerated, bloody, lifeless body, substantially, just as it was taken from

the cross. But we shall be told that καταγγέλλω signifies to announce, to publish, as well as to show forth. Very well. We put it to the common sense of all men to decide, whether eating bread and drinking wine is the customary method, or (except when known to be specially appointed for this end) any intelligible method at all, of announcing or publishing to men that any one has died, and died a cruel and painful death. Of course *we* do not for a moment question the importance and significance of this act, the admirable adaptedness of the rite to show forth the Lord's death, and the manner of it, *among those who are instructed in gospel-truth:* but does it tell any thing to those who are not thus instructed? It is precisely in this respect, and not as the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, that this rite is *symbolical*, and the language employed to describe it, *figurative*, requiring to be fully explained to those who are not already acquainted with the gospel-history and scheme. Even Dr. S. enters into an explanatory paraphrase, in the last sentence above quoted, in which the announcing, publishing, and showing forth are overlooked, and the whole significance of the celebration is referred to the communicants themselves.

The remaining matter here presented, and coming under the same category, has already been sufficiently discussed on former pages. As respects the precious specimen of exegesis commencing near the bottom of p. 62., we may safely let that stand to speak against itself: it needs no comment; but if *this* mode of amplifying and paraphrasing Scripture is to come extensively into vogue, and to be employed for the purpose of construing *out* of the Scriptures such doctrine as human reason or prejudice is disposed to cavil at, the sooner we burn our Bibles the better.

In the view which our author presents in conclusion, of what he actually finds in the Holy Supper, we notice, in a very few words, only two points. *Firstly:* A *spiritual* presence of the Savior as to his *human* nature, is nonsense: and the additional word *symbolic* plainly denotes that the author really meant no presence at all, so that he can safely omit *this* article, if ever he publishes a second edition of his confession concerning the eucharist. — *Secondly:* His "*influential* presence" is condemned by the objection which he himself, and that unjustly, makes on p. 50–6., to the Lutheran view. — This *influential* presence amounts to nothing more than the influence of the ordinary means of grace, and has therefore again nothing particular to do with the Lord's Supper. This mere praesentia operativa, borrowed from Reinhard and Storr,

has the entire letter and spirit of the words of the institution, of John VI. and of I. Cor. XI. against it. Whatever name, style or title may be given to the summary view of the Lord's Supper, here alleged to be the most scriptural, nothing can be more certain than this, that the *Lutheran* church can have nothing to do with it.

That the Lutheran view of this Holy Supper involves a great and profound mystery, we not only admit, but we contend that without this there is no sacrament. If the opponents of our scriptural view call upon us to *explain* this mystery, (and the idle demand is often made), we promise to make the attempt as soon as they have succeeded in *explaining* the smallest mystery in the natural world around them, e. g. of the development and growth of a blade of grass. The revelations of God, in nature and in his word, are full of mysteries which no finite intellect can explain or fathom The scheme of redemption has vast and glorious mysteries in its wonderful doctrines, at which human reason is not to stumble, because it cannot guage and explain them, but which the soul is simply to believe, that it may be saved. Among these glorious mysteries is the doctrine concerning the presence of our Lord's glorified humanity in the eucharist, which we believe simply because the Scriptures teach it. That theologians should have employed the doctrines of the hypostatic union and the communicatio idiomatum, as clearly revealed in God's word, to *prove* that the church has correctly understood the Savior and his apostles, was merely discharging a duty laid upon them by the efforts of opponents; but with this the mystery is not intended to be *explained.* In conclusion we therefore merely state, in the words of Sartorius, what the sacrament of the altar is to us. — "The Savior could indeed have been always and every where spiritually present with his disciples, in his divine nature; but this general, invisible, incomprehensible presence could not at all indemnify them for his peculiar, definitely circumscribed, human presence. Moreover it was not only as God that he desired to be present with them, but he also desired constantly to communicate himself to them as the Godman or Mediator, to give himself to them as their own, and to receive them into communion with himself. This could not be effected through that divine omnipresence. And therefore he appointed or established, in the Sacred Supper, a special divino-human presence of himself in his church, when he says, in the most explicit words, respecting the bread of the altar: "*this is my body ;*" and respecting the wine: "*this is my blood.*" By these same words he connects his invisible,

incomprehensible gracious presence, with the visible, comprehensible elements of the bread and wine; so that, at the sacrament, we are not to seek it in heaven or any where else, but precisely there where he has himself fixed it, i. e. in the elements of the Sacrament, in the bread and wine. Here then Christ is present for us; not, however, merely externally, but he gives himself to us to be our own, our highest good, and communicates himself unto us, inwardly, as our Savior, through the participation of the elements. Not as though a transmutation of the bread and wine into his body and blood took place, as the Romish church teaches; by no means: as in the incarnation of the Son of God, human nature was not transmuted into Deity, no more are bread and wine converted into the substance of Christ; but as there, so here, there is only an intimate union, which is indeed supersensuous, but yet real and substantial, according to the promise of Christ."

And on this promise we intend to abide, for it abideth, and standeth firm and sure for ever.

ARTICLE III.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

By the Rev. J. A. Seiss, A. M., Cumberland, Md.

The history of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity to the present time; comprising their Conquests, Dispersions, Wanderings, Persecutions, Commercial Enterprises, Literature, Manners, Customs, and Forms of Worship, with an account of the various efforts made for their conversion; Compiled from the most authentic sources, by M. A. Berk, *with a Preface by* W. C. Brownlee, D. D. *Third edition.* Philadelphia: published by M. A. Berk. 1850. p. 510.

Of Mr. Berk, who appears in this volume as both compiler and publisher, we know but little. Dr. Brownlee, in the interesting little preface which he has prefixed to this history, calls him his "very dear Christian friend, a son of Abraham, both according to the flesh, and according to the spiritual covenant." He is professedly a converted Jew, who has been visiting various portions of the country, endeavoring, by means

of public lectures, to enlist the sympathies of Christians in behalf of the blinded children of Israel. His book seems to have been written under a generous enthusiasm for his "kinsmen according to the flesh," as well as a commendable zeal for the once crucified Nazarene. It is an interesting little volume, for the most part well written, and containing much valuable and reliable matter, which is not to be found any where else in the same space in the English language. It does not evince much system or skill in the presentation of the many divers particulars introduced; but it is an agreeable narrative, which will well reward every careful reader.

But we have taken up this book, not so much for the purpose of passing critical judgment on it, as to take occasion to submit some reflections respecting the remarkable people of whose history it treats.

The Jews are by no means an ordinary people, and theirs is an extraordinary history. In whatever light we contemplate them, they present a subject of unearthly interest and importance. Their origin, their institutions, their doings, their blessings, their crimes, their woes, their spirit, their hopes, all are full of interest and full of wonder. Christians, in their contempt and hatred for a race by whom the Lord of glory was crucified, do not always sufficiently consider or realize the sublime, sacred, and enduring associations which cluster around that abused, oppressed, and long exiled people. We sometimes forget, that their history embraces the holiest and divinest antiquities of our religion; that their laws were the great preparatives for the triumphs of Mediatorial grace; and that around their scattered children there plays the twilight of a day more brilliant than any that earth has ever witnessed. We only too often forget, that whatever is most ancient and venerable in antiquity — most sublime in the dealings of God with man — most glorious and afflictive in the history of nations — most noble in faith and moral excellence—most certain in the foundation of man's highest hopes—all must be sought among the Jews, in their books, and their history.

The Jews are not a people of the growth of yesterday. Running back as they do in a distinct and unmistakable line to Abraham, the great-grand-son of Noah, their rise and history antedate that of all present divisions of the race. They were already a great and powerful nation when Egypt was yet considered the home of civilization, and Greece with all her classic fame was yet young, obscure, and barbarous. They rejoiced in national glory and renown, that never since was equalled, before Nebuchadnezzar in his magnificence filled the

throne of the once illustrious, but now forgotten Babylon.—Since they were first organized into a distinct family of mankind, thrones, kingdoms, and famed republics have risen, flourished, and gone to ruin, whilst their proud subjects, mingling with foreign elements, have utterly lost their identity in the ever-varying current of human affairs. But the children of Israel still exist. Though without a national constitution to bind them together, and dispersed among all people, they are yet, in religion, manners, appearance, feelings, hopes, as really a separate and distinct nation as when David controlled their triumphant armies, or when Solomon and his court were the admiration of the world.

Jewish literature, whilst it is mainly the oldest, is certainly the richest and most valuable that has come down to us from former generations. We sometimes talk exultingly of the sublime genius of Solon and Lycurgus—of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—of Homer, Virgil, and a hundred more whose names are household words. But before most of them were born, the Jews possessed a system of legislation, which is now the guide of all nations the most civilized and free; a philosophy which never has been, and never can be set aside; and a collection of poetry which has been reverenced and admired, above all others, by the greatest and best of men in all ages. The eloquence of Isaiah, rapt in the rushing visions of future glory; the genius of Ezekiel, flashing its impetuous fervor as if with condensed lightning gleams; the lofty imagination of Jeremiah, now melting by its plaintive tenderness, now startling by its stern yet life-like truthful portraitures; the sweet melodies of David, in which he poured out his heart, as well in the bitterness of sorrow, as in the importunity of prayer or in the ecstacy of praise; the wise expansive legislation of Moses; the enlightened and ardent philosophy of Paul, sublimely comprehensive, yet beautifully practical; and above all, the Gospel portrait of Jesus, so perfectly unique and sustained, so calm yet so sensitive, so majestic yet so simple, so Divine yet so full of human sympathy—these have thrown around the Jewish name an interest, which cannot be exhausted, and cannot die, until poetry and eloquence lose their charms, philosophy its authority, freedom its fascination, and religion its Divinity.

The Christian's indebtedness to the Jew might be illustrated in a thousand ways, and is such as can never be sufficiently repaid. From the hands of the children of Israel come all the privileges we now enjoy in the possession of the records of Divine revelation. All the holy men of old who spake as

they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and wrote their words for our learning, were Jews. Those, who with utmost care preserved, and with scrupulous fidelity transmitted the Old Testament through successive generations, were Jews. The four Evangelists, who enable us to trace the footsteps of our blessed Master, to hang on the gracious accents of his lips, and to watch his miracles of mercy, were Jews. The fervid Apostle of the Gentiles, whose Divine demonstration overpowers our understandings, rivets the anchor of our hope within the vail, and fans our glowing gratitude to Him who washed us in his blood, was a Jew. And even that "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," was a Jew; for "he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him *the seed of Abraham.*" Those, who first introduced and disseminated our glorious Christianity, were Jews. Those, who have done most for its preservation in the world, were Jews. And even the Reformation itself seems to have been no little indebted to the Jews. Luther was so much assisted in the right interpretation of the Scriptures by the writings of a certain Jewish convert, that it has often been said, *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset*, [If Lyra had not piped, Luther had not danced]. There is not a statute that guides us, not an admonition that guards us, not a consolation that cheers us, not a hope that animates us, not a promise that rejoices us, not an assurance that sustains us, not an enjoyment in this life, not an expectation for the life to come, that does not in some way stand associated with the house of Israel.

The amazing sufferings of the Jews, and their preservation under them all, whilst a subject of prophecy, and on that account a distinct proof of our religion's Divinity, is at the same time an astonishment and a wonder. Basnage says: "the preservation of the Jews, in the midst of the miseries which they have undergone during seventeen hundred years, is the greatest prodigy that can be imagined." The Pagan systems, which covered the earth eighteen centuries ago, have entirely disappeared. The Christian Church, glorious as she is in her list of martyrs, was greatly depressed and diminished by the persecutions which befel her; and the breaches made in her by these acts of violence were not easily repaired. But degraded, and almost crushed as the Jews have been, and still are, in less favored countries than ours, oppression has never been galling enough to tempt them to forget that they were Hebrews, or to force them to compromise their time-worn worship. Though persecuted for so many long years, they yet exist, self-sustained and inextinguishable. Kings have em-

ployed the severest edicts and the bloodiest executioners; and the seditious multitudes, by murders and massacres, have committed outrage after outrage against them still more violent and tragical. Princes and people, civilized and savage, Pagans, Mahomedans, and professing Christians, disagreeing in so many things, have united all the world over in the effort to exterminate them, but without success. Though for eighteen hundred years they have had no leader, no prophet, no temple, no king, no country, no home, they still bear the same character, the same peculiarities they did before Vespasian invaded their sacred land, or Titus destroyed the loved Jerusalem. In spite of the ignominy and hatred which has pursued them in all places, they with their ancient faith unchanged still continue, whilst the greatest monarchies have fallen leaving nothing but their name.

> Amazing race! deprived of land and laws,
> A general language and a public cause;
> With a religion none can now obey,
> With a reproach that none can wipe away:
> A people still, whose common ties are gone;
> Who, mixed with every race, are lost in none!

And their present position is one of singular importance.—Though scattered every where, and long kept down by persecutions and sufferings too great for description, of late they have been rapidly rising to places of power, and at this moment are exercising a decisive influence on the world. Their number is estimated at about five or six millions—being more than one for every two hundred of the entire population of the earth.[1] They have among them, in various countries,

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[1] A correspondent of the *Jewish Chronicle*, vol. 7. p. 105, thus distributes and reckons the population of the Jews:—

In the East,	7,000,000
Poland,	2.000.000
Russian Empire,	1,000,000
Germany,	75,000
Low Country,	90,000
France,	75,000
England,	60,000
Italy,	200,000
North and South America,	100,000
Mohamedan States,	3,000,000
Persia and Hindostan,	1,000,000
Total,	14,600,000

According to Malte-Brun there are 5,000,000; according to Bible Society, 2,500,00; according to Catholic Magazine, 3,260,000; according to Groeber,

some highly cultivated and profoundly learned men, and others amazingly wealthy. Some of them are filling high positions in church and state, in letters and politics. The most distinguished University of Germany, Halle, has five professors who are Jews. In Berlin alone ten professorial chairs are occupied by Jews. A distinguished professor in London College is a Jew. Drs. Leo of Warsaw, Stahl of Erlangen, and Capadose of Amsterdam, are Jews. The minister of Finance in Russia, is a Jew. The chief minister of Spain, is a Jew. The late President of the French Council, was a Jew. Several of the principal French marshals, are Jews. Several of the most active and efficient members of the Parliament of Frankfort, for settling the Constitution of Germany, were Jews. The man who contributed most to stir up Venice, in its late attempt to throw off the yoke of Austria, and ruled with dictatorial power the once mighty city of Manin, is a Jew. It is asserted that the daily political press of all Europe is mainly under the control of Jews. Certainly not a few of the most powerful European writers, are Jews. In those recent revolutions which drove Louis Phillipe from his throne, shook the Pope from the alleged chair of St. Peter, and modified the whole political aspect of the old world, the Jews had an immense agency. And such is the position of certain well-known Jewish families in several European kingdoms, that if they were to withdraw their vast capital, empires would be crippled, and some of the mightiest armies and navies in the world would be powerless. With Jewish talent thus operating upon literature and the press, and Jewish wealth thus holding the politics of kings, and the movements of armies in a sort of dependency, the Puritan Recorder does not hesitate to credit the assertion, that the Jews are now exercising more influence in the world than they did under the reign of the most renowned of their kings.

But it is only when we come to consider the future history of the Jews, the brilliant outlines of which are sketched by sacred prophecy, and pre-intimated by their rising condition and growing influence, that they appear in their true greatness and grandeur. And as the highest hopes of the church and of the world are wrapped up in their future destiny, it cannot be a matter of small importance to endeavor to ascertain what that destiny is. In such an inquiry the Scriptures, of course, are our only certain guide

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5,000,000; according to Pinkerton, 5,000,000; according to Hassel, 3,330,000; according to Hoerschelman, 6,598,000; according to Rabbi, 4,000,000; average of the several accounts, 5,475,000.

Whatever else may be doubtful in the prophecies, to us at least two facts are as clearly and as emphatically set forth in them as any other doctrine in any other part of Sacred Scripture. The doctrines of atonement and justification by faith, are not more distinctly and pointedly announced than they. These facts are: that *the Jews, as a nation, shall be again restored from their present dispersion to their own ancient and covenanted land;* and that *they shall yet be converted to the the Christian religion.* These two facts are usually linked together, and it is almost impossible to quote passages referring to the one, that do not also refer to the other. But for the sake of perspicuity, we will treat of them separately.

Nor do we rest the doctrine of the future restoration of the Jews upon mere isolated passages, which, on account of their isolation, might be regarded as equivocal, or be liable to have their force explained away. It is one of those unbroken threads which run through the whole texture of prophecy, from Moses down to Paul and John. There is hardly a recorded prediction that at all concerns the Jews as a nation, which does not allude to their final ingathering into Palestine in the latter days. This is one of the central lights in that starlit arch which God by inspiration has built, and which spans from eternity to eternity. Every divine seer, before and after Christ, alludes to it, and they all speak of it in a similar strain, and in the same significant manner.

And if there were no other evidence to prove the future restoration of the children of Abraham, we should not hesitate to maintain it on the ground of the original covenant alone. Look at it in the 15th of Genesis, where, by miraculous interventions, "the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying: *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates,*" &c. In the next chapter we read again: "God talked with Abram, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, . . neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee. . . And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, *for an everlasting covenant.* . . And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, *for an everlasting possession.*" To Isaac it was also said: "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; *for unto thee, and unto thy seed I will give these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father.*" (Gen. 26.) The same was repeated to Jacob, when the Lord

said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. (Gen. 28: 13.) *The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee.*" (Gen. 35: 12). And Jacob himself testified on his death-bed: "God Almighty appeared unto me, and said unto me, Behold, I will . . give this land to thy seed after thee, *for an everlasting possession.*" (Gen. 48.). Here is a heaven-chartered grant of the land of Canaan to the posterity of Israel. It is an *everlasting* charter, and conveys to them a land for *an everlasting* possession. It is a perpetual thing, that never has been, and never can be revoked or reversed. Paul says, upon this very point: "For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance." (Rom. 11: 29.)

Notice now the extent of this country thus covenanted to the children of Israel. We have not space here to indulge our inclination to enter into the discussion of particulars. Dr. Keith in his "*Land of Israel*," has written most ably and satisfactorily upon this subject; and to him we refer those who may desire to see the whole matter discussed at length. We may say, however, that it is "a goodly land *and large*," and by no means that contracted spot usually given as the extent of the promised inheritance. It was to extend "*from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates*"—(Gen. 15: 18.) from "*the Red sea, even unto the sea of the Philistines.*" (Exod. 23: 31.) See also Numb. 34: and Ezekiel 47: and 48. From these passages it is evident, that the western border of the covenanted land commences on the Nile, at a point in the region of Cairo, and extends up the Mediterranean sea about 150 miles above Beyrout, to the mouth of the river Orontes; that the northern border extends from the mouth of the Orontes in a north-eastern direction along the Mount Amanus to the river Euphrates; that the eastern border follows the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf; and that the southern border passes from the Persian Gulf along the Arabian desert to the Red Sea, and thence to the point on the Nile already indicated. These are the boundaries according to the original covenant which is unchangeable and everlasting.

But it is an incontrovertible fact, that all the land described within these limits, never has to this day been in the actual possession of the children of Israel. It certainly did not fall into their hand in the time of Joshua. In the 13th chapter of the book bearing his name, we read, that "The Lord said unto him, Thou art old and stricken in years, *and there re-*

maineth yet very much land to be possessed;" and went on to describe it. In a few chapters further on we read; "And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he said, Because that this people hath transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice, *I also will not henceforth drive out any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died.*" (Jud. 2: 20.) And even in the days of David and Solomon, that golden era of the Jews, when they were more prosperous and mighty than ever they were before or since, we read of some of those very nations whose lands were by name included in the original covenant, as still in possession of their territory. "And all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, *whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy*, upon them did Solomon levy a tribute." (I Kings 9: 20. 21.) True, as is here indicated, Solomon, as well as David, did exercise a *partial dominion* over these nations, and so over the entire territory within the land of promise; but it was a mere *partial dominion* over people whom they were unable to subdue or expel from the country. There was no *possession;* and the only benefit ever enjoyed by the Jews of these countries, was a small tribute for a few years. We argue therefore, if the original covenant is ever to be fulfilled, it must be hereafter, by the return of God's chosen people to their own land. And as that covenant is positively declared to be perpetual and infallible, the conclusion is certain, that the Jews shall be restored to Canaan to take full possession of their "goodly land and large."

But "we have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto we do well to take heed." Let the reader turn to the 30th chapter of Deuteronomy. There we have a most extensive prediction, embracing the whole period of Jewish history, till the present and still future times. A complete and universal dispersion is there explicitly foretold. But along with this gloomy picture there is another of brightness and glory — a final and general restoration, such as has never yet been experienced. "The Lord thy God," says the departing Moses to the assembled house of Israel, "The Lord thy God will *turn thy captivity*, and have compassion upon thee, and will return *and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee.* If any of thine be driven out *unto the utmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch*

thee: and the Lord thy God will *bring thee into the land which thy father possessed, and thou shalt possess it:* and he will do thee good, *and multiply thee above thy fathers.*" (v. 3–5.) Now it is impossible to understand this of their recovery from Babylon; 1) because the Babylonish captivity was not a general dispersion—not a scattering "*among all nations*" and to "the utmost parts of heaven"; 2) because the restoration thus predicted is to be attended with their multiplication "*above their fathers,*" whereas the Jews never were as prosperous and numerous after the seventy years captivity, as they were before it under the reigns of David and Solomon; and 3) because this prediction relates to "*all Israel,*" (Deut. 29: 2.) whilst it was only *the tribe of Judah* that was captive at Babylon.

Turn again to the 11th of Isaiah. All agree that this prophecy relates to the times of the Millenium, or that period when peace, rest, and triumph shall be the portion of the church, and all the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. And yet it is here explicitly said: "And it shall come to pass *in that day*, that *the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people*, which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the isles of the sea, and he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the west; they shall spoil them of the East together: they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them. . . And there shall be an high-way for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt." (v. 11–16.)

Jeremiah lived in one of the wickedest periods of Jewish history, and prophesied up to the time of the Babylonish captivity. Now let him also be heard upon this subject. "I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds; and they shall be fruitful and increase. (23: 3.) Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, which brought up

and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all countries whither I have driven them; *and they shall dwell in their own land.* (23 : 7. 8.) For, lo! the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring *again* the captivity of my people Israel and Judah; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it. (30 : 3.) Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Thou shalt yet plant vines in the mountains of Samaria. (31 : 4. 5.) Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth, . . a great company shall return; they shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them; . . for I am a Father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first born . . . Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, . . and their soul shall be as a watered garden; *and they shall not sorrow any more at all.* (31 : 8–12.) And it shall come to pass, that like as I have watched over them, to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord." (31 : 28.)

Turn next to the 37th of Ezekiel. In this chapter we have one of the most remarkable prophetic visions on record. A deep and wide valley spreads itself before the man of God. It seemed as if it had been the world's burying-place, where the dead of many generations were deposited. Bones were piled upon bones in ghastly profusion, while not a symptom of life was any where to be seen. And as he stood gazing in melancholy astonishment, a heavenly voice addressed him: "Son of man, can these bones live?" The same voice commanded him to prophesy unto them; and as he prophesied, every bone began to shake with animation. The awful stillness of death was broken by the noisy rush of reviving life. The dry, bleached and scattered bones, each instinctively sought its fellow, and came to it, bone to its bone. The sinews, and the flesh, and the skin came upon them; and the millions lay before him, as if just slain in some mighty battle. He was ordered to prophesy to the four winds; and as he prophesied, each pulse began to beat; the new warm life started careering through every system; "and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army." What can be the secret of this vision? What mysterious and glorious resurrection is here adumbrated? To the careful reader the riddle is not without a key. The same voice which ordered the

man of God to prophesy, also declared: "Son of man, *these bones are the whole house of Israel:* behold, they say, Our bones are dried and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, *and bring you into the land of Israel.* (v. 11. 12.) Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: *and I will make them one nation* in the land upon the mountains of Israel *and one King shall be king to them all:* and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all: . . and they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their children's children *for ever:* and my servant David shall be their Prince *for ever.* Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an *everlasting covenant with them:* and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them *for evermore.* . . And the heathen shall know that I do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore." (v. 21–28.)

How graphically the final restoration of the Jews to their own land is here set forth! Some, indeed, have thought, as they were in bondage at Babylon at the time this prophecy was uttered, that it simply refers to their return from that captivity. Bt it is impossible to confine all the circumstances of this vision to that event. "These bones are *the whole house of Israel;*" but Judah alone was captive at Babylon. The subjects of this vision are said to be "*an exceeding great army;*" but those who came from Babylon were only about fifty thousand souls. The restoration here described was to be attended by the union of the whole Jewish race under one king; but this was not the case on that occasion, and never yet has taken place. The redemption here denoted was also to be perpetual—"*for ever,*" and the blessings accruing were to be "in the midst of them *for evermore;*" but the Jews have since been dispossessed of their land, had their temple destroyed, have been scattered to ths world's ends, and been made to suffer more severe and more lasting privations than ever were felt at Babylon. The prediction, then, in its ultimate and proper scope, must refer to some other and more magnificent deliverance, such a deliverance as has never since taken place, and is yet to be fulfilled.

Among the many passages which might yet be cited on this point, we will trouble the reader with but one more—one from the New Testament. It was an argument brought by the Jews against the Gospel in the days of the Apostles, that if Christ Jesus is the Messiah, having died as he did without fulfilling the clear predictions of a great and glorious kingdom over Israel, their hopes were lost, and God had forsaken the people with whom he had entered into everlasting covenant. But hear how Israel replied to that objection. "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid . . . *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew.* . . . Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy. Now, if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more *their fulness?* . . . For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, *what shall be the receiving of them, but life from the dead?* . . And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, *shall be graffed in; for God is able to graff them in again.* For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree; *how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive-tree?* For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, *that blindness in part is happened to Israel* UNTIL THE FULNESS OF THE GENTILES BE COME IN. AND SO ALL ISRAEL SHALL BE SAVED; as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall take away ungodliness from Jacob; *for this is my covenant unto them.*" (Rom. 11: 1–29.)

Add to this, the universal and unconquerable hope and expectation of the Jews to return as a nation to their ancient land. In all parts of the earth, this extraordinary people think and feel as one man, on the great issue of their restoration.—The utmost east, and the utmost west, the north and the south, congregations large and small, those who have frequent intercourse with their brethren, and those who have not, entertain alike the same hope. Dr. Wolff heard it from their own lips in the remotest country of Asia; and Buchanan, wherever he went among them in Judea, found memorials of their expulsion from Judea, and of their belief of a return thither. Though they have seen the temple twice, and the city six times destroyed, their confidence is not abated, nor their strength gone. Without a king, a prophet, or a priest, for eighteen hundred years, this faith has sustained them through insult, poverty,

torture, and death. And now, in the nineteenth century, amid the triumphs of light and intellect full-orbed, both among Jews and Christians, we hear a harmonious assent to the prayer that concludes every Hebrew festival: "*The year that approaches, O bring us to Jerusalem!*" And wherever there is an Israelite, his heart beats high at the mention of the city of David, and morning and evening he turns towards it and breathes his prayers so redolent with hopes of a coming redemption.

And the signs of the times are equally significant. At this moment there are six synagogues, and ten thousand Jews in Jerusalem, and thirty thousand more in other places within the Holy Land. At this day the Rothschilds of Europe virtually possess Palestine; the foundations of the new Temple are dug; twenty millions of dollars have gone from the United States alone for its erection; and architects are on the spot designing the plan for the new residence of the Shekinah of Israel. These things speak more eloquently than a thousand tongues. They tell a tale at which we cannot but marvel. And they add a plausibility to the position which we have assumed which amounts almost to the force of demonstration.

And if it is sufficiently established that the Jews as a nation shall again be gathered and restored, that fact itself is enough to prove that they shall also be converted to Christianity. For it is written of Jesus, that there is appointed for him "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that *all people, nations, and languages, should serve him;*" (Dan. 7: 14.) and that "the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, *and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.*" (Luke 1: 32. 33.) It is said of the Jews in connection with the predictions of their ingathering: "And the Lord thy God shall circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul."—(Deut. 30: 6.) "And in that day thou shalt say, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid: for *the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.*" (Is. 12: 1. 2.) "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, . . in his day *Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely:* and this is the name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." (Jer. 23: 5. 6.) "Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions: but I will save them out of all their dwelling places wherein they have sin-

ned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God; and David my servant shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them." (Ez. 37: 23. 24.) "And so *all Israel shall be saved:* as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." (Rom. 11: 26.) All this is directly to the point, and conclusive beyond all rational controversy. And thus we have set before us the two great facts, which Whitby says have been the constant doctrine of the church of Christ, owned by the Greek and Latin fathers, and by all commentators he ever met with on the subject. (Com. on Romans, Appendix to 11th chap.)

And as we already see the first fruits of the restoration of Israel, so we also begin to see the putting forth of the fig tree with regard to their conversion to Christianity. There has indeed always been "a remnant according to the election of grace" gradually brought to acknowledge and embrace Christ as the Messiah. But that remnant was exceedingly small. Of late years, however, it has been greatly augmenting.—There is now much more willingness on the part of Israelites to hear and discuss the claims of Christianity than formerly. And it is asserted by the distinguished Dr. Tholuck of Germany, that more Jews have embraced the Christian religion within the last twenty-five years, than in eighteen hundred before. Christians are also awaking to a clear sense of their obligations and duties to the house of Israel, and are rapidly subduing and laying aside that unpardonable bitterness which possessed them for so many ages. There are, to our knowledge, not less than thirteen large and efficient societies in different parts of the world, whose professed and only object is to show kindness to the Jews, and to assist them in finding the true Messiah.[1] The operations of all of them have been crowned with most desirable results. And the conversions that have occurred have not been among the ignorant and more susceptible and reckless classes, but among people of high standing and conscientious integrity — men of cultivated understandings and high literary attainments — men who understood prophecy, and were qualified to weigh evidence.

But these efforts, though successful, and promising enough to warrant all that can be expended upon them, shall never

[1] One at Berlin, one at Bremerlehe, one at Strasburg, one at Basle, one at Posen, one at Breslau, one at Frankfort on the Maine, one at Dantsic, one at Königsberg, one at Toulouse, one at Dresden, one at London, one in New York, and others in other places.

secure the general conversion of the Jews. That shall not be effected until many of them have returned to their native land, and not without many notable miracles. After the temple has been rebuilt, a great part of the nation reinstated, and the service restored, there will yet be a day of trouble for Jacob.—Certain northern nations, most likely with Russia at their head, shall invade Palestine and fight against Israel. The filth of the daughters of Zion, and the blood of Jerusalem, are only to be purged *by the spirit of judgment.* (Isaiah 4., 10.; Jer. 30.; Ez. 38 and 39.; Zech. 12 and 14.) A great and terrible battle is to be fought. The Holy City is again to be besieged. The Jews are to be disheartened and dismayed. But in the moment of dread and despair, just when the gloom is deepest, and the agony most intense, the Heavens shall open. A glory shall shine round them brighter than the fiery pillar that overhung them when Moses was their leader and Aaron was their priest. The Son of God — the Son of David shall appear. "His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives which is before Jerusalem on the east." (Zech. 14: 4.) Israel shall see him, and by the wonders attending him shall recognize him as their Messiah and Deliverer. "And he shall defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and he that is feeble among them, at that day, shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them. And the nations that come against Jerusalem shall be destroyed." Then it is that "they shall look upon him whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for his first-born. In that day there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimon in the valley of Megiddon. And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart;" &c. (Zech. 12: 8–14.) And these—these are the tears of Israel's final penitence. This is that godly sorrow not to be repented of. Such is their conversion to Christ, like that of Paul their great type, (I Tim. 1: 16.) miraculous, sudden, and complete. And thus shall a nation be born in a day — born unto God through Jesus Christ.

And from that hour there shall date a new era, and a new dispensation for the church of God, for which the present is only preparatory. Then shall begin those millennial scenes which have inspired so many hearts and sacred pens. The times of the Gentiles having been fulfilled, the last shall now be first. The latest to receive the Gospel—the house of Israel

shall then take the preëminence in the church and in the world. "In that day living waters shall go out from Jerusalem in summer and winter," for she shall become the centre of the church. It is written: "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And the multitude of the people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths." Yea, Jerusalem shall be the centre of the world, the seat of universal empire; for it is written, "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." (Is. 2: 2. 3.) "And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations, shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles. And whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain." (Zech. 14: 16. 17.) "Yea many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord; and ten men out of all languages of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." (Zech. 8: 22. 23.)

And just in proportion to the superior exaltation of the Jews in those days, shall be the good which they shall exert upon the church and upon the world. For as they have been God's peculiar people in time past, and have done most for the accomplishment of His purposes of mercy among mankind, so they shall continue to be his people, and perform a high and brilliant part in the scenes of that glorious consummation of the Mediator's plans to which we look, and for which we pray. It is written, as the house of Judah and Israel were a curse among the Gentiles, so they shall be a blessing when God shall save them. (Zech. 8: 13.) "If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? . . For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?" (Rom. 11: 12–15.)

Nor need we be in ignorance respecting the nature of those offices of blessing which the Jews are then to perform for the Gentiles. They are to be the instruments of new revelations from God. This is clearly stated, and necessarily implied in

many passages. The Law is then to go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; and of course such laws and communications as we do not now possess. The multitude of people are to come to Jerusalem, saying, "the Lord will teach us his ways." (Is. 2.) Upon this point there is no room for doubt, for it is the spirit of all the prophecies. The Jews are also to become the great agents in the universal conversion of all the Gentile nations. For as their casting away was the riches of the Gentiles, their ingathering shall be no less than *life from the dead.* And above all, they are to be the consecrated instruments in the overthrow of that party and sectarian spirit which now reigns in Christendom, and the union of all believers into one great compact which shall finally embrace the whole world. It is written, "In that day the Lord shall be King over all the earth, and there shall be one Lord, and his name one;" (Zech. 14: 9.) "and they all shall have one shepherd." (Ez. 37: 24.) And sick as thinking men are of the diversities and divisions that now mar the church, there is no expedient that they can devise that at all promises to heal them. Our entire hope in this respect stands connected with the conversion of the Jews, and, through them, with new revelations in the latter days. World's conventions may adopt a few meager points of agreement between a few parties; but that is all. The partition walls still stand, high and thick as ever; and many are not at all embraced in the pretended concord. Abandonment of creeds for the Bible without note or comment, may serve to hide chasms under some fair but deceitful name; but it must ultimately lead to the annihilation of all church-organizations, and of all that is distinctive in Christianity. There is no light now on earth by which Protestants and Roman Catholics are to be made one. There has never been a feasible plan presented by which the various sects claiming to be Protestant can be united. And there is no known principle on which to found the hope that ever the church of God shall assume its proper unity under the present dispensation. There must first be an entire revolution. There must be more light than we at present have. And another people, free from all present prejudices, and under the direct guidance of the great Head of the Church, must have control of her affairs. Thus, and thus only shall the wood, hay, and stubble, which men in their weakness and vanity have mixed with the silver, gold, and precious stones, disappear. The renovating fires shall first be revealed, and then in millenial glory the church shall come forth adorned in all her beauty. Here we rest our hope. Here we fix our

trust. Here is the source of our consolation. Neither shall we be afraid or ashamed to speak for Jacob, or to bless and exalt the children of Israel. For it is written, They that love Jerusalem shall prosper. They that bless her shall be blessed. They that curse her shall be cursed.

We would yet add, in the form of a supplementary note, a collection of promises concerning the calling of the Jews, and the glory attending them in the latter days, from Powel's Concordance, published in 1673.—"I. The Jews shall be gathered from all quarters of the earth where they are now scattered, and brought into their own land. For this see Isaiah 11: 11., 27: 12. 13., 43: 5. 6., 49: 11. 12., 60: 4.; Jeremiah 3: 18., 16: 14. 15., 23: 3., 30: 10., 31: 7–10., 32: 37.; Hosea 11: 10. 11.; Zephaniah 3: 10.; Zechariah 8: 7. 8., 10: 8. 9. 10.

"II. They shall be carried by the Gentiles to their place; who shall join themselves with the Jews, and become the Lord's people. Isaiah 49: 22., 14: 2., 60: 9., 66: 18–20., 2: 2–4.; Jeremiah 3: 17., 16: 19.; Ezra 47: 22. 23.; Micah 5: 3.; Zechariah 2: 11., 8: 20–23.

III. Great miracles shall be wrought when Israel is restored, as formerly when they were brought out of Egypt: viz.—1) Drying up of the river Euphrates. Isaiah 11: 15. 16.; Zechariah 10: 11.; Revelation 16: 12.; Hosea 11: 15.; Micah 7: 15. 2) Causing rivers to flow in desert places. Isaiah 12: 17–19., 48: 20. 21., 43: 19. 20. 3) Giving them prophets. Isaiah 66: 18–21.; Hosea 12: 9. 10. 4) Appearance of the Lord Christ at the head of them. Isaiah 35: 4., 52: 12., 58: 8.; Hosea 1: 10. 11.; Micah 2: 12. 13.

"IV. The Jews, being restored and converted to the faith of Christ, shall be formed into a state, and have judges and counsellors over them as formerly; The Lord Christ himself being their King, who shall then also be acknowledged King over all the earth. Isaiah 1: 26., 60: 17.; Jeremiah 53: 4., 30: 8. 9. 21.; Hosea 3: 5., Ezekiel 34: 23. 24., 37: 24. 25.; Isaiah 54: 5.; Obadiah 21.; Zechariah 14: 5–9.; Psalms 22: 27. 28.

"V. They shall have the victory over all their enemies, and all kings and nations of the earth shall submit unto them. Isaiah 11: 13. 14., 14: 1. 2., 41: 14–16., 49: 23., 60: 12., 25: 10–12; Joel 3: 7. 8. 19. 20.; Obadiah 17: 18.; Micah 4: 6–13., 5: 5–7., 7: 16. 17.; Zechariah 2: 13., 9: 13–16.,

10 : 5. 6., 12 : 6.; Numbers 24 : 17.; Isaiah 60 : 10–16., 66 : 19. 20.

"VI. The Jew, restored, shall live peaceably, without being divided into two nations, or contending with one another any more. Isaiah 11 : 13. 14., 14 : 1. 2.; Jeremiah 13 : 18., 50 : 4.; Ezekiel 37 : 21. 22.; Hosea 1 : 11. They shall be very numerous, and multiply greatly. Isaiah 27 : 6., 44 : 3, 4., 49 : 18–21, 54 : 1–3, 61 : 9.; Jeremiah 23 : 3, 30 : 18–20, 31 : 27; Ezekiel 31 : 37, 38. They shall have great peace, safety, and outward temporal prosperity. Isaiah 32 : 16–18, 33 : 24, 54 : 13–17, 60 : 18, 21; Jeremiah 23 : 3–6, 30 : 10, 31 : 34–40, 33 : 6–9, 50 : 19, 20; Joel 3 : 17, 18; Micah 7 : 18–20; Zeph. 3 : 13; Zecheriah 3 : 9, 10. They shall be very glorious, and a blessing to the whole earth. Isaiah 19 : 24, 25, 61 : 9; Jeremiah 33 : 9; Ezekiel 34 : 26; Zephaniah 3 : 19; Zechariah 8 : 13.

"VII. The land of Judea shall be made eminently fruitful, like a Paradise, or the garden of God. Isaiah 29 : 17, 35 : 1–9, 51 : 3, 16, 54 : 11–13, 55 : 12, 13, 60 : 13–17, 65 : 25; Ezekiel 34 : 26, 27, 36 : 36; Joel 3 : 18; Amos 9 : 13, 14.

"VIII. Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, and after the full restoration of the Jews, shall never be destroyed, nor infested with enemies any more. Isaiah 52 : 1, 26 : 1, 60 : 18, 23 : 6; Joel 3 : 17; Obadiah 17.; Zechariah 14 : 10, 11; Jeremiah 31 : 38–40; Ezekiel 38 : 11.

"IX. A little before the time of the Jews' call and conversion, there shall be great wars, confusion and desolation throughout all the earth. Isaiah 34.: Joel 3 : 1–10; Zeph. 3 : 8, 9; Ezekiel 28 : 25, 26; Haggai 2 : 21–23; Jeremiah 30 : 7–10; II Chronicles 25 : 3–7. So that we may say, as Balaam did, prophesying of that very time: "Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!" Numbers 24 : 23."

ARTICLE IV.

THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE IN ITS RELATIONS.

Translated from the German of Thomasius, by C. Philip Krauth.

At the same time with the controversy in regard to good works, the Synergistic arose, to which we will now address ourselves. This too has an intimate connexion with the Interim, but its more immediate cause was the change in Melanchthon's

views concerning free will and its relations to the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, which had occurred since 1536. It is notorious that Luther and Melanchthon, at the commencement of the Reformation, not only taught the total inability of man to do good, but denied entirely free agency. Luther says in the work De Servo arbitrio: There is no contingency in human actions, *omnia necessario fiunt et immutabiliter si Dei voluntatem spectes*, although the appearance is against it. Later he turned entirely away from predestination and restricted himself, waving the speculative, to the practical, with which he was alone interested from the commencement.—There are numerous passages cited, particularly from his Commentary on Genesis, which prove this. Melanchthon expressed himself more strongly in the first edition of the *loci*, in the year 1521, and in other writings. There is no freedom in externals, much less in internals; *juxta praedestinationem omnia eveniunt in omnibus creaturis, tollit itaque omnem libertatem voluntatis nostrae divina praedestinatio.* The notion of permission itself is untenable; for it is God who does all the works of man, good and bad. Thus till 1526. From that time Melanchthon changed his views. Partly the controversy of Luther with Erasmus, partly the frightful results of the doctrine of predestination, and continued study of the Scriptures determined him to abandon his former ground. He was now convinced, that God can neither will nor do any evil; he ascribes to man a certain degree of liberty in outward things; but in spiritual matters, he can do nothing; God must do every thing. Man can hear the word and not resist it, but the Holy Ghost is the *causa efficiens* of actual conversion. The *Augustana* was written on this basis.

But Melanchthon went farther and modified his views considerably in the second edition of the *Loci*, in the year 1535. Without lessening the sinful corruption or denying the necessity of divine grace, he ascribed now an active although small participation to the human will in the production of conversion. He here lays down three causes of conversion: the divine word, the Holy Ghost and the human will, *voluntas humana, non sane ociosa sed repugnans infirmitati suae.* More explicit in the editions of the years 43 and 45: *voluntas humana, assentiens nec repugnans verbo Dei;* most clearly in the editions of 1548: *liberum arbitrium est in homine facultas adplicandi se ad gratiam.* Man cannot cure or convert himself—the Holy Ghost must do it; but he has the capacity to hold himself prepared for his operations, and to concur in the act of

conversion, *quamvis languide.* It takes place *praecedente gratia, comitante voluntate.*[1]

This view was embraced by the entire school of Melanchthon since the Interim. It was likewise touched in this and argued in regard to the general discrepancies which existed. But special proceedings did not occur till 1555 at Jena. The Wittenberg Professor, Pfeffinger, had in propositions *de libero arbitrio*, coinciding with Melanchthon, said, "That man in his conversion is not like a statue, that he is not excluded from the work of his salvation, but must be present and do his part,"[2] and thus taught an active coöperation (Synergie) of the human will. On the other hand Armsdorf was aroused, as was his wont, and accused Pfeffinger of Pelagianism, which he however indignantly denied. Then appeared Matth. Flacius, who not only accused him but the whole Wittenberg school of error. This school retaliated, and thus was originated a heated controversy, which was carried on in the worst manner, when suddenly the matter took another turn.

Victorinus Strigel, Professor in Jena, came out in 1559 on the Synergistic side. On his refusal to subscribe the Confutationsbuch,[3] his dissent was made public, and the war was carried into the camp of the Orthodox. The Saxon Dukes sought to suppress the matter by force; Strigel was imprisoned, then set at liberty, and the celebrated Colloquium at Weimar, between him and Flacius, was arranged in the year 1560, from the 2d to the 8th of August. This disputation did not settle the matter, but we will not go into detail, (see Salig III, 587 and Plank IV, 3.) it brought out, however, that which was prominent.[4]

Properly to appreciate it, we must look first at the points, from which these divines proceeded; it was not the same on both sides. Flacius considered himself bound to assert the total inability of the natural man to good on the one hand,

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[1] He only uses the expression Mitwirken (co-working) once.

[2] Spiritus s. movens per verbum Dei et voluntas non repugnans sed utcunque jam moventi spiritui s. obtemperans et simul petens auxilium.

[3] In this synergism was positively rejected: Fugiamus ac detestemur dogma eorum, qui argute philosophantur, mentem et voluntatem hominis in conversione seu renovatione esse *σύνεργον* seu causam concurrentem, cum et Deo debitum honorem eripiat et suos defensores, ut Augustinus inquit, —— temeraria confidentia labefactet.

[4] Acta Disputationis de peccato originali et libero arbitrio etc. 1562 (1563.) From these, and not from the later declaratio (in Schlüsselburg V, 88 ff. and in Otto: de Victor. Strigelio liberioris mentis in ecclesia luth. vindice Jen. 1843, p. 59) is the true doctrine of Strigel to be drawn; in the last he is less explicit.

and on the other the power of divine grace; that in the work of conversion, it did every thing, that to it alone was the honor due, to the exclusion of all human merit, this is the point from which he always starts and to which he constantly returns. Vict. Strigel is concerned about the truth of human self-determination in conversion. Both therefore assert an actual item of Evangelical truth, both are right in defending their standpoint with the utmost energy; for it is the two equally valid sides of a point, in the defence of which they separated. — The question presents itself, whether and to what extent each succeeded, in harmonizing his view with antagonistic. We see that it is the most difficult problem of the plan of salvation that is here brought into view; can we be surprised, if in these controversies there was no perfect solution, as in its inner nature it is mysterious? We will be satisfied if only a few strong points are settled. We would entirely misunderstand the controversies if we, as is common, regarded them as an expression of the opposition between the rigid church and the opposite tendency. For Flacius can only in part be considered the representative of the first, whilst he was in the doctrine of original sin in opposition to it, and soon experienced its reaction.

We will unravel the doctrine of both the litigants.

a) Victorinus Strigel follows in general the views of Melanchthon. He is not a Pelagian, not a Semipelagian in the ordinary sense. He embraced the doctrine of the church in regard to original sin; he conceded, that the natural man cannot turn himself to God by his own reason and without the aid of the Holy Ghost: *affirmo, hominem naturalibus viribus sine filio Dei, . . dante spiritum sanctum ne quidem inchoare posse veram et salutarem conversionem ad Deum* (*th.* 3); but he does not admit that it takes place without the will of man; neither by force nor by magic (*operatio spiritus sancti non excludit voluntatem*). God deals with man, not as an impersonal object, but as a person when he operates on him by his Spirit; he takes into account his will, which has the power of self-determination, he operates upon it in accordance with its nature, not in such a manner as to destroy or pass it by.[1] On this account Strigel insists upon a discrimination between the manner in which an unconscious creature destitute of a

[1] Ipsum velle (seu bonum seu malum) quod ad substantiam attinet, semper est voluntatis, quia voluntas sic est condita, ut possit velle aut non; et hoc habet ex creatione, ut possit velle aut non sine coactione, etiamsi erret quod ad ordinem objectorum, sine coactione, p. 101.

will *(agens naturale)* works, and that in which man *(agens liberum)* endorsed with a free will acts *(modus agendi)*. — However profoundly corruption has penetrated into his heart, darkened his understanding and enslaved his will, this *modus agendi*, this *aptitudo naturalis* remains, because it is an integral part of human nature, *est substantia hominis. Summa assertionis meae haec est: peccato originali non omnino tolli et aboleri sed depravari tantum liberum arbitrium, p.* 49.[1] And as it results from the nature of the will to operate differently from physical nature, differently e. g. from the light of the sun, the vivifier of the earth, thus God operates differently upon him from what he does upon such objects, not as upon a stone or a clod, not *per coactionem* (which is not possible[2]), but as upon an *agens liberum*, — so that the individual himself unites in it (*"hominie intelligente et volente"*[3]).

It is evident that Strigel is thus far right; the more as his opponent starts with a view of original sin which approximates Manicheanism, threatens to destroy the salvability of man (see below), and leaves him nothing but an active resistance of grace.[4]

But Strigel did not stop at this point. He connects with this *aptitudo naturalis* a power to do good. Although he, for instance, frequently distinguishes between *velle* and *bonum velle*, and denies the last to the mere natural man (p. 24. 101), but he does not consider man so much dead to spiritual things (*ad spiritualia*) as diseased; the natural power for good is not

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[1] P. 22. Peccatum originis significat ἀταξίαν i. e. depravationem omnium virium hominis, sed nequaquam significat πανολεθρίαν i. e. totalem interitum vel substantiae hominis, vel proprietatum quae discernunt hominem a bestiis et ab omnibus creaturis. Necesse est enim reteneri discrimen inter liberum agens et naturaliter agens, quo sublato tollitur discrimen inter Deum et plurimas creaturas quae agunt naturaliter. Comp. p. 117: *Modus agendi est voluntas.*

[2] P. 82. Voluntas non potest cogi. Ubi est necessitas, ibi non est libertas, ubi non est libertas, ibi non est voluntas. Si posset cogi voluntas, non esset voluntas, sed potius noluntas. Comp. part. p. 25. 73. 176.

[3] Etsi Deus est efficax in voluntate efficaci ratione, qua flectitur voluntas ad obedientiam Christi, tamen hic assensus non est coactus, expressus aut extortus, sed est liber assensus. God does not impress faith in the soul as man does a seal on wax. p. 232.

[4] In the assertion of this *modus agendi* the opposition of Strigel to Flacius lies, but not at all against the doctrine of the church; for the Concordienformula merely denies the *modus agendi aliquid, quod sit salutare*, and the old theologians say unhesitatingly: Libertas adsignatur arbitrio, habito respectu ad *modum agendi*, quia talis est, ut voluntas, quatenus talis, libere agat h. e. non cogatur externo motu, nec ex naturali instinctu solum agat sed sponte sua seu interno motus principio aliquid vel amplectatur vel rejiciat. Hoc sensu liberum et voluntarium sunt synonyma. Paul Gerhard.

entirely lost, but only bound by sin, bound and restrained, so that it can certainly do nothing out and of itself *sine spiritu s.*; but when (not after, it is freed by the Holy Spirit through the word, awakened, roused, it becomes active and contributes to conversion, although languidly, (*in conversione cooperatur; utcunque assentitur*). This is the coöperation (Synergie) of the human will. It may be compared, says Strigel, and this illustration shows his view more clearly, to the magnet, which, rubbed with the juice of garlic, ceases to attract iron, but freed from this obstruction, at once manifests its power of attraction: *ita — remoto hoc impedimento i. e. peccato orig., et sanato per filium Dei, redit natura ad suam proprietatem*, p. 23.[1] According to this, the human will certainly without the aid of the Holy Spirit cannot commence conversion (*initia conversionis non tribuo nostris viribus; gratia Dei nos praevenit;*) but it does not oppose,[2] is not entirely passive ("more passive than active" p. 232), but *voluntas mota et adjuta a spiritu sancto adsentitur verbo.*

But this did not exhaust the main point. For all this Flacius could admit but in a different sense from Strigel. He did not, on the one hand, deny that *liberum arbitrium* remained after the fall, and that conversion occurs in the will (p. 22. 23. 73.); whilst on the other hand he asserted very positively, that after conversion a concurrence of the renewed human will (or rather newly bestowed) commenced with the Holy Spirit; he was willing to admit what Strigel said in regard to Synergism in reference to the converted, but not of the act, and of the production of conversion,[3] and this made it necessary more accurately to define conversion. Strigel understood by it, not only the beginning of a change of heart and faith (*initia fidei*), but the whole process of sanctification through life

[1] Comp. the passages from other writings of Strigel in Schlüsselb. V. 454, e. g.: Voluntas non sit ignava, sed velit aliquo modo obedientiam.—Voluntas et cor, non omnino repugnans, sed expetens consolationem divinam, cum quidem a spiritu s. adjuvatur.

[2] This is a constantly recurring assertion of Strigel; p. 232. p. 40 from it is at once seen, that he had thoroughly understood the old nature and considered original sin as something merely negative. Flacius was right in presenting to him, Luther's declaration: quod: si naturalis homo repugnat post conversionem, multo magis repugnet in conversione.

[3] Agimus, says Flacius, page 231 — what is ordinarily unnoticed—agimus de naturali homine, non de renovato. Nam de renovato nemo dubitat, quin cooperetur; ad hoc enim ipsum est divinitus conditus. Si igitur tua propositio est falsa, si intelligis eam de viribus natis, non falsa erit, si intelligis eam de viribus divinitus donatis. Et si velles hoc diserte dicere: homo tantum eatenns cooperatur, quatenus est sanatus, aut accepta fide et bonum velle, quatenus vero naturales vires habet, repugnat: esset inter nos consensus.

(*poenitentia quotidiana*); Flacius: the act, accomplished in a fixed period, when the merits of Christ were apprehended by repentance and faith, and of which he has a decided consciousness (*convertio est contritio et fides; habet certum suum initium et metam intra breve tempus*[1]). Subsequently, the controversy settled itself more upon the point of time of conversion; on the question, when the Synergie commenced, after or before (*ante* or *post*)—as in consequence of the different views of conversion no agreement could be effected, Flacius carried the matter a step further, from the external commencement in time to the internal relation of the divine grace and human freedom. Whether conversion properly begins in the operations of divine grace alone, or, at the same time, in the coöperation of the human will, in other words, whether the Holy Ghost first gives power to man, or unites itself to those which exist and are fettered by sin? — this was the *status controversiae;* here the question must be settled. When Strigel replied in loose expressions, that man is not converted by his own powers, but likewise not without his will, his consent, Flacius rejoined properly: *Quis dubitat? Quaestio tota est, unde illud bonum velle, unde hic assensus?* Whence the drawing to conversion, prayer for it? *Num a solo Deo, aut partim a Deo, partim ex synergia hominis? — Quaero*, thus does he lay down the scope: *quaero an dicas, voluntatem cooperari ante donum fidei aut post acceptam fidem, an dicas: cooperari ex naturalibus viribus, aut quatenus ex renovatione spiritus sancti datum sit bonum velle? Sunt duae quaestiones verbis, sensu una;* three or four times he returns to this cardinal question (p. 43. 71. 100. 178. 233). But Strigel constantly answers evasively (as above) and so, that it is clear, that he ascribes the origin of conversion in the last instance not purely to the grace of God, but at the same time to the will of man. It is, in his view, the result of the joint agency of these two Factors.

And here is found the error of his theory. For that human nature, considered apart from what God does for it, can not

[1] Page 42. 100. This difference in explanation had its origin, doubtless, in the different experience of these men, in their life. Flacius' experience coincided with that of Luther, on this account he could speak of a definite time of conversion; Strigel's development was more equable; he knows nothing about a sudden change; therefore he understood by the beginning of conversion, something different from his opponent — and here is one reason of their non agreement. Further, it may be seen from this, how objectionable it is, to locate upon a specific moment of time the question in regard to the relation of the divine gracious influences to the will of man, as it is more properly pertains to a relation which extends to the entire Christian development.

at all do any thing truly good, that the *prima initia conversionis* cannot proceed from the old tendency of the will alienated from God, but grace must first lay hold of it and fill it with new powers of life, if it is, on its part, to coöperate (*semper enim causam necesse est priorem esse suo effectu*): this is the uniform doctrine of the Scriptures and of the church's Confession. In opposition must the formula that makes the will a third cause of conversion appear an entire failure and perplexing, for the efficient cause can in this connexion only be the Holy Spirit; the opposite opinion conducts, if consistently followed, to Pelagianism. For this reason the opinion of Strigel was not only rejected by Flacius and his particular friends at Jena; not only by the whole of Thuringia, but by most of the Lutheran Ministeriums; by the leading divines;[1] namely by those of Würtemberg,Brenz, J. Andreä, Chr.Binder. "They cannot, so they write, prevent the belief in many that he ascribes to the corrupt will of man some power and efficacy in conversion, which remains after the fall, and concurs with the power of the Holy Spirit in regeneration; if this is his view, they cannot approve because the Scriptures very clearly teach, that man is so perverted by sin, that he is not of himself capable of thinking any thing good, to say nothing of contributing any thing to or with the power of the Holy Spirit before his conversion.[2] But—and this was till now too much overlooked — the Wittenberg school itself expressed itself not differently on the main point, and rejected at once the Synergism advocated by Strigel, or which they say was falsely ascribed to him;[3] they were entirely content with the whole

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[1] In Schlüsselb. Vol. V, where the judgment of the Mansfelders, Hamburgers and Rostockers may be found; part. the decision of J. Morlin. — Comp. in the proceedings of the Disp. Vin. p. 337. Further we state here explicitly, that we are here concerned entirely with the matter, about which and not the manner, in which the controversy was conducted. The last cannot be too much lamented.

[2] Comp. Acta Disp. p. 575. Salig III. 885. In regard to Brenz part. Hartmann and Jäger Vol. 2. p. 400—406.

[3] So said they already in 1561 in a violent rejoinder, in Schlüsselburg V. 529; Cum repugnat homo verbo div. facit id volens, non coactus; et cum adsentitur, non facit hoc vi aut dignitate liberi arbitrii, sed Dei efficacia, qui per verbum est efficax. More fully in the final report and explanation of the divines of both Universities Leipzig and Wittenberg 1572. Here they ascribe p. 74. 101. 102. the very first movements of the newly awakened life, the desire, the longing for conversion to the influence of the Holy Ghost through the word, and 93: "we teach and do not contend, as if the natural will of man corrupt and not renewed had in itself alone or its own powers any strength or a free will to its own conversion, to bring it about, or as a concurring cause without the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, to commence, continue and complete." Further p. 96: "It is known to every one that we

Lutheran interpretation — to the exclusion of the application to a specific moment of time.[1]

b) If Flacius was right in this direction, in the other with his school he erred in the opposite extreme. For he taught with Amsdorf, Wigand, Musäus and others, not only that human nature is spiritually dead, entirely lifeless to good, and in conversion is merely passive, but likewise, and that it can only resist or does resist before, during and after conversion (*Acta Disp.* 131.). In the first respect they compare him with a block or stone, in the last with a resisting enemy; thus they oppose to the active Synergism of Strigel, an active and persevering resistance of the will. The manner of the divine operation upon this they in fact, although it is not admitted in words, make like that of a lifeless creation,[2] and consider conversion as a species of force, which is brought upon men. *Hominem*, says Flacius repeatedly, *hominem converti nolentem, repugnantem*, indeed *converti non solum non cooperante naturali libero arbitrio, sed etiam contra furente ac fremente. Acta Disp. th.* 4 and *p.* 131. It happens in this, just as when a man impresses a seal on wax, and prepares and forms a block. The entire moral revolution in man, according to this, takes place in his will, but not properly in him, but without him (*Solus Deus convertit hominem — non excludit voluntatem, sed omnem efficaciam et operationem ejus, p.* 118.); the will itself is not converted, but as it were a new divine will is implanted in it. For this reason the personality of man (*nos*

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do not assert any power or coefficiency to human energy or free will, before, in meditating on God's word by which the Holy Ghost operates, alarm and comfort are excited and commenced by God's grace and operation." In the same place is the question: "Whether man from his native, natural powers, in which the new birth has not commenced, with the Holy Ghost can in the smallest degree contribute to his conversion," there is a decided negative. Comp. part. the minute explanations p. 108.: "As it is on both sides acknowledged that right &c.

[1] Loc. cit. 110. "As there is no power at all in man which can before, during and after conversion deserve gracious reconciliation with God and the production of eternal life, righteousness and salvation in us: so likewise there is in our corrupt flesh and blood no energy or power, to make a beginning of conversion or renovation or knowledge of the Gospel without Christ's illumination and the assistance of the Holy Ghost; but we are entirely lost, as those who are subject to sin, death, and the power of the Devil by nature; unless the Son make us free. Such a freedom is not to be referred alone to the commencement of God's operations in us, but comprehends all &c. The acknowledgment of passivity which now follows, is very much limited by the explanation: quia universaliter homo habet se pure passive, quoad meritum justificationis et vivificationis.

[2] Amsdorf, at least, asserts expressly, that God works in one and the same way upon irrational and rational creatures, upon a stone and a man, viz.: entirely by his willing and not willing, although by different means.

ipsi) remains unchanged, and that resistance continues uninterrupted through life. From this point this theory passed over into predestination and to special grace. It is here Flacius defended himself against this, but his associates openly expressed these results. Wigand rejected entirely the universality of the divine election and call, Hesshuss explains: *Deus non vult omnes salventur, non enim omnes elegit nec omnes trahit sua gratia*, and the aged Amsdorf: "Man cannot at all will or choose, except what God wills and says, either in mercy or wrath."[1]

These are the general errors of the Flacian side. Flacius went a step further, to the monstrous doctrine that original sin is not an accident, but the substance of man. He used indeed these expressions not in the scholastic sense, he understood by substance the *essentia formalis* synonymous with *forma substantialis*, the essential character or life-form of humanity, on which account he leaves a certain difference between Nature (*materia*) and sin; but nevertheless there is taught a destruction of the creature humanity by sin. In the disputation at Weimar he explained his view by comparing it with wine, from which the Spirit has been dissipated and nothing remains but the bare empty fluid; later he developed it fully in connexion with the doctrine concerning the image of God. This divine image, which was the original *essentia formalis* of man, has not only disappeared by the fall, but in place of it the *vera et viva imago diaboli* has appeared; there was therefore an actual transformation, a *horrenda metamorphosis* of human nature into the diabolical, and from this it follows, that in it every spark of good, every trace of relationship to God is entirely extinguished, but the capacity for good has disappeared. What remains is nought but evil, nothing but opposition and enmity against God. With all this Flacius only intends to express the opinion, that man is out and out wicked, that original sin has become to him a second nature; but he so expresses it, that in fact he denies the salvability of fallen man, and for this error he contended with the greatest obstinacy till the end of his life.[2]

It is known that this doctrine peculiar to Flacius met with the most determined opposition from every quarter, that it was resisted as a new Manicheanism, and indeed by the former fel-

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[1] Schlüsselb. V. 216. 228. 320. 546 ff. Plank Band 4. p. 706.

[2] For our purpose this short sketch of Flacius' doctrine is enough. He unfolded it more fully at a later period, in the second part of his celebrated Clavis p. 651 ff. and in numerous treatises: De essentia justitiae originalis et injustitia 1568. Comp. likewise in Zwesten loci cit. appendix 99 ff.

low combatants of its author, as well as from the opposite party.[1] The number of adherents was, and remained small. In opposition to, it the discrimination between nature and sin which had fastened upon it was insisted on, for which they used the expressions substance and accidence, which do not fully characterize the relation. The Wittembergers did not merely oppose this dogma; the entire theory was rejected. They found three things to condemn. First, that according to it the human will, on the one side, was excluded from conversion, and on the other was considered as merely resisting. The positions: The natural man is in regard to the operative grace of God like a block or a stone; further, he is entirely resistant and hostile; conversion is an *impressio violenta*, which occurs as by violence; *spiritum s. dari invitis, repugnantibus* &c. — these were a rock of offence, and in this connexion they rejected the mere passive; it was regarded by them as another expression for the condition of a lifeless and involuntary creature.[2] The main ground on which they placed themselves, were the passages of Scripture, in which conversion is represented as a turning of one's self. Second, they found fault with this, that conversion was restricted by the opponents to a fixed short period of time, and was explained as an act concluded in itself, which must be explained, for this was not the process of regeneration but it was gradual.[3] Third, the entire theory appeared to them to take too little cognizance of the peculiar operations of the Holy Ghost through the word, and of the conditions, on man's part, on which they depend, they discovered in it a want of knowledge of the plan of salvation as laid down in the Scriptures, and pronounced its supporters although unjustly, Enthusiasts.[4]

On the other hand, they confine themselves to the representation of original sin on its negative side; they distinguish it almost exclusively only as a defect, as a Syncope, weakness,

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[1] They admonish him first, ut ab hac nova periculosa popositione, quae in ecclesia magnas turbas datura esset, abstineret et errorem Victorini de libero arbitrio non falsa propositione sed verbo Dei refutaret; when he appeared unwilling to yield, they attacked him openly.

[2] This may be seen most clearly from the cited End. Bericht Bl. 93. 103. 166 ff. In this they expose themselves to the same charge of unfairness with their opponents; they did not notice their explanations, but took their propositions in the worst sense. Flacius could justly say, that he never said unconditionally: converti hominem nihil agentem; but audientem, cogitantem, attendentem, verum non vero spirituali cordis motu ex carnalibus viribus cooperantem. Neque simpliciter dixi hostiliter, sed si ipsius proprias vires seu carnis sensum expendas.

[3] Comp. Endl. Bericht. Bl. 99. 100.

[4] Comp. Loc. cit. 93. 97. 99.

misery, and leave out of view entirely too much the no less distinctive resistance, the enmity of the flesh against God.[1] — Further, they do not conceive of the natural man so abstractly as the others, but more in accordance with experience; they take him as he is, in the Christian church, surrounded in advance with the influence of the Gospel.[2] And from this point they pursue a quite different course in exhibiting their views. They set out with this, that the Holy Ghost works by the word, and that man can and must hear this word. This is God's condition, on which he gives power. If man resists or neglects to learn and meditate upon the word, he remains unconverted of his own fault; if he does, what he can and ought, the word as promised commences to operate and conversion and regeneration ensue. This does not take place independently of man, but in the understanding and will,[3] and not in a specific moment of time, but in the way of a successive progress, in which each advance involves the agency of man awakened by the Spirit of God; it is a continual increase in repentance and faith, a persevering contest, in which man is certainly active. Therefore nothing can be said of the commencement of such a conversion, as the opponents determine it, what they say of the act of conversion is applicable to the whole course of the process. To this all the cited passages of the Scripture refer. It is always the grace of God, which precedes and determines man, but he does his part and works, influenced by it, independently, although in weakness.[4] Who could gainsay this mode of representation within the pale of the Christian church?

We see that the disputed points, except the special error of Flacius, are nearer each other, than at first appearance.[5] It

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[1] In the Endlich: Bericht at least, which is to be regarded as an expression of their convictions, throughout this side is entirely held up and indeed in silent opposition to the active resistance of Flacius. Comp. Bl. 70. 89. 98. 101. 102. 104.

[2] Comp. in addition the acknowledgments made above. This truth they lay down as conceded by both sides, but do not further use it, because it does not, they say, touch the essence of the controversy, and yet this was the main matter.

[3] The divine operation takes place thus, the will of man is called and drawn by the Holy Ghost through the Gospel voice, and then he should begin with meditating on the divine word, and not wait till he is forced by power, but as Basilius says &c,

[4] Comp. loc. cit. Bl. 74. 101. 102. 105. 106. part. 108 and 110. 111. Not from the beginning of the new birth but from the whole work of renovation, likewise of the renewed and converted.

[5] This appears most clearly in comparing the dissertation of Joach. Mörlin in Schlüsselb. (loc. cit.) with the End. Bericht.

is not so much discord in particular points of doctrine, as difference in the point of departure and rest, which divides them. The difference consists mainly in this, that the Wittenberg school underrated the positive side of original sin, particularly the resistance of man against God, and consequently the nature of sinful corruption was not sufficiently estimated, whilst the other too much overlooks the natural freedom of the will, and the activity produced in it by the Holy Spirit. To this may be added the different views of conversion, entertained by both, which had great influence on the question, how the unconverted man in his conversion acted in reference to the divine operations of grace.

The Formula of Concord properly determines this as the main point (p. 655. Walch 606.)[1]

The question presents itself, how did it determine? It first settles the premises for the decision, in excluding the erroneous extremes on both sides. On the one hand, it rejects Flacius' unsound doctrine in regard to original sin, which makes sin the substance of man, and opposes to it the necessary difference between *natura* and *peccatum*, between *substantia* and *accidens* (639 ff.), thereby leaving a dark spark of divine knowledge and knowledge of the law to human reason, to the will the power of the so-called *justitia civilis* in agreement with the older Confessions; on the other hand they filled out the deficiency of the Wittenberg school by bringing out the positive side of original sin: "The natural man, viewed in himself, and apart from all the influences of redeeming grace—is not only positively unable to do good, not only dead in regard to what is spiritual, but is engaged in hostile opposition to God" (565, 5. 660, ff.). In this the truth of Strigel's doctrine in regard to the *modus agendi* is fully recognized (*quod Deus alium modum agendi habeat in homine quam in irrationali creatura*), and resists at the same time the erroneous application of the same, the reference to the truly good — the *modus agendi aliquid boni in rebus divinis*, (673, 61.). From the first, it follows that God does not force men (*cogit hominem*), as Flacius asserted; from the last, that the human will has the *facultas adplicandi se ad gratiam* not of it own natural powers, as Strigel and Melanchthon maintain.

From these premises the real leading question is answered thus, that the natural man as such, can neither bring about conversion, nor contribute to it, nor in any wise dispose or prepare himself for it. "As he *ad bonum prorsus corruptus et*

[1] I quote from Rechenberg and Hase.

mortuus est, there is not in his nature since the fall the least spark of spiritual strength remaining, *quibus ille ex se ad gratiam Dei praeparare se, aut oblatam gratiam apprehendere aut ejus gratiae ex sese et per se capax esse possit, aut se ad gratiam applicare, aut accommodare, aut viribus suis propriis aliquid ad conversionem suam vel ex toto vel ex dimidia vel minima parte conferre, agere, operari, cooperari ex se ipso tamquam ex semet ipso possit*" (656, 7. 668. Comp. 643. 661.), but *conversion's efficiens causa* is only in the Holy Ghost, 676. In this decision the truth of the rigid church tendency is made victorious over Synergism. With this the school of Wittenberg essentially agreed, as appears from the passages cited above,[1] although the premises, viz. the decisions in regard to the enmity of the old man against God belong to the other side.

If we consider the way in which the Formula Concordiæ more particularly explains the process of conversion, the true in the Wittenberg view appears. For there it is especially noticed, that the Holy Ghost operates upon man only through the word and sacraments and no otherwise (669 ff.), who on his part should hear the preached word, and likewise diligently meditate and learn what he hears. Both, the objective agency in communicating salvation and the subjective in hearing, must be associated, if conversion is to ensue; for the whole only works by the two together. *Praedicatio enim verbi ejusdem auscultatio sunt spiritus s. instrumenta, cum quibus et per quae efficaciter agere et homines ad Deum convertere atque in ipsis volle et perficere operari vult; per hoc medium, praedicationem nimirum et auditionem verbi, per verbum praedicatum et auditum* (which is commonly overlooked) *Deus operatur* 671, 52–56; his agency is directed not only to

[1] Let the passages, cited before from the End. Bericht, be compared with Bl. 108: As it is acknowledged on both sides, that true conversion to God and internal spiritual obedience is commenced in this order and produced, viz. that man does not intentionally and designedly resist the word and the Holy Ghost: it is plainly seen that it is a mere calumny, when they (the Flacians) cry, the third actual or coöperating cause, namely the understanding and will of man, which understands and learns the will, is understood of the natural corrupt powers of man. For though the salutary working of the Son of God precedes, who through the word awakens holy thoughts and produces in the heart gracious operations by the Holy Ghost, there cannot be ascribed to the perverted understanding and will of man, in as far as it is not enlightened and renewed, any power or efficacy, to receive God's word and willingly to follow the Holy Ghost; but the consideration and reception of the word of God and the voluntary commencement of obedience in the heart comes from what God has graciously commenced to produce in us and not from the innate and from Adam inherited weakness. Similar in the Appendix to the Altenburg Colloquium.

the will, but appears in the thinking and willing of man; conversion does not occur without hearing the word, not without excitement on the part of the subject to be converted (673. 681) but assuredly the impulse proceeds always from acting grace. On this account the Formula of Concord rejects, not only the Synergy of Strigel, but likewise the renitency of Flacius, and represents the condition of man in regeneration in opposition to both as entirely passive; *mere passive se habet.* And this is the necessary consequence of the preceding; for he cannot approach grace of himself, concur in the word from his own reason, so nothing remains but to permit it to work upon him, consequently a passive condition (*nihil operatur sed tantum patitur*), which nevertheless, because it is *auscultatio* on his part, cannot be considered, as if an image was hewn in stone or a seal impressed on wax (681). Their Passivity passes over into Synergism so soon *(quamprimum)* as the Holy Ghost has effectually laid hold of the human heart; from that time the converted works, as such, freely with the Holy Spirit, to wit: not with his carnal natural powers, but with the new gifts and powers (with the new, that is, the renewed will) which he received in conversion (674).

These are the definitions of the Formula of Concord, which can be fully understood only in connexion with the idea of conversion.[1] For this is neither here taken in the sense of Strigel nor of Flacius, but regarded as the juncture in which the Holy Ghost really and effectively lays hold of the heart. This cannot be determined either by time, or the subjective consciousness, but it every where exists, where the last spark of faith, a prayer for grace, yea even a desire for salvation appears, in every movement of the new life there is for man the comfort that God has not only already commenced in him, but a pledge, that he will carry on his work. With the first drawings of grace, although there may be no consciousness of them, the coöperation has already begun; the commencement in the Christian church commences with baptism (p. 659, 14. 15. and 16, comp. p. 669, 46. *Deus per spiritum sanctum initium in baptismo facit* 674, 65 to 68). Assuredly the idea of conversion does not restrict itself to infant baptism, but it embraces it; it defines the period of its commencement, and that this can have its producing cause only in the operation of the Spirit through the word and sacrament, with other words, that

[1] It is seen at once that most of these representations agree with the End. Bericht; a mere comparison shows that they were taken from them, in part, verbatim.

it can in no other way occur, than by gracious operations purely and solely, and not from the powers of the natural man—views irrefragably established by the Scriptures and the plan of salvation.[1]

The Formula Concordiæ designs nothing more than this by its extensive explanations and its strongest assertions and negations. What is true of the commencement, applies to all the steps of the process commencing with the same, uniting human activity with it (764); and thus the entire doctrine of the F. C. may be summed up in the sentence: that man is always first apprehended by grace, but there is at the same time one who lays hold and concurs.[2]

There can be no doubt, that the decision of the questions was entirely in the spirit of the Church Confessions, that it was a consistent application of the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism to the case, if reference, in regard to what has been said, is had to the passages of Scripture to which the F. C. refers, to the passages quoted from the more ancient symbols, to which they refer (665. 667.), particularly the assertion of the Catechism: "I believe, that I cannot of my own reason and power believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to him, but the Holy Ghost" &c., to this may be added what we

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[1] These passages of the F. C. are likewise to be found, verbatim, in the End. Bericht, comp. Bl. 74. 97. 101.

[2] Most of the new objections rest therefore upon an entire misunderstanding; in part it is overlooked that here the natural man is viewed in himself, I might say in *abstracto*, in part, the argument is conducted from an entirely different view of conversion against the decisions of the Formula of Concord. How this understood it, may be seen from the explanation of one of its composers, the admirable Chemnitz in the *Locis:* Conversio seu renovatio non est talis mutatio, quae uno momento statim omnibus suis partibus absolvitur et perficitur; sed habet sua initia, suos progressus, quibus in magna infirmitate perficitur. Non ergo cogitandum est, secura et otiosa voluntate exspectabo, donec renovatio seu conversio juxta gradus recensitos, operatione Spiritus s. sine meo motu absoluta fuerit. Neque enim puncto aliquo mathemathico ostendi potest, ubi voluntas liberata agere incipiat. Sed quando gratia praeveniens, i. e. prima initia fidei et conversionis homini dantur, statim incipit lucta carnis et Spiritus, et manifestum est, illam luctam non fieri sine motu nostrae voluntatis — — et illa dona oportet crescere. Crescunt autem in nobis, non sicut truncus violento impulsu provehitur, vel sicut lilia non laborantia, non curantia crescunt, sed conando, luctando, quaerendo, petendo, pulsando; et hoc non est nobis, Dei donum est. — Quae ergo de gratia praeveniente, praeparante et operando traduntur, habent hunc sensum, quod non nostrae partes priores sint in conversione, sed quod Deus per verbum et afflatum divinum nos praeveniat, movens et impellens voluntatem. Post hunc autem motum voluntatis divinitus factum voluntas humana non habet se pure passive, sed mota et adjuta a Spiritu sancto non repugnat, sed adsentitur et fit συνεργος. Dei — — — Ex his commonefactionibus potest intelligi quaestio illa, an habeat se pure passive (voluntas humana) in conversione, et an prorsus sit otiosa in actionibus spiritualibus· Comp. the pass. above from the End. Bericht.

have before given as the experience of the justified. Nevertheless we will not conceal, that the exposition of particulars, and the form of expression left room for some doubt. As pertaining to this I do not consider so much the Formula concerning the positive tendency against God in man — for this is proved by Scripture and experience, as appears unquestionably from this, that in the regenerate the old Adam continues to resist the Holy Ghost, and is moreover already brought out in the Apology p. 55 (*contemtus Dei, odium Dei*)—but the comparison of it with a log or stone. This expression properly belonging to the Flacian view[1] — I could wish the F. C. had never used — it is true it is sufficiently guarded and protected against misconception (673, 59. 675, 70), but it does not express the proper fundamental idea correctly, and threatens to lead back to the representation, that the subject of conversion is impersonal and the operation of God upon it compulsory, which however is rejected by the F. C.[2] More considerable is the difficulty, which lies against its decisions from experience, particularly from the circumstance, that the divine word meets every where with various soil, in one place a greater or less inclination for redeeming grace, in another a relatively greater or less resistance. And this not only where revelation existed before, as in Israel, but likewise in Heathen territory. This experienced difference cannot be explained by the representation given in the F. C. of man's natural condition — the contrary rather follows from it, viz.: the uniform disinclination to receive the Gospel. It is known, that from this point objections have been raised against these decisions. Either, it is said, must the doctrine concerning human corruption be softened, or absolute predestination be acknowledged. But this solution will not apply. For just as certainly as the doctrines of our Confession correspond to the Scriptures and experience, just so certainly does predestination contradict both; it is better to say, that no explanation can be correct but that which recognizes and harmonizes the entire depth of natural corruption, and at the same time a difference of position in regard to the grace of God as historically proved. Certainly one of

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[1] Luther used it merely in a casual way.

[2] The common reproach that the F. C. advocates a change of the substantial nature of man, because it maintains that a new will is created in man and ascribes coöperation in the regenerate to this new will, depends entirely upon a total misunderstanding of the biblical and symbolical *usus loquendi*. Our Confessions do not understand by *vires spirituales*, what is meant by spiritual powers, but the power to that, which accords with the Holy Spirit, true good, to the love of God, to an internal change; *novi motus, motus spirituales*. (645.)

the most difficult problems in theology, but for this very reason not the province of a church Confession, which has merely to express the contents of a church's faith. For the same reason, we cannot here attempt the reconciliation. We content ourselves with the intimation that it pertains to the mysterious territory of the general government of the world and its connexion with the conscience. Here there are formed, according to man's deportment in the divinely appointed circumstances of life, different dispositions in regard to God's leadings, mercies, judgments &c., which give rise to various positions in regard to God, and the word, when it is preached to the nations, comes in contact with soils of various descriptions. — From this may be explained in the same manner, the mysterious phenomenon of different conduct in regard to God's grace; not however from a diminution of human corruption. Man, as he is in his alienation from God and beyond the circle of faith, can do nothing at all towards his conversion, but God must work in him the will and the doing, the beginning, the progress and the completion. His is the honor. And this is the glory of our Confession that it gives it to him alone.

The F. C. is not deficient in the article on free will (*liberum arbitrium*); for it has placed the doctrine at the proper medium point.

ARTICLE V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Das Leben Jesu, nach den Apokryphen im Zusammenhange aus den Quellen erzählt und wissenschaftlich untersucht, von Rudolph Hofmann, Dr. Phil. und Nachmittagsprediger an der Universitäts-Kirche zu Leipzig.

The apocryphal books, both of the Old and New Testament, have met with but little favor amongst our Theologians and churches. That they have been and are overrated, as Protestants we must admit. As regards the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, whilst we neither admit them to be inspired, nor half inspired, "*deutero canonical*," they are of great value, and deserve to be carefully studied. They are valuable not only for doctrinal purposes, but for the elevated morality and authentic history which they contain. The Apocryphal books of the New Testament are less known, be-

cause they are not published with the canonical Scriptures. Many have no doubt seen, though we are not aware that it was reprinted in the United States, the Apocryphal New Testament, published in London, the third edition in 1821.

This has generally been regarded as issued in the service of infidelity; such is the judgment of Horne in his introduction, though not avowed by the Editor. An opportunity is afforded, by the work mentioned at the head of this article, of surveying the leading contents of these books, and to each subject there is appended learned philological, archæological and historical discussions, designed to account for the narratives, to show their absurdity in many instances, and their relation to views which became prevalent in the church. Not only is there much presented that is exceedingly curious, but much which is highly useful. The vast difference between these writings and those of our canonical books, must, at once, make an impression upon every candid mind favorable to the latter, and in this way, incidentally, the Apocryphal books become witnesses for the inspiration of the New Testament.

The author remarks in his preface: "the design is to meet a want which has been increasingly felt. Students, candidates, and clergymen have generally no knowledge of the Apocryphal books beyond the name. This is not surprising, when it is considered, that in most histories of the church, there is nothing said about them, and that there exist histories of the childhood and passion of Christ, but nothing is said about the contents and no reference is made to them in the description of the period or in the exposition of doctrines.—Nevertheless the Apocryphal books contain rich materials for dogmatic and archæological investigations, and it would not be easy to furnish more ample contributions to a picture of degenerated Christianity, than are supplied in the sketches of Christian superstition in these writings. The author has made it his aim throughout to treat thoroughly, and with a reference to the bearing on both sciences the topics which connect themselves with dogmatic history or archæology. In addition, whatever characterizes the time and circle in which these books appeared and were honored, is brought out. The Apocryphal writings have great value on account of the light which they throw upon the canonical gospel. Many dark passages are rendered more intelligible by them; gaps are filled up; events are brought into their proper relations, and single points are extended in their significance."

That the author has aimed at what is important must be conceded, and that his success has been commensurate in some

degree with his wishes, candid criticism must allow. He has made a commencement, the results of which must be propitious, and the way will be opened for others, who, thankful for what he has done, may add to his contrrbutions, or he himself may by further efforts render still higher satisfaction to the theological public. Dr. Guericke in his Zeitschrift (12. Jahrgang. 1851. Drittes Quartalheft), says: "Es bedarf keines Wortes der dankbarsten Anerkennung für alle diese Mittheilungen und Zusammenstellungen. Das Werk hat damit eine Masse Materials übersichtlich angehäuft, welches nur sehr Wenigen bisher zugänglich war." If the author has not produced a faultless work, he has certainly produced one of high value and unique in its character, and we may say with the eminent divine just quoted: "Doch der Verf. hat ja hier erst bahn-brechend gearbeitet, weshalb einer schärferen Kritik durchaus die Waffe entfallen muss." K.

ARTICLE VI.

HYMNS FROM THE GERMAN.

By H. Mills, D. D., Auburn, N. Y.

I

Nun danket alle Gott!

M. Rinkart.

1. Now all, to God give thanks
With hearts, and hands, and voices!
'Tis He, whose wondrous grace
All, ev'ry where, rejoices:
From birth, thro' helpless years
He bore us safely on;
His love, thro'out our course,
Has countless favors done.

2. May God in mercy still,
While earth remains our dwelling,
His good bestow, our tongues
With joy his goodness telling!
And when our strength shall fail,
May He display his pow'r,
And from the ills we fear
Defend us evermore.

3. Praise, honor, thanks to God!
On high the Father seated
With Son, and Holy Ghost,
The Three in One united, —
He is the God of all,
And right are all his ways;
To Him, the Great and Good,
Let all give endless praise!

II.

Alle Menschen müssen sterben.

J. G. Albinus.

1. All must die! there's no exception;
Flesh—'tis all alike but grass!
All that live must see corruption,
Saints, *thro' death* to glory pass.
This vile body here must perish,
Ere, immortal, it can cherish
Holy joys, the free reward
For the ransom'd of the Lord.

2. Life on earth can I then covet
Longer than my God shall please?
When above He would remove it
I will greet the soul's release.
For, thro' what my Saviour suffer'd,
Freedom from the curse is offer'd;
He has promis'd,—and to faith
Gives the vict'ry over death.

3. Death — for me the Savior bore it, —
Dying — won for me the prize:
Life — in bliss will He restore it, —
Shall I not then joyful rise
From this world of sin and anguish,
To that world for which I languish, —
There the Three in One adore
With his saints forevermore?

4. Happy spirits, ever living,
Thousand thousands, all as one,
Rob'd in light, their praises giving,
Here rejoice before the throne.
There the seraphim are shining,
Ever new their song beginning, —
"Holy! Holy! Holy Lord!
"Be thy holy name ador'd!"

5. Worthies, there, of sacred story,
Prophets, patriarchs are met;
There, apostles too, in glory
Fill their thrones by Jesus set;
All the saints that have ascended
Age on age, through time extended,
There, in blissful concert, sing
Hallelujahs to their King.

6. [Friends in Christ, whose forms, with weeping,
We ourselves to earth consign'd,
While their dust in dust are sleeping,
Mansions there of promise find.
There the pleasures never weary,
Prospects never shall be dreary,—
Lo! they beckon us to come
Where they 've found their spirits' Home]

7. O Jerusalem, thou fairest!
How with honors art thou blest!
Sweet the music that thou hearest
Through thy streets of holy rest.
Joy and peace, in thee united
By no fear of change are blighted,
Balmy fragrance cheers the day
Which no night shall drive away.

8. Yes! — methinks I now behold it, —
That fair city of delight;
Now the robe — around me fold it,
Robe of dazzling, purest white;—
There a crown of glory wearing,
There — before the throne appearing,
Mingle with the heirs of bliss,
Where their praises never cease.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Curran and his Contemporaries. By Charles Phillips, Esq., A. B. One of her Majesty's Commissioners of the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors. "He was my Friend." New York: *Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St.* 1851.

There are few men, whose general reading is of any considerable compass, who are not more or less familiar with the names, the character, and the public career of those eminent lawyers and patriots, who, during about a century past, flourished in Ireland, and by their genius and eloquence became the pride of their country, and gained the admiration of the world. Great will, therefore, be tne number of those, to whom this volume will be a most welcome acquisition. It is from the pen of one who, himself eminent in his profession, and distinguished for elegant scholarship and eloquence, was on terms of intimacy with the most prominent personage among those whom he has here portrayed, and whose life and performances he is most competent to appreciate and delineate. The work has been a labor of love: it is written in a most attractive style: it abounds in personal narrative, in entertaining anecdotes, in displays of brilliant wit, in specimens of splendid eloquence, in instances of devoted patriotism, as also in exhibitions of Irish oddity or extravagance, and forms, altogether, a most delightful volume, which, having greatly enjoyed ourselves, we cordially commend to others.

The Royal Preacher. *Lectures on Ecclesiastes, By James Hamilton, D. D. F. L. S. Author of "Life in Earnest," "Mt. of Olives," "Happy Home," "Life of Lady Colquhoun," etc. etc.* New York: *Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway.* 1851.

These Lectures are not exegetical: they are popular practical lectures, addressed by the author to his congregation. He says in his preface: "The series extended to forty discourses, of which the half are now published, most of them somewhat condensed." We are so delighted with those here given, that we are sorry the author did not publish the whole series in full. The volume contains twenty-one lectures. The view which the author takes of the general character, plan and design of the book of Ecclesiastes, is, we are satisfied, the only one that can be sustained by sound reasons, that does no violence to the established principles of interpretation, and that enables the commentator to explain the book, without representing it as inconsistent with itself, and bringing it into conflict with the exalted ethics of the other sacred writings. Expositors have encountered more difficulties, and fallen into more absurdities, in endeavoring to explain this book, than with any other book of the sacred canon, merely because they proceeded upon a mistaken view of its general character and aim. We are glad to see more just

and correct views here presented, in a popular form, to general readers. To us the book has been a delicious treat. Thoroughly pervaded by a lofty tone of devout thought and feeling, these lectures possess, in their beautiful style anc earnest eloquence, an irresistible charm: they are rich in striking and splendid imagery, in impressive illustration and forcible application of religious truth: indeed we have seen nothing of the kind more brilliant: preachers will find them highly suggestive—fraught with deep, earnest and fruitful thought; and to christians in general we commend the volume as one of the most engaging, profitable and delightful books of a practical and popular character that we have ever met with.

THE HARMONY OF PROPHECY; *or, Scriptural Illustrations of the Apocalypse: By the Rev. Alexander Keith, D. D. Author of "The Evidence of Prophecy" etc. What shall be the end of these things?* NEW YORK: *Harper & Brothers, Publishers.* 82 *Cliff St.* 1851.

DR. KEITH is well known to have devoted many years to the study and exposition of the prophecies of Scripture. In the preface to the present work he says: "The plan of this treatise — if that unhappily can be called a novelty or a plan, which is ever a duty of every believer of the word of God— is simply to *search the Scriptures*, to compare Scripture with Scripture, collecting the different testimonies on each subject successively, as Scripture itself defines it; and not shunning to declare all the counsel of God." From his long and devoted study of the subject, our author is, in an eminent degree, competent to prepare a work of this kind, calcnlated to afford the student of prophecy most important aids in prosecuting his researches. The work has been prepared with great care and labor; and, from a very cursory inspection of its pages, we conclude that it will be found to be a most valuable and faithful guide in the field of prophecy.

TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES, ETC. *During* 1849 *and* 1850. *By the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley.* NEW YORK: *Harper & Brothers, Publishers.* 82 *Cliff St.* 1851.

HERE is a volume on America by one of the British Aristocracy, written in a strain so utterly different from what we have been accustomed to from British travellers, that we can scarcely believe our eyes while we read. The only fault that we, perverse creatures that we are, have to find with the work, is, that its tone is too uniformly and unqualifiedly laudatory. However, our fair traveller appears to have met with much hospitality and kindness every where, to have enjoyed herself exceedingly, and to have formed a very favorable opinion of our country, its institutions and inhabitants, and it is only right that she should express her friendly feelings, and her real opinions, frankly and in her own way. Where she censures, it is on subjects which are often enough most severely commenred upon by our own public press. The work is based upon her familiar letters to friends and relatives at home, to which circumstance it is indebted for its sprightly, chatty, gossiping tone, and for its frequent leanings to exaggeration. It is an exceedingly interesting and agreeable volume, and we hope brother Jonathan will, for once be

satisfied; the estimate formed of America and Americans by this accomplished, highminded, and generous Englishwoman being perfectly antipodal to that of Mrs. Trollope, Capt. Basil Hall, and other kindred ravens. The book will be found a most entertaining travelling-companion, or a very agreeable fire-side companion for the coming winter.

The Book of Oratory: *a new Collection of Extracts in Prose, Poetry, and Dialogue, containing Selections from distinguished American and English Orators, Divines, and Poets; of which many are Specimens of the Eloquence of Statesmen of the present Day. For the use of Colleges, Academies, and Schools.—By* Edward C. Marshall, M. A., *Late Instructor in a military School at West-Point, and in the New York University.* New York: D. Appleton & Company. 200 Broadway. 1851.

So hackneyed had the selections for practice in public speaking hitherto in use become, that the sight of a new, judicious and ample collection is quite refreshing. Mr. Marshall's collection is large and full: his selections present a sufficient and suitable variety, and are taken from the productions of a great number of the best British and American authors, living and dead; the poetic selections are also made with judgment and taste: the dialogues we do not like so well throughout, although a considerable number of them are very fine. Altogether the book is exceedingly well got up, and cannot fail to be acceptable to teachers of elocution.

History of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. *By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings.* History of Josephine. *By John S. C. Abbott. With Engravings.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff St.

These are the titles of two additional volumes of the Historical Series from the pen of the brothers Abbott. This species of historic painting, not with the pencil, but with the pen of flowing prose, while calculated to interest readers of every age, is particularly attractive to the young, and peculiarly fitted to win them to a more extended and connected study of history. Both these volumes, and especially the latter, are deeply interesting. Yet, while we admire the skilful conduct, and acknowledge the deep interest, of these narratives, we are bound to object to the injudicious selection, in several instances, of the characters portrayed: one or two are of very questionable worth, and a few of them, e. g. Madame Roland, and Cleopatra, positively infamous. And although the manner in which such writers as the brothers Abbott cannot but treat such subjects, may divest them, in a great measure, of their pernicious influence, we are constrained to say that mere historic interest does not justify the exhibition of *such* full-length portraits to our families, and to recommend that, in their place, some of those pure and exalted characters which, thanks to the Gospel, history does afford, be selected and held up as examples worthy of imitation.

COSMOS: A SKETCH OF A PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIVERSE. *By Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from the German, by E. C. Otté. Vol. III.* NEW YORK: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff St. 1851.

WE have already, in a former number, given an extended notice of the first two volumes of this great work, and it is unnecessary here to repeat commendations which are, at all events, needless. The volume before us exhibits the same vastness of knowledge, and power of representation, that characterized its predecessors. In the department of science of which it treats, and in which it so brilliantly generalizes from researches of enormous extent, Cosmos is the great work of the age; no man of liberal education and scientific pursuits can do without it.

LONDON LABOR AND LONDON POOR. *By Henry Mayhew. With Daguerreotype Engravings, taken by Beard.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Pulishers. 82 Cliff St.

WE have received numbers eight and nine of this valuable and interesting publication, for an extended notice of which we refer to our last number. The two livraisons before us are still concerned mainly with the street-folk,—itinerant venders of sundry commodities. The work continues to attract, as it deserves, much attention, and excites a deep interest in the general subject which it presents.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE continues to sustain its high character, and to maintain its hold upon public favor. The number for August contains an extended account of the childhood and youth of Napoleon Bonaparte, from the pen of John S. C. Abbott, with engravings of his Birthhouse: the home of his childhood: Napoleon at Brienne: The Snow-fort: Lieutenant Bonaparte: the Water-excursion. The remaining pages present the usual variety of useful and light reading.

POPULAR AMUSEMENTS: *A Discourse delivered in the Evangelical Luth. Church, Winchester, Va., on the afternoon of Whit-sunday, June 8th*, 1851. *By* REV. CHAS. PORTERFIELD KRAUTH, A. M.

THIS Discourse is a "Tract for the times" most certainly. It deals most plainly, and most faithfully with several of the prevailing forms of fashionable folly, laying the axe, of keen and glittering edge, at the root of the tree, and consuming it wholly in the fire of a virtuous yet loving indignation. Although it has been very well said, that religion goes from the internal to the external, yet it is certainly no less true that the external life must be conformed to the internal. Religion, therefore, must influence and regulate social life as well as the life of the individual. If there is, then, anything in social life that will not bear the test of Christian principle it must, inevitably, fall before the onward march of Christianity.

It was the Preacher's object to show, that *dancing, the theatre, the circus*, etc. are inconsistent with Christian purity and public morals. This conclusion is certainly by no means a novel one, as the author very clearly intimates where he gives the judgment of the early Christian church, of the Re-

formers &c. in opposition to it. He might have quoted the authority of his favorite Chrysostom, whether his celebrated invective against the Empress Eudoxia, "Herodias again dances — again demands the head of John," is correctly reported or not.

But we cannot pretend to enter into an analysis of this sermon, and must content ourselves with saying, that whilst it bears ample evidence to the elegant scholarship and sound theology of its author, it exhibits him much more fully as the effective pulpit orator and earnest and faithful pastor.— However much such a man may shock the prejudices and interfere with the pleasures of many whom he addresses, they cannot fail to do justice to his honesty of purpose, and to reciprocate that love and affection which breathe in every word and animate every sentence.

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION: *An Address by the* REV. J. SEISS, A. M., *Delivered in the Hall of the Alleghany County Academy, at the Annual Examination, on the evening of July* 15, 1851. Cumberland: C. W. White. 1851.

SOME very good thoughts are here presented in very appropriate language. The inculcation of such sentiments in regard to education cannot but have a favorable influence upon a community, and greatly aid in that work, the importance of which the Address is designed to inculcate. Mental cultivation, above all, the cultivation of the heart, is the only remedy for that sensualism which so disgusts when presented in the lower and more grovelling forms of vice. The following passage at once defines Mr. Seiss' position as regards education, and gives a very fair specimen of his style:

"True religion and true education are God's right hand and left. We call the one divine, and the other is not human. They are the two views whose ends join, and which determine the connection and correspondence between the Almighty Creator and His moral universe. The Great Eternal is the Author of them both. For as I once said in this selfsame spot, next after creation, God's highest position is that of a *teacher*. His school-room is immensity. The broad night is the blackboard, on which his own fingers have written out, in letters of light, lessons for our learning. He has given his Spirit for the preparation and explanation of a common schoolbook for mankind, which shall not grow obsolete in the waste of generations, nor even be superseded by the revelations of eternity." p. 7.

THE LUTHERAN ALMANAC for 1852 has just made its appearance. An examination of it prepares us to recommend it strongly as adapted to answer the ordinary purposes of the best Calendars. It has much instructive matter, in the religious department, specially interesting to the membership of the Lutheran church. The farmer and the horticulturist have rich contributions, bearing upon their favorite interests. A large amount of statistical matter, bearing especially upon the Lutheran Church and its institutions, is contained in it. The Clerical register, showing the number of ministers in the United States, to be 844, is itself highly valuable, and is worth more than the price of the Almanac. We hope for it and predict a rapid and extensive sale.

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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XI.

JANUARY, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

A PLEA FOR HOME EDUCATION AND FAMILY RELIGION.

By Rev. H. L. Baugher, D. D., President of Pa. College, Gettysburg.

What a charm in the word home! What images of loved ones does it bring before us! How sweet their smiles, joyous their beaming eyes, and tender the accents of love which they utter. What scenes, that are past on life's busy stage, does this magic word bring before the mind; scenes joyous and grievous, all instructive, and all prescient of the future! What charming fireside evenings; the affectionate conversation, the song of praise, the prayer and the fervent good-night! The Sabbath with its sacred stillness, the book of books, the house of God, the lessons of wisdom, the secret meditation, the thanksgivings and supplications for mercy. But home is losing its charms. The wisdom of the moderns is changing the meaning of terms, and destroying the blessed associations of the past. The hearth with its cheerful fire, has given place to the furnace, family instruction to the school, and the religion of the house to the religion of the church. Socialism and communism have imprudently forced their way into the sacred courts of the family, and have taken from the family altar, the sacrifices which God had commanded the priest of the family to offer, and have burned them with strange fire.—We desire a return from this modern heathenism to the purity and efficiency of God's own institutions.

I. *We inquire what the family is, its origin and design.* We are persuaded that much of the social, civil and religious

evil which abounds in the world, is referable to a want of knowledge on this subject. The family is composed of parents and children and servants, under the control of one who is the head of the family. The original constitution contemplated two parents only, viz: husband and wife, as opposed to polygamy and concubinage. "From the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Thus, the language of the Bible, on the one hand, condemns the having more than one husband and one wife, and, on the other, a separation of the parties, except for a single cause, viz: fornication, which is referred to in another place.

The family and the relations which grow out of it, we thus perceive, are the creation of God. "It is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him an helpmeet for him." This is the origin of civil society, of the church, and of civilization. Out of this simple constitution have grown vast empires and republics. This has been the nursery of patriots, warriors, statesmen and christians. Here there is wielded a power, in forming the character, in disciplining and directing the affections and the intellect, which gives a name to the country and the age in which we live. This power has been exerted for social, national and spiritual welfare and wo. A family properly constituted, by which is meant, conducted in accordance with the design of its founder, is one of the most powerful agents for good known to man. Whilst the family perverted and abused, the end of its creation unattained and frustrated, is equally powerful for evil.

What is the design of the family? Is it merely to gratify the lower nature of man, and to people the earth? Then might the earth be filled with moral monsters; beings possessed of a high degree of intelligence, but with appetites and propensities unrestrained, and differing from the irrational animals only in their superior ability to injure. The family relation, as every other which God has created, is designed to promote the highest happiness of man. Here there is respect to the body and the soul, the social, intellectual and moral nature of man, the life that now is and that which is to come. The depravity of man, whilst it has manifestly frustrated the original purpose of God in reference to him, as expressed in his word, yet has not destroyed his desire to make him happy, but has furnished renewed evidences of his willingness to bless, and multiplied displays of his mercy. The family re-

lation, like every other perverted by the wickedness of man, God, in infinite wisdom and goodness, employs, when properly used, to counteract the evils of the fall, and to restore man to his original purity. As it was the design of God that this earth should be peopled, and the family relation was instituted in subserviency to this end, it is manifest that he intended the people to be intelligent and virtuous. What arrangement could have been instituted, better calculated to secure this end, than that of the family? We understand by a character intelligent and virtuous, the body, the intellect and morals, developed as far as their powers, under the circumstances, will permit. The family furnishes the arrangement best adapted to secure this end. For, 1st. The number is never so great that it cannot be easily controlled. The average of families does not exceed five. Seldom does the number of any one family exceed twelve. Here then is a number so small as to be easily controlled and moulded, at the will of the guiding hand. 2. The relation is such, that the deepest interest is felt by the parents for the children. Here is natural affection, so strong as to surpass, immeasurably, every other feeling of the soul. The helplessness and dependence of children, also constitutes a claim upon the attention, and awakens an interest not to be repressed. Intelligent and pious teachers will doubtless feel deeply interested in the mental and moral advancement of their pupils, and they will be faithful, but they cannot and do not feel as parents. 3. The authority of parents is superior in character and degree to that of others. It embodies, not only, superiority of age and experience, but also the influence of the parent. There may be natural reverence, by which is meant the feeling of the offspring for the parent, independently of the adventitious circumstances of dependence, on the part of the child, and protection and support, on the part of the parent. With this natural feeling, there is the constant looking up to the parent for instruction, advice, the supply of physical wants, and countless little joys and sorrows, (in all which there is a constant reference to parents) and all of which constitute an amount of influence not to be equalled in any other position. 4. Besides all this, children are connected with parents at such an age, and for such a length of time, that impressions are made most powerful and permanent. Children are imitative in a high degree. God has created them thus (for wise purposes). Thus they acquire the knowledge of sounds and words. Thus not only are the tones of affection and passion acquired, but the affection and passion themselves are developed and deepened. The influence

of the imitative principle is strikingly illustrated in every family. The sentiments, language, expression of countenance, and the very form of passion, often displayed by the parent, are copied by the child, under the influence of the authority and reverence which the parent has inspired. We cannot, therefore, conceive of a condition of things better adapted to the highest intellectual and moral development of man, than that of the family.

That God has constituted the family relation, and that its tendency is to promote the highest enjoyment of man, in the way indicated, and that it has been successfully employed for the attainment of this end, all give undoubted evidence that God intended that it should subserve these high and holy purposes. The fact that this end is not attained, in many families, and that the relationship of parents and children becomes a curse and not a blessing, is no objection to the tendency of the family relation and the intention of God in its creation.—The blessing of God man often converts into a curse, and makes even the gift of the Savior a cause for his increased condemnation.

II. We proceed, then, to inquire into the proper mode of controlling the family relationship, so that the will of God in it may be performed. How should the family be conducted? The end to be aimed at is the glory of God and the good of man. The means are physical, intellectual and moral education. By this we mean the pursuing of such a course as to develop and direct aright the physical, intellectual and moral powers of man. The rule, which directs us, is the will of God expressed in the constitution of our nature, and revealed in his most holy word. Here we will pause for one moment and inquire, whether those embraced in the affections of the married relation ever consider why God has placed them in families? Why are their affections, in a great degree, circumscribed within the narrow circle of the household? Why are they matured in mind and body, and experience, when their children are infants? Is the family relation only an association, a partnership for the purpose of ministering more effectually to the animal appetites of all who belong to it? or has God some great and good purpose to accomplish, through the agency of the family? Leaving the answers to these interrogatories to be made by the reader, we proceed to state the duties which devolve upon parents, in the interesting relation which they sustain to their children.

1. Parents should bring their children to Christ. "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," is the

language of our blessed Lord, when the disciples would exclude them from his presence, as of little importance, and when he would show the estimate in which he held them, he added, "for of such is the kingdom of Heaven." Who shall bring the children to Christ, strangers or parents? This question is answered as soon as it is put. It is the natural and imperative duty of parents to bring their children to Christ, and no influence should be so great as to prevent, and no power so formidable as to deter them. This is effected, 1. By solemnly consecrating them to the Lord in the rite of baptism. This is a public expression, on the part of parents, of their desire and earnest prayer, that their children may become the children of Christ, and also a promise, on their part, to employ every scriptural means to secure this end. 2. By exhibiting an example of christian character and conduct in the family circle. Children learn very rapidly by imitation. Indeed the most of their knowledge, and much of their character, during the first seven years of their existence, is acquired in this way. The look, the word, the sentiment, the action, and the spirit influencing all, are drawn from those with whom they associate. It is a first duty of parents to secure for their children a christian atmosphere and a christian influence at home. This furnishes an additional motive to them to bring their own hearts and lives completely under the influence of the Bible, so that their temper and language, and conduct may be such as to lead their children to Christ. Is it to be thought wonderful that children are profane, or vulgar, or passionate, or violators of the Sabbath, or unkind, when parents in whom they have unlimited confidence, teach these things by their example? The wonder often is, that so many children grow up to respectability and virtue, under the pernicious influences amid which they have been reared. 3. By religious instruction.—This should be given by parents themselves. For a large majority of parents belonging to the church, there is no apology for the neglect of this duty. There are sufficient leisure, intelligence and wealth, to secure books, and whatever other appliances may be needed. Next in importance to the salvation of their own souls, is that of their children. If they do not feel this, it is their sin, and it will be their condemnation. The Creator of all things, in accordance with their own desire and prayer, has placed under their guardianship, a young immortal, a miniature picture of themselves, beautifully and wonderfully formed. There is a gush of thrilling emotions in the hearts of those parents. New feelings, new joys and new sorrows spring up there. How carefully the body is

guarded. How it is fed to repletion, and adorned in the most beautiful garments. This attention is not diminished as this immortal increases in years. Fashion finishes what parental fondness commenced. Why so much attention to the adornment of the body, and so little to the soul? Why does the earthly and perishable engross so much time, whilst the immortal is neglected? Many reasons might be assigned. It is sufficient to say, that the soul and eternity are not appreciated, and it is much easier to adorn the body than to instruct the soul. Here, perhaps, we have the true reason of parental neglect, viz: the labor and self-denial necessary to bring children to Christ. The duty, however, remains, and no apology short of absolute inability, will be sufficient to remove the responsibility. If the inquiry be made, how shall religious instruction be imparted to children? the reply is, through the medium of books, and by the living voice. There should be daily instruction, as there are daily wants and difficulties.—The instruction should be so frequent as to furnish an antidote to a too great attention to secular business. The tendency of the human mind is to become more and more secular, so that sacred thoughts and sentiments are crowded out by the world. There should, therefore, be so much religious instruction, every day, as to correct this tendency, and fill the mind with preponderating divine influences. The three daily meals, which are ordinarily taken, furnish convenient occasions for religious instruction to the household. The most busy season could afford one half hour at each meal, for the service of the Lord. A library of religious books should be furnished, so that the mind could be stored with useful knowledge. It is very certain that money expended in this way, is the best investment that can be made for children. He who hesitates on this subject, hesitates in reference to the highest interests of the household. The religious instruction of the family implies that the children be indoctrinated in the truths of the Bible. The whole plan of salvation, in its connection, should be communicated to them, by the head of the family. Upon him does the duty rest, and he ought to discharge it. The catechism of the church should be faithfully taught and explained at home, and divine truth, in direct appeals to the conscience, should be pressed upon every member of the family. The Sabbath should be sacredly employed in this work. Here we have already one seventh portion of our time, set apart by God for this very purpose. On this day all sacred influences should be invoked, and as much as possible of Heaven be brought down to earth. How much good may be effected in this way,

it is not easy to calculate; how much to children, how much to parents. For whilst parents are giving instruction to the household, they themselves are taught, on the scripturally recognized principle, that he who waters others, shall himself also be watered. The notion which prevails, too extensively, in this country, and which is fostered and extended by the influence of foreigners, that the Lord's day was designed as a day of recreation and rest from labor only, is destructive of much good. In accordance with this view, parents teach their children to desecrate the Sabbath, by placing before them their own example. In the city, this desecration is more apparent than in the country, for an obvious reason. The defence set up for this sin is, that there is no time for recreation during the week, and that there is need for relaxation on the Sabbath, both for body and mind. Hence there are water parties, and excursions into the country, and walks through the city, and pleasurings of various kinds. There is, therefore, no time for the religious instruction of the children, on that sacred day, and there is no time in the week, for the same reason. The week is too full of business, and the Sabbath is too necessary for rest, to justify the employment of it in the religious instruction of children. This defence would have some force, if it were necessary to employ every day of the week in business. If it be necessary to recreate, why not take one day from the labor of the week, rather than the only day which the Lord claims as his own? The great sin of our country, and the great sin of the church, is an inordinate desire of wealth. The world is carried into the family, and from the family into the church. We are not satisfied with that for which our Savior has taught us to pray, "give us this day our daily bread." We are not satisfied with a competency, we desire wealth and luxury, and to secure these, we sacrifice our own and the eternal interests of our children. Surely God, who controls the seasons, and employs as his servants winds and waves, pestilence, drought and the various forms of disease with which man is visited, will not permit his servants to want, who devote a portion of every day, and the whole of the Sabbath, in the religious training of their children. On the contrary, all the promises, and all history and experience, furnish the assurance that families devoted to the service of God, will be richly blessed by him.

Many parents might plead ignorance, as an excuse for the neglect of this duty, if it were pressed upon their consciences. There is truly a lamentable degree of ignorance among men, and especially, ignorance of divine things, and ignorance of

parental duties, and ignorance of almost every thing which it is important for them to know. This ignorance, however, is for the most part, voluntary. Men might learn if they would. The knowledge necessary to be imparted to the household, is quite as important as the knowledge of a trade, or profession. Men can inform themselves. They can purchase books and read them. The truth is, there is no interest felt on the subject adequate to its importance, and, therefore, it is neglected. Much of the evil complained of, is referable to the ministry.—The importance of this subject, both to church and state, is not held up before the people, in the sacred desk. The reasonableness of the duty, and its influence upon the household, are not exhibited. Sometimes there is not only silence on this whole subject, but it is frowned down, both by precept and example. When such is the tendency of the minds of the ministry, what can we expect from the people?

Where the responsibility of this duty is felt, the whole burden of it is sometimes attempted to be thrown upon the mother, and with a species of mock admiration, the influence of mothers is extolled to the skies. The gentleness and goodness, and faith and patience of the mother, by a species of refined cruelty, are made the occasion of imposing upon her duties, additional to those which she is fulfilling, already too heavy to be borne, until she sinks, an unknown martyr, in a martyr's grave, a victim to domestic tyranny. Who, that has any experience in the domestic life, does not know how numerous and how varied are the cares and anxieties of the mother.—For the head of the family then to attempt to throw upon her the responsibility of the religious education of the household, is an intolerable imposition. Intelligence, and authority, and discipline belong to the head of the household. He has no right to delegate that authority to another, unless it is absolutely necessary. The sphere of both is distinctly defined, by the position in which they are placed, and the peculiar circumstances by which they are surrounded, in the family. The mother first impresses the infant mind, soon to pass over into the hands of the father, to be directed by him in the way everlasting. If the father pleads the pressing duties of his profession or trade, the mother, with equal or greater force, can plead the duties of the household. If it be said that the mother is, from her position, more constantly in the society of the children, the reply comes with equal force, that the father can abstract sufficient time from the business and pleasures of life to devote to the training of his household. We are free to admit that, very often, the moral and intellectual superiority is on the

side of what the ignorant call the weaker vessel, and then, the mother, by an equitable division of labor, might, with propriety, undertake the work of instruction alone. Notwithstanding all this, the responsibility rests where God has placed it, and no earthly arrangements can remove it. The father directs, teaches and disciplines, and the mother coöperates. Together they dedicate their children to the Lord, in the sacred baptismal rite, and, with them, enter anew into covenant relationship with their Savior. Together they pursue the journey of life, encountering its difficulties and rejoicing in their success, yet, always "the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Savior of the body."

If the correct view of the subject has been presented, and the principle be scriptural, that the religious instruction of the household devolves upon the parents, then are we prepared to determine the proper relative position of the S. School in the training of the young. We commence our remarks on this topic, by expressing our unqualified admiration of the enterprise, regarding it as one among the many off-shoots of Christianity, in this last age of the world, bringing glory to God in the highest, and good will to man. Many are the trophies of redeeming grace which have ascended, through this agency, from this state of trial, to the reward of the blessed. Many have been trained, in these schools of piety, for usefulness here and glory hereafter; and we trust that this agency will become more perfect and more wide-spread, until all who need its instruction, may sit under the trees of life which it plants, and eat and live forever. Whilst we feel that no eulogies would be too extravagant, in praise of this institution, we conceive that it does not *always occupy its proper place*, and that, too frequently, it *affords a sufficient apology to parents to neglect the duty which they owe to their children.* The obligation of parents themselves to teach their children, is paramount to the obligation which the parents owe to the S. School. If then, in any way, they come into conflict, and no proper adjustment can be made, then the weaker must yield to the stronger. Parents are the natural, divinely appointed religious teachers of their children, and no others can, with propriety, take their place. It may be said that S. School teachers very often, are better qualified to give instruction than the parents. Admit it, and yet you do not remove parental responsibility.—How will the parents know that their children will be better instructed abroad than at home. Who can teach with the

authority, the affection, the patience and fidelity of a parent? Who has so much at stake? Who feels so deeply interested? In a word, can any one, by any power of thought, place himself in the intensely interesting relation of the parent to his child? No, it is impossible. But it may be asserted with truth, that a large portion of the community is ignorant and vicious, the parents living in the neglect of their highest duties, whilst their children are growing up in vice and crime.—Here then, is the proper sphere of the S. School. Here, this institution becomes the good Samaritan, taking up the miserable beings in the streets and lanes, who had fallen among thieves and robbers, and pouring into their moral wounds the oil and wine of the gospel of Christ. Not unfrequently, this class of the community is entirely neglected, or if any should be led into the school, they are driven out by the cold reception with which they meet, or, by the conviction, which is soon fastened upon them, that it is a school for the rich and fashionable, and not for the poor. This occurs, not unfrequently, in our large cities, where there is such an inviting field for S. School operations. It is fashionable to have a S. School attached to every congregation. Volunteer teachers of both sexes present themselves, because there is something of romance connected with it. Emulation is speedily excited, among the young ladies and the young gentlemen, who shall be most active in this great moral enterprise, and back of it all is the element of sectarianism gathering into the school, not the needy and destitute, but the children of parents connected with other denominations. Thus we have the Sabbath School, which originated in pure benevolence, in compassion for the ignorant and the depraved, perverted from its appropriate vocation, and made the occasion of encouraging the spiritual indolence and indifference of parents, and the proselytism of the sectarian. We would not, by these remarks, be understood to discourage parents from sending their children to the S. School. Our design is to give the S. School its proper place among the benevolent operations of the age. If, for any reason, it be found proper for christian parents to send their children to the S. School, let them not neglect the duties which they owe their children at home. Let them see that the school is properly conducted under wise regulations, and taught by suitable teachers. Let them take part in its instruction and government. Why should the young only become teachers, who, themselves, need instruction; and those who possess knowledge and experience throw the responsibility from themselves upon others? If Sabbath Schools are deemed

necessary or useful in well established congregations, then let the congregation: pastor, elders and members, come together with their children, to teach and to be taught. I can conceive of a S. School of this sort, conducted upon scriptural principles, made subservient to the highest welfare of the people.—Thus in ancient times did our fathers, with their children, meet on the afternoon of the Lord's day, to be questioned on the truths of the sermon preached in the morning, and on the catechism of the church. Thus were difficulties explained, doubts removed, truth elicited, and the people built up in their most holy faith. Thus we can have a sociable meeting of the whole congregation, for the best of purposes, and subservient to the highest good of all who partake in it, and the unnatural divorce of parents and children be prevented.

What has been said of S. Schools is applicable, and with greater force, to other associations of a very questionable character. I refer to the associations which have grown up under the influence of the great temperance movement. Much as this extraordinary movement has benefited our country and the world, it has not been unattended with evil. It has obtained power by secret organizations, and with impudent face has stalked into the congregations of the Redeemer, and has claimed for itself a purity and influence which belongs only to the church. By means of the beneficiary element, it has exercised a discipline which it pronounces superior to that of the church, and thus, virtually, if not really, assumed a superiority over her. It has extended its influence so far as to enter the family circle, and take away children from their natural guardians, with the assurance that under its supervision they will be safe. Such arrogance, such monstrous impudence, has been encouraged by parents, and they have committed their children, for the time, to the kind of influence that is exercised in the division rooms. This, to many, has been the beginning of sorrows. Children have thus been introduced into a society, which may indeed have been temperate, so far as abstinence from intoxicating drinks is involved, but who were intemperate in that which is low and profane and wicked. Admitting what is very problematical, that one avenue to vice is closed by such an association, it cannot be denied that, in children of well regulated families, a dozen others are opened, quite as fearful in their consequences. Parents have become partakers in this evil, some from good motives, others because the novelty of the thing was attractive, and others from indifference to their children. Too often, parents are willing to delegate to others the responsibility of disciplining their children, because

they find it laborious and self-denying, and thus the child, cut loose from parental authority and influence in one direction, has the way opened to undervalue or disregard that authority in another. Displace the authority of the parent, in any particular, no matter what, and introduce that of another, and you have taken away already, the first stone from the foundation which sustains the government of the family. Send your child to school, and permit it to understand that, now it is responsible to the teacher, and not to yourself, and you weaken your own authority and that of the teacher. But do you enjoin submission and obedience to the teacher, as to yourself, and make the child responsible at home, for its conduct in school, and you confirm and establish the authority of both.—It seems to be unnecessary to dwell any longer on this topic, for the good sense of the community, where these associations exist, has already pronounced judgment upon them, whilst experience, that truthful yet severe teacher, has taught lessons which will not soon be forgotten. We are prepared to pronounce the same judgment upon all secret associations, societies and clubs, whether or not connected with literary institutions or benevolent enterprise, as fraught with danger to all connected with them. They loosen the restraints of parental influence, and open the way for licentiousness in every form. They separate the young man from the sacred precincts of the family circle, where all-hallowed influences are operating to soften the asperities of his nature, and to purify and elevate his affections; and they introduce him into the society of those who, like himself, are inexperienced, and who, too often, mistake the promptings of an insubordinate spirit for manliness, and the suggestions of passion for the inspiration of wisdom. They foster pride and self-sufficiency, and expel whatever of humility the teachings of the family may have awakened.—These are among the lesser evils of secret associations, formed even for ostensibly literary purposes. The seeds of infidelity, of intemperance and licentiousness are oftimes thus sown in secret, which germinate, strike their poisonous roots into every part of the system, and bear bitter fruits unto eternal destruction. There are parents and friends, at this very day, as they witness the alienated affections and blighted hopes of those they love, lamenting that they were ever seduced into the pestilential precincts of a secret society.

The proper education of the family lays the foundation for all future excellency in character and life. The history of the instruction and discipline of the family will be the key to the history of all its members. To these may we look back

as the foundation of that structure which, in after life, will be the admiration or sorrow of parents and friends. The family is the nursery of the republic, is the sentiment of a heathen philosopher, the truth of which we see daily illustrated. In the christian family there are fostered, and the children imbibe them early in life, sentiments of patriotism, love of country, admiration of her institutions, her past history, her present glory, and her future prospects. The discipline of the family, the subordination to law and order in it, prepares the young man to submit to the laws of his country. The modesty and humility taught at home, and exacted, prepare the mind for the practice of the same virtues abroad. The condemnation and punishment of vice in the family, is not only a direct condemnation of it, but prepares the household to expect the same consequences to attend vice everywhere. The sentiment which infidelity and fanaticism have promulgated, that there should be no family relation, and no parental authority, harmonises admirably with the other sentiment proceeding from the same source, that the foundations of our government should be broken up, for that civil government is but a figment of the imagination. We may lay it down as a settled truth, that civil and religious freedom cannot exist where christian families do not exist. Go to continental Europe, and inquire why civil and religious liberty do not exist there? The response will be, because there are so few christian families.—There is the nation, and there is the government, but you look in vain for the family. There is in France little or no family religion. Society, though professedly christian, seems to be constituted upon different principles from those which lie at the foundation of society here. The christian element is only the outside drapery which covers and conceals, with difficulty, the monstrous enactments within. It does not leave the church and enter the family, and influence the individual. The day is spent in business, by the great mass, and the evenings and holydays, and Sabbaths, away from home, in amusements.—The family, therefore, in its proper development, does not exist, and, therefore, the preparatory step has not yet been taken to secure permanent civil and religious freedom. In Germany, the same remarks are applicable, but in a more restricted sense. The evils of neglected family religion, and family discipline, are beginning to be deeply felt by her pious ministers and people. This feeling was powerfully expressed in Stuttgard, on their great *church-day*, when two thousand clergymen and laymen, from different parts of Germany, united in the declaration of the great want and the great value of family religion.

Once family religion was general, throughout the Fatherland, as it is yet practised in pious families; and we hope and pray, that there may speedily be a return to that spiritual religion which characterized the period of the reformers. Till then, will Germany look in vain for the freedom for which she sighs. Where God reigns in the family and in the church, there freedom will not long be absent. It is from this very element, in our own citizens, whether native born or naturalized, that we have reason to fear for our own freedom. Here the danger is licentiousness. This is fostered by the absence of parental instruction and parental restraint. Where there is no home attachment, there is nothing to bind the soul to the order and decorum and proprieties and affections of home. Hence the mobs and riots, in large towns and cities, and the same thing, on a diminished scale, practised in villages and in the country. The originators of all these excesses are boys who have had no religious home, who have enjoyed no religious instruction, and the sensibilities of whose natures, instead of being called into exercise, and properly directed, have been blunted by neglect, and hardened by crime. Here we find the materials out of which are formed the violators of law, in all its aspects, the candidates for houses of correction and penitentiaries, and the willing agents to follow any leader to deeds of darkness and death. But the evil is not confined to the fomenters of mobs and the off-scourings of society, it is found in the most refined and well educated families. It develops itself in young men, in their preparatory education, in the disregard of solemn pledges given, and in rebellion against the lawfully constituted authority. The very same spirit is displayed by young men in their professional studies. It is not difficult to ascertain who among them have been educated in the christian household, and who feel the restraints of home, when memory, the sweet soother of absent hours, brings the forms of loved ones and loved scenes, though far distant, fondly before the mind. The forms of loved ones are seen, their affectionate voices are heard speaking words of encouragement to that which is praiseworthy, and dissuading with all the eloquence of affection, from that which is evil. Not once, nor twice in the history of many a young man, have the associations of home, by the grace of God, restrained him from vice, and urged him forward in the path of virtue. We see then how intimately this subject is connected with the perpetuity of our existing civil institutions. It becomes us, therefore, as patriots, as lovers of liberty, in the largest sense of the term, to encourage family religion. The people, in this country, hold the reins of government; the peo-

ple make the laws and execute them; the government, then, will be as the people. Where God is honored in the family, he will be honored in the legislative halls, on the judicial bench, and in the assemblies of the people; and where he is honored he will confer honor. Our salvation, as a nation, is linked to the throne of the most High, and woe be to us, if by any course of negligence, or by overt acts of transgression, we sever the link and cut ourselves loose from God. It is fearful to contemplate the probabilities of such a catastrophe; and yet they are multiplying annually. They are witnessed in the indifference manifested by christian parents to instruct and discipline their families; in the influx of foreigners who have no fear of God before their eyes; in the inordinate desire for wealth and display, and the desecration of the Lord's day on our public works, and in our large cities and towns. These are unmistakable symptoms of the tendencies of things; and when these tendencies have gathered strength, and have become habitual, and, like a mighty flood, are rolling over the land, who may arrest their progress or weaken their power? Upon the christian ministry and the christian people of this land, rests the responsibility, under God, of averting such a direful calamity.

No less important is family religion to the welfare of the church and the highest interests of mankind. The church is the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth; the members of the church are the lights of the world, and the salt of the earth. The church is made up of individuals and families, for the children go with their parents, bound together in the covenant of the Lord. The character of the church, therefore, for intelligence and piety, is invariably determined by the character of the families and individuals constituting it. Our spiritual wants, as individuals and families, we consult at home in the closet, and before the family altar. God blesses the habitation of the just, and draws nigh unto them that draw nigh to him. When we are prepared, by proper religious exercises at home, and have consulted our individual wants, then, as social beings, we go to the house of God, into the great congregation, to unite our faith and hopes, our sympathies and affections, our prayers and praises, our tears and supplications. Thus, there is a reciprocal influence exerted upon the members of the church, and they are prepared to receive the word in the love of it, and to incorporate it into their mental and moral natures. The truth, thus received, makes an abiding impression. The sacraments, administered under such circumstances, are hallowing and saving in their influences. Thus the action

of the individual, the family and the congregation is reciprocal; the church is built up in her most holy faith, and sinners are saved. It is not difficult to perceive, from this statement, that all the influences which operate in the congregation, are brought from the family, and that all the influence excited in the congregation, in order to be profitable, must be carried home, and there be elaborated and improved. Hence we see that vital godliness cannot be perpetuated, or even exist in the church without the religion of the family. If it be extinct in the family, it will not exist in the congregation, and whilst under such circumstances, there will be a decent respect for the ordinances of God's house, there will be no reverence for God in the soul. Hence you may find large and flourishing congregations who will attend divine service once on the Lord's day, but the remainder of that day will be employed in worldly amusements and in sin. As the reverse of this, you may find heads of families in the house of God daily, for weeks, loud and earnest in their prayers, singing and shouting until late at night, to the neglect of all family religion, with perhaps less vital godliness than in the former. In both, the evil is the same, but the manifestation is different. In both there is a want of family religion and family discipline. In both, the church is the centre of attraction and affection. The church is to accomplish every thing, and the individual nothing. In both, the family and the individual are merged in the congregation, and the only individuality that is known is, the individuality of transgression. It may readily be perceived, how evils of this sort grow out of erroneous conceptions of the nature and office of the church, as well as proceed from the depravity of the human heart. Again, the church is perpetuated by the agency of the ministry, and the ministry grows up out of the church. If the church does not originate the ministry, then their origin is a mystery. How the church is dependent upon the family, in this respect, we proceed now to consider. Extraordinary calls to the gospel ministry, such as were addressed to the apostles, can no more be expected at the present day, than the gift of inspiration and the working of miracles. Our ministers must devote themselves to the work, from a sense of duty, persuaded that in it they can, in the highest degree, promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls.—Two classes of persons, thus far, in the history of the church, have sought this office, viz: those who were unable to educate themselves, and have obtained aid from others, and those who secured a sufficiency from home for this purpose and nothing more. Few of the rich, few of the noble of this world, have

been called. Seldom do you find the son of a rich man laboring to glorify God in the gospel ministry. The philosophy of this fact, although worthy of our serious consideration, we leave the reader to solve. The 19th chapter of Matthew from the 16th verse, will throw some light on this subject.

Where the family is properly instructed and controlled, the glory of God will be the prominent object of attention. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," will be inscribed upon the heart and upon the house. The children will not only be consecrated to the Lord in baptism, and instructed in the fundamental truths of the Bible, but there will also be constant and persevering efforts, by prayer and exhortation, to lead them to consecrate themselves to the Lord. The wants of the church and the world, will be the subject of conversation and prayer. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as in heaven," will be a daily petition in the closet and with the family. The cause of missions, education, tracts, bibles, and the various instrumentalities, which the benevolence of the age has originated, will be the subjects of prayer and coöperation. More than this, there will be specific efforts put forth, to direct the attention of the children to this subject, especially of those who are hopefully regenerated, and to show them that they belong to the Lord. Now, whilst such efforts may not always succeed in determining the will, in many cases it will appear the duty of the son to consecrate himself to the work of the ministry. Where this result does not follow, there will be such devotion to the interests of the church, such active christianity, such enlightened zeal in the service of the Lord, as to make the layman as useful as the clergyman. Such interest in the service of the Lord in the family, such instruction and such prayer cannot fail to be attended with the richest blessing.—Surely God is the hearer of prayer; surely he will bless the faithful use of the means of his own appointment; surely he will dwell by his spirit in the house of the righteous. Facts confirm these natural anticipations. Others may be led by the grace of God, and many are, to devote themselves to the work of the ministry, where the family is not thus constituted, but where such an arrangement as has been described, or that which approaches it, exists in the household, thence proceed some of our most faithful and efficient ministers and missionaries. The children of our ministers and most devoted laymen, go to form a large number of that band who are laboring mind and body for the salvation of men and the glory of God.

In proof of this same truth, the remarkable fact is presented to us, that the children of missionaries become missionaries in their turn, under the influence of the family training.

If we have formed correct conceptions of the nature and office of the family, then will we be able to see wherein the church or the congregation, or the house of God (for in the sense under consideration, they are often used as convertible terms,) interferes with the religion of the house. We place the individual first, then the household, then the congregation. In the exercise of faith they all belong to the church, used in its proper sense. It is manifest, however, that the individual interest comes first, for religion is a personal matter. The congregation, as such, feels no responsibility. Mankind, as a general term, realises no responsibility. Every soul must work out its own salvation, whilst God works in it to will and to do. Wherein consists the soul of a congregation, or the soul of mankind? It is nowhere to be found, except in the brain of a realist, the last of whom was buried during the great reformation. When it is said, therefore, that man is a concrete in the sense indicated, whether related to mankind or the congregation, it is clear that the conception is false. When the church is worshipped as the great ideal of excellency, and the house of worship or the congregation is identified with the church, and the religion of the family is neglected or abandoned for the religion of the church, then is the natural and scriptural relation between the head of the family and the household severed, and what God had joined together man has rudely put asunder. Hence we find that the family altar is broken down, and the altar in the church takes its place. The christian is no longer a priest in his own household; and although we are made kings and priests unto God, the priest in the church, at one altar, and by one operation, performs the services due at the altar of every household in the congregation. Who does not see that the independence of the house is invaded, and that the conservative influence of home and fireside, as well as their sanctity, is abandoned. Entertain the idea that the house in which we worship God as a congregation, is more sacred in itself than the closet in which we worship God in secret, or the room where the family assembles to praise and pray, and you open the way for the worship of sacred places. Conceive that God will hear you in the place of public worship rather than at home, and you confine to the church, God, who is everywhere, and who has promised to hear in all places where we call upon him. Put into the hands of the Episcopal priest, or Puritanic minister, the offerings which you your-

self should make to God, and you make him, and not Christ, your advocate with the Father. We must not thus make void the constitution of things under which we have been placed, by the christian dispensation, and return to the old Jewish services, which were too grievous to be borne. No; we will not without a struggle, abandon the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and return to the yoke of bondage. It is the fundamental idea of the worship of God, introduced by Christ himself, when he passed into the most holy place on high, through the rent vail of his flesh, that now, no longer at Jerusalem exclusively, nor in its gorgeous temple exclusively, but everywhere was God to be found and to be worshipped. The evidence of this truth was found in the mysterious vail separating the holy from the most holy place, rent from the top to the bottom. Its office had been performed, the priesthood was abolished, and now the temple of God is as wide as the earth, its pillars reach to the clouds and sustain that glorious canopy, the firmament, under which, as individuals and families, and congregations, we all, with devout hearts, and with the hope of acceptance, worship everywhere.

The religion of the house, and by consequence, that of the congregation, is injured from the side of enthusiasm and fanaticism. There is a great and proper lamentation over the low state of piety in the congregation. Sinners are not converted, and souls are not saved. Something must be done. We must have a protracted meeting. This is the unfailing panacea for sinking christianity. During the series of religious services which ensue, there is doubtless much good effected. The truth is presented with power. Souls give evidence of a change gratifying to both ministers and people. But the church in the house has been neglected. The father and the mother have been so long from home, at church, that the household has not been instructed, and now it is too late. The voice of prayer and praise are not heard around the family altar in the morning, because there is a sun-rise prayer meeting in the church. Thus services are crowded upon each other in the lecture room and church until, for the time, the church in the house is abandoned. The effect of such a course of procedure upon those accustomed to the religious services of the family, is highly detrimental to growth in grace, and disparages the value of family religion. Not unfrequently those who are loudest and longest in the church, regard family religion as cared for in the congregation, and therefore neglect it almost entirely, and especially on those days when there is worship in the church. Among these, not unfrequently are

found ministers of the gospel. Now it is in accordance with the laws of the human mind, and of the christian religion, as well as a matter of experience and observation, that the ends aimed at in preaching the gospel, whether the services succeed each other or not, during several days or weeks, are best attained when time is given for the natural religious duties of the closet and the family. From the church in the house, we proceed to the great congregation, with hearts prepared to receive the truth in the love of it. And when we return to the church in the house, under such circumstances, we are prepared with renewed relish and grateful hearts, to engage in its delightful services. The minister is not prepared to preach without the preparation of the closet, neither is the individual nor the family to hear without a like preparation. Thus from the house of God, in like manner, do we return to our homes, to digest and improve what we have heard and seen. Conducting the religious services of the family in this manner, we secure an amount of moral influence in the community, which prepares the irreligious to receive the truth with benefit. Thus the way is opened, by the grace of God, for those deep-seated heart-searching revivals of religion, whose effects do not pass away like the early cloud, but, like the protracted rain cloud, continue their life-giving influences for many days. For the return of such seasons, let us labor and pray, assured that the christian character is not the work of a day, and that genuine revivals of religion are the result of the blessing of God upon the appropriate and heart-felt prayers and religious efforts of the individual, the family and the congregation.

THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE BY THOMASIUS. (concluded.)

Translated from the German of Thomasius, by C. Philip Krauth.

THE second leading class of decisions by which the F. C. partly more fully explained the doctrine of the church, partly unfolded it more amply, refers to the difference between the Lutheran church and the Reformed; and this in regard to the three articles concerning the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, and predestination, in which they most differed. It is not our intention here, at this time, to trace this difference to its inmost source, or to write a history of the controversies on these points; the less, as we can easily show, without any extensive elucidation, that the determinations of the F. C., in

reference to the involved points, were the result of the contents of the older symbols.

The Augustan Confession, in regard to the Lord's Supper, in the 10th Art., runs thus: We teach concerning the Lord's Supper, that it is the true body and blood of Christ, truly present under the form of bread and wine, and is there dispensed and received. Therefore, the opposite is rejected.[1] The question presents itself, first, what is the import of this article, and how it was understood from the beginning, in the Lutheran church; Second, whether the elucidations of the F. C. correspond to this sense or not?

a) The first question would require no answer, if it had not been variously obscured by recent proceedings; for these words are so clear and decided, that there can be no doubt in regard to their meaning. If we would answer them, notwithstanding, we must first turn to Luther, for if Luther is not the author, the doctrine which is presented in this article is most properly his; then we will see, whether Melancthon intended them in Luther's sense, and finally, how they were understood in the public documents of our church till Luther's death.

1) What is true in general of our Luther in regard to his internal development, that he only by degrees extricated himself from the errors of the Romish church, and indeed always in the points and the degrees that the results of faith in the free grace of God, which was the soul of his call as a reformer, compelled, this is true likewise in regard to the Lord's Supper. His polemics were directed more immediately against the mass, which he opposed in the most decided manner, and against the withdrawal of the cup. Transubstantiation he did not immediately oppose, but already in 1519, he was led to doubt concerning it, and in the following year, he abandoned the scholastic distinctions between substance and accidence. Likewise, without them the essence of the Lord's Supper remained, Christ's true (natural) body and true blood in bread and wine;[2] to this he tenaciously adhered because the word compelled him. *Est autem meae sententiae ratio magna imprimis illa, quod verbis divinis non est ulla facienda vis.* And this tenacity is the more significant, because he felt himself tempted at that time, to give up the real presence of the body of Christ in the supper, for in that way he could most easily have knocked off the last support of the offering of the mass. He did not

[1] In the lat. text: De coena domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini; et improbant secus docentes.

[2] De Captiv. Bab. Walch 19, 34, 26.

overcome this temptation without great difficulty. This, I confess, he writes in 1524, if Carlstadt or any one else had, five years ago, convinced me that there is nothing but bread and wine in the supper, he would have done me a great service. I had a hard struggle, and twisted and turned, and would gladly have been released, because I saw that I could in this way give the papacy the hardest blow, (Puff) but I am bound and cannot escape: the text is too powerful, and cannot by words be diverted from its meaning.[1] We see the ground taken already, which Luther occupied in all future enquiries in regard to the supper. The text was too powerful: he perceives that in the words of the institution, and in the passages of the Epistle to the Corinthians, the enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ was promised to communicants, and indeed in a literal, and not figurative sense, the natural (that is actual) substantial body of the Lord. This binds his conscience, and permits him not to yield an inch, neither to gratify others, nor his own thoughts, which he himself indulged and others produced. *Sicut argumentis ejus (Carlstadii) non capior sed magis roboror, ita propria opinione non haesi in illo errore, licet fortiter fuerim tentatus. Certum est nostram sententiam esse veram, sive ego, sive illi omnes descierint.*[2] "No understanding is so diminutive, that it is not rather inclined to believe that there is nothing there but bread and wine, than that Christ's flesh and blood are concealed there; it is not necessary to have any special gift, every one can easily believe it; but a mystery is concerned in this case, which can as little be judged by reason as the exalted doctrine of the incarnation, but by the word alone."[3] Luther rests upon this in faith. "I see the naked, clear, powerful words of God, which force me to believe that Christ's body and blood are in the Sacrament." On this account he maintained so firmly through his whole life this view, even when he did not see clearly what this reception of Christ's body accomplished.—And this was certainly, at first, the case. Therefore, in his earlier writings (1519–1524) this point is less prominent, but occupies, as the objective prerequisite, the rear. What principally engaged him, was the question in regard to the relation of the Sacrament to faith, the blessing that it confers, and the condition on which it is efficacious. As faith was regarded by

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[1] Luther's letters by De Wette, 2: 577, and in the Heavenly Prophets. Erlg. Aus., Vol. 29, 244. From this it is clear that the accusation is groundless: that his exegesis was predetermined by his dogma.

[2] To Spalatin, 13 Jan., 1525. De Wette 2, 613.

[3] Against the Heavenly Prophets. Erl. Aus., 29: 216, 217.

him justly as the subjective condition, as the only means of obtaining the peace of God, he laid down the doctrine that faith is necessary to the Sacrament's efficacy, and that it depended on this. Faith, he says, in this connexion, constitutes the power of the Sacrament.[1] The direct object of faith is the word, the promise of grace, and this was, with him, the principal thing in the Sacrament. He discovers the essence of the ordinance in the testament of Christ, conceiving his body broken and his blood shed for us, and in the contained promise of forgiveness of sins. On these words of promise every thing depends. For truly Christ purchased for us once for all, the forgiveness of sins on the cross, but it is communicated to us in the holy supper, through the word, as in the gospel, where it is preached; therefore, whoever has a condemning conscience, he should go to the Lord's Supper and obtain comfort, not from bread and wine, not from the body and blood of Christ, but from the word, which presents to me, in the Sacrament, the body and blood of Christ, as shed for me."

On the other hand, he regarded the Sacrament at first, as a sign of the promise contained in the word, as a seal of the grace, of the forgiveness purchased by the blood of Christ for strengthening faith thereon. "This is," says Christ, "the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which was shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins;" as if he had said: Behold man, I say to you, and grant you forgiveness, with these words, of all your sins, and eternal life. And that you may be sure, and know that this promise is irrevocable, I will die upon it, and give my body and blood for it, and leave you both as a sign and seal, that you may think of me, as he says, as oft as ye do this, remember me.[2] But Luther does not at all understand these words in the sense in which the Reformed afterwards did, for whilst these consider bread and wine as signs of the invisible body and blood of Christ, given for us, Luther says: the (true) body and the (true) blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, are signs of the promise of the grace of God in Christ.[3] Later he abandoned entirely this

[1] Comp. Bd. 20. 182 fg. It is a great misunderstanding to suppose from this that Luther, in his earlier writings, denied the objectivity of the Lord's Supper.

[2] Sermon vom Neuen Testament 1520. Bd. 27, 147. Von der Babyl. Gefangenschaft (Walch 19, 41). From the same point of view the oldest formulæ for the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran church, were constructed, for example, the Brandenb. Nuremberg, of the year 1533.

[3] Max Gobel has proved this very thoroughly. Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, &c., in the Studien and Krit. Jahrg. 1843. Hft. 2, p. 333.

mode of representation, as it was used by his opponents in an entirely different sense, and distinguished as the two constituents of the Sacrament—word and element.

We see that it is the subjective side of the Lord's Supper, which Luther first developed. From this he returned to the objective side, of which his preconceptions were sound, and explained it more fully. Carlstadt and his party furnished occasion for this, who alike denied the real presence of Christ in the supper, and the assurance given in it of forgiveness of sins (Wider die himmlischen Propheten 1525;) a greater necessity resulted from the doctrine of Zwingli, and the controversy in which he had been engaged with him since 1526.[1]

The doctrine of Zwingli, as he has laid it down in his earlier and later writings, is simple and clear. In his view, the sacraments are mainly signs, by the reception of which the christian, on the one hand, binds himself to something, and on the other, receives the pledge of a spiritual blessing; they signify, but do not confer this.[2] Consistently applying this to the Lord's Supper, he says already in the articles 1523; "The mass is not a sacrifice, but a memorial of the sacrifice, and an assurance of redemption, which Christ has manifested to us;" again; *in Eucharistia nihil aliud est quam commemoratio*, and regards bread and wine as symbols of the body and blood of Christ, given for us, as a remembrance and display of the beneficia, which he purchased for us by his sufferings and death. *Quomodo repraesentat panis corpus?—Nimirum cum sic editur, revocatur in memoriam, Christum corpus suum percutientibus praebuisse pro nobis. Hoc pocu-*

Comp. Luther's work on the perversion of the mass year 1522, Vol. 28, 77, that we may be assured of this promise of Christ, and may confide in it without a doubt, he has given us the most noble and precious seal and pledge, his true body and blood under bread and wine, the very same with which he purchased the gift and promise of this most gracious treasure. Comp. the same p. 79, and in the sermons, p. 251.

[1] Sermon on the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, p. 251. Vol. 29, 329: In this Sacrament two things are to be known and to be preached. First, what is to be believed, objectum fidei; Second, the faith itself, or the use, how that it is properly to be used, when belief exists.

Thus far I have not said much about the first point, but the second merely, which is the best. But as it is opposed by many, and many preachers, who are considered eminent, are divided upon it; in addition, in foreign countries many hold that Christ's body and blood are not in the bread and wine; the circumstances require that it should be noticed.

[2] Thus likewise, still later: Credo imo scio, omnia sacramenta tam abesse ut gratiam conferant, ut ne adferant quidem aut dispensent. Qua in re forsan audacior tibi videri potero. Sed stat sententia. Nam gratia ut a spiritu div. fit aut datur, ita donum istud ad solum spiritum pervenit. Dux autem vel vehiculum spiritui non est necessarium, ipse enim est virtus, qua cuncta feruntur, non qui ferri opus habeat. Fidei ratio, in Niemeyer, p. 24.

lum est symbolum aut significabit vobis sanguinem illum meum pro vobis effusum. (Letter to Alber Opp. Zw. 3, 599.)—Just this, the beneficia Christi, the forgiveness of sin, is the essential, the objective, in his view, in the Lord's Supper; therefore, the instrument for the reception of it is faith, and the manner of the reception, the enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ, an act of man's spirit, a spiritual enjoyment (*spiritualiter edere*), that is, the believing contemplation and appropriation of that which the Redeemer has purchased for us; of course, the presence of Christ's body in the supper is not substantial, real; it is simply present to the contemplation of faith, but not *per essentiam et realiter*, is not actually and orally received, which is neither conceivable nor dignified.[1]

It appears clear, that according to this theory, there is no difference between the substance and the effect of the Lord's Supper, that it communicates nothing to the believing recipient, that he cannot without it receive by faith, and that an unbeliever cannot enjoy it. When in addition, Zwingli sometimes says, *quod in sacra coena verum corpus Christi adsit*, this is a mystifying expression, concealing his views, which he is compelled immediately to restrict and explain as above,[2] and indeed the speaking of a spiritual eating of the body of Christ is only an accommodation to the language of the Bible, but in his sense an inner contradiction; and he himself (Zwingli) thus explains it.[3] In a word, his representation of the Lord's Supper is purely subjective; "in the same degree in which it became subjective, the objective truth of it, Christ — disappeared more and more from his eyes. It may be our comfort, he thinks, that Christ's flesh will be at the right hand of God, till he comes again, to judge the world. Thus, Christ was to

[1] Edit me means, in me credit. Comp: the passages in the Ratio fidei and Expositio in Niem. 26, 27, 29, 47; further Opp. Zw. 4, 118: Panis est signum, res autem ipsa Christus, pro nobis traditus. Hujus rei panis symbolum est, quod sensui offertur, res autem ipsa menti praesens est.

[2] Fidei R. 26, 27.

[3] Comp. Alexander Schweizer, the doctrine of the Reformed church, Zurich 1847. Vol. 2, p. 650, 644: Zwingli admits only a spiritual reception of the body of Christ, and, when he speaks out plainly, only a spiritual reception of Christ in faith, for to eat a body spiritually, to take it literally, is a monstrous expression; an internal contradiction, p. 650. Comp. Schenkel, the essence of protestantism. Vol. 1, p. 494: If Zwingli would be honest, he could not in this (the expression edit me, means credit me,) conceal, that the not yet relinquished distinction of a spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ, was more or less an accommodation to the old usage, and did not adequately express his theological views. In fact, he expresses himself against Alber, why is it necessary to speak of the body of Christ as such? As such Christ is no food of the soul, but, that this body was slain for the salvation of men, in this the soul has nourishment, &c.

him the distant, and in another world, whilst he was enjoyed here."[1] This doctrine he founds upon a comparison of John 6, with the words of the institution, upon the figurative explanation of the latter, according to which ἐστι stands for means,[2] and upon the circumstance, that Christ's glorified body, locally present in heaven, is necessarily confined with his existence to one place. Therefore, he cannot, of course, be actually present in the Lord's Supper. *Testimonia scripturae tollunt corporis praesentiam alicubi quam in coelo.*[3] Whether Zwingli with this believed, that at the same time with the reception of the ordinance, an exalted spiritual union takes place with Christ, is not clear in the midst of his fluctuating expressions; in any event, I do not believe in the passages referring to it, that he intends any thing more than would take place by faith without it;[4] but this is not the point of controversy between him and Luther, for the latter asserts for faith, such a spiritual and personal fellowship with Christ, and in a much more explicit manner; the matter in dispute, was the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament.

This now came out very clearly. For in his controversy with the Swiss, Luther unfolded his doctrine on the Lord's Supper completely, and on the objective, as well as on the subjective side; by his doctrine we understand not every thing which in the course of the controversy he may have once said and used as an illustration, but the principal points, as he there laid them down,[5] and summed them up in the catechism in a confessional form.

To understand them fully, we must recollect Luther's general definitions in regard to the means of grace. Whilst, according to Zwingli, the Holy Ghost did not need a vehicle for his operations upon man, God, according to Luther, works upon our souls only through means, namely, through the

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[1] Schenkel loc. cit. 1, 497.

[2] A. Schweizer loc. cit. 635. Zw. 3, 255, 257: Ergo si fides sensum litteralem tolerare nequit, quia "caro non prodest quicquam" patet: erit hujus verbi hoc loco alia significatio; ponitur est pro significat.

[3] Comp. Schweizer loc. cit. 645:

The Reformed divines are not uniform in their declarations. Schweizer loc. cit. 644. Zwingli remains firm in this, that the res sacramenti is expressed figuratively in the words of the institution, and literally means, the entire Christ to be received in faith, or his atoning death." Schenkel loc. cit. 497. In the same degree in which the Lord's Supper became to Zwingli exclusively subjective, the objective truth of it, Christ, disappeared more entirely.

[5] Part. in the three works: Sermon vom Leib und Blut Christi 1526; that the words of Christ remain, "this is my body, 1527;" confession concerning the Lord's Supper, 1528.

spoken word and material signs, which he has ordained, viz: the sacraments.[1] The union of the internal and external, in the sacrament and power thereupon conditioned, rests upon the word, to which, as the divinely constituting institution is necessary, as well as the appended promise.[2] The essence of the sacraments consists in this, that they are divine acts.—"There are no works of man, or words, but God acts and works himself, with man.[3] It is Christ himself who is here personally present, and gives his body and his blood to the communicants; and from this the preceding, as well as the following representations in regard to the Lord's Supper, are explained. In both respects Luther persisted in opposition to his adversaries, in his well-founded conviction, but in both he unfolded them more fully. For in regard to the reality of the body and blood of Christ, he remained unshaken in this, that according to the clearest import of the words of institution, in the bread, the true substantial, or natural body, and the true blood of Christ were present; and indeed, the same body, which was once broken for us, the same blood which was once shed for our sins, and is now glorified, not in the same form or manner, but in the same essence and nature," 30, 187. The how may or may not be comprehended, the real presence of this body, is irresistibly made known by the word. Whether it is acceptable to reason or not, reason has nothing to say in opposition to the word; it stands upon the word; in this it has enough; as the words signify, so will I hold it (331.)

When the Swiss rejoined that it is contradictory that Christ's body is both in heaven and in the supper at the same time, Luther was not at all disconcerted by this apparent contradiction, but he reasoned against it; both must be true, because the scriptures asserted both; and this is chiefly his grand proceeding in this matter, and that he did not permit himself to be unsettled, either by reasons of human wisdom, or apparently contradictory passages of scripture. It cannot contradict itself; as Christ's body, according to it, is present in the Lord's Sup-

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[1] Vol. 29, 208. God deals with us in two ways. One outward, the other inward. Externally through the spoken word of the gospel, and by bodily signs, such as baptism and the sacrament. Internally by the Holy spirit and faith, with other gifts; but all this in such a way and order, that the external must precede, and the internal come through the external, and he has determined to impart to no man, the internal, except through the external. Comp. Larg. Cat. It must be external, that it may be apprehended and understood by the senses, and thus be conveyed to the heart. Sum, what God does and works in us, he determines to effect through such an outward process.

[2] L. W. 29, 237–230. The word does it. (Das Wort thuts.)

[3] Comp. Larg. Catech. in Art. on baptism.

per, it must be possible (30, 48 ff. 196, 292.) He refers, in regard to this, at once to divine power. As Christ here says, this is my body, he can really do it, and does it. But this did not satisfy. For the opponents directly referred to the session at the right hand of God, as if this was incompatible with the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and by this was Luther reluctantly driven to new explanations in regard to the possibility and the manner of the presence. He found it necessary to try to explain it from the person of Christ, and particularly from the nature of his glorified body. The explanation of the first point we will reserve for our next article; here it suffices us to remind that Luther would not admit of such a relation between the divine and the human, as separates one from the other. As Christ is a divine and human person, he is personally present every where, where he is, entire, undivided, not only as God, but also as man; particularly does this apply to the manner of his presence, in which he, as the exalted, dwells and works in his church. Space and place do not separate the natures in him, which neither death nor all the devils could dispart. "Wherever you locate God, you must likewise place the humanity; they cannot be parted or separated." His ascension, his sitting at the right hand of God, contain no contradiction, the last is rather an expression for entrance into glory, for the right hand of God is no particular place, but the almighty power of God, and this is every where, at the same time nowhere and incomprehensible, beyond and above all creatures, but where God's right hand is, there is the whole Christ. There is no ascent or descent for his humanity; it has, in consequence of the personal union with the godhead, part in that presence, which is neither to be considered an extension of substance, nor as a local filling of space, but as the divine, free, unrestrained by space, mode of being present.[1] Nevertheless, Luther does not intend to prove by this definition, his doctrine in regard to the supper, for his reason for this remains the word of God and the omnipotence of God, but he merely wished to repel the objection of opponents, that the two are contradictory; Christ's body in heaven and in the bread, and to prove the possibility of a presence of

[1] Loc. cit. Bd. 29, 289, 335. Bd. 30, 58, fs. 211, fs. 221. Luther struggles here; loc. cit. with language to express the deep view of a presence raised above space, and neither embraced in it, nor excluded from it. Comp. 30, 226, 227. Christ's humanity is deep in God. Nature, with its significant mysteries, sound, light, the play of the sun in the water, of the external world in the eye, were employed to illustrate this idea; for examp., 30, 66, 221, 273, in which he evidently had in his mind the definitions of the fathers, and particularly Hilarius.

the same in the supper. The manner in which he is present is not that general, but it is, so to speak, a more concentrated, corporeal form of it; a real presence of the flesh and blood in bread and wine, by the power of the word, and brought about by the word, for the sacramental enjoyment.[1] The relation of the heavenly to the earthly element, which is the vehicle of it, must then be understood as a real penetration, an actual immanence. The one is bound upon the other objectively, in a supernatural way; but this way can neither be considered inclusion, nor circumscription, nor at all sensual. We are not so stupid as to believe that Christ's body is in the bread in a gross, visible manner, like bread in a basket, or wine in a cup, but we just believe that his body is there, according to the plain meaning of his words. That the fathers and we sometimes thus speak, Christ's body is in the bread, happens simply thus, that our faith desires to confess that Christ's body is present; otherwise, we might well endure, that it should be said, he is in the bread, he is the bread, he is the present bread, or in any other way. We will not strive about words; but that the signification may remain, that it is not mere bread that we eat in the Lord's Supper, but the body of Christ.[2]— The how is a mystery for faith. How this takes place, or how he is in the bread, we do not know, and will not know it, we

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[1] Comp. Bd. 29. (Sermon on the body and blood of Christ) 338, 343. Bd. 30, that the words, 69, 70: although Christ is everywhere present, yet he is in the Lord's Supper in another way. It is not the same thing when God is present, and when he is present to thee; then is he present to thee, when he adds his word and binds himself to it, and says: Here thou shalt find me.— And although Christ's humanity is at the right hand of God, and now in all and over all things, you will not be able to lay hold of him, though he is in your bread, unless he fastens himself upon you, and blesses you with a special feast by his word, which he does in the supper, and says: This is my body. Comp. Great Conf. the same 211 ff. the well known distinction of three-fold method of the bodily presence of Christ (circumscriptive, definitive, repletive.) This, in itself proper distinction, does not appear clearly developed in the cited passage, and is not properly necessary for the dogma, as Luther everywhere, when he presents it in a confessional form, founds it upon the words of the institution.

[2] That the words, &c., Bd. 30, 66. How remote Luther is from every gross conception, appears from the frequently recurring expression, that Christ's flesh is vital and life-giving; further, that Christ is imparted always entire, and not in pieces; that he gives himself; (29, 335); further, from 30, 200, 210. part. 218, the image of the crystal, 130. When he, notwithstanding, expresses himself according to his manner, more harshly, when he says once, "the body of Christ is distributed and chewed with the teeth," this, although wrong, is to be explained from the passages quoted above, and particularly that he is here particularly aiming very strongly to express the difference between him and the Swiss, The quoted words are in the instruction which he sends to Melancthon at Cassel 1535. Good remarks in Löscher, Hist. mot. 1, 248.

must believe God's word, and not prescribe metes and bounds to him.

The further necessary result of the decisions thus far presented is, that in the Lord's Supper, Christ's body and blood are orally received, and indeed, by every communicant, not excepting the unworthy. The first results from the res sacramenti; for if this is the real body of the Lord glorified and spiritualized, the reception of it cannot be an act of the human soul, and the organ cannot be faith, but the organ must be that, which likewise receives the visible elements, to which the super-sensual is united in consequence of the divine institution, the mouth; consequently the reception must be oral, a corporeal eating of the body of Christ (*manducatio oralis*). It is known that this expression of Luther gave his opponents occasion to charge him with teaching a Capernaitic eating; but he treated it as a mere suspicion; he defined this *esus oralis* more particularly, although orally, yet in a heavenly manner, he says expressly: "Now it is impossible that the flesh of Christ should be divided, separated, torn, spoiled or corrupted, for it is a holy, divine, incorruptible flesh;" he guards carefully against grossly sensual representations. And this was a matter of course, from the above. Not less clear was it, that the bodily reception does not exclude the spiritual, that is, the believing appropriation of that which the words of the sacrament promise; much more, just on this depends the blessing of the ordinance; but not at all is the last the condition for the first, and cannot indeed be, because Christ's body and blood are present in the sacrament, not through the power of our faith, but independently of it, and the reception is by the mouth, and not by faith. For this reason, unbelievers receive it, but, it must be noticed, to condemnation (Vol. 30, 85 fs.) It is easy to perceive, how these two explanations form the necessary results of Luther's doctrines; they are the scriptural consequence, and at the same time, the characteristic distinction of his conception in opposition to the Swiss. We will now turn our attention to the subjective side, particularly to the question concerning the benefits of the Lord's Supper, for in this respect we observe an advance in Luther. It was one of the strongest arguments of his opponents, that they could not see what was the benefit of receiving the body and blood. To this Luther answered at once, in his intrepid manner; and if it is not known, that is nothing to the point; it is enough, that the word tells us what we receive in the sacrament; but, he proceeds, it tells us plainly enough, the blessing. It lies in the "given for you, shed for you;" it is the special appropria-

tion of forgiveness of sins, the application of it to the individual. And this he receives no longer in the sense given above, according to which, it is the word which communicates it, but the reception of the body itself, exhibits to us the forgiveness testified in the word, and procures us life; the first, because it was given for us, the other, whilst not being without the divine life, it is a spiritual, life-giving food. For the same reason, the sacrament effects, at the same time, an increase of faith, and newly animates love; in other words, it is Christ himself that forgives us our sins in the sacrament, and strengthens faith."[1] This effect it has nevertheless, only then, where, in addition to the bodily eating with the mouth, there is likewise a spiritual, with the heart, only for him who believes the word of promise, which Luther very properly would not permit to be detached from the sacrament, and thus he returns again to this, that it is, on the one hand, the word, and on the other, faith, which conditions the blessing. "The bodily eating profits, on account of the spiritual, that is, faith, which receives the words into the heart, and eats spiritually what the mouth does bodily (30, 85, 86)." As this spiritual eating, which has its object in the word, and the special appropriation of the death of Christ, which is thus imparted, takes place beyond the sacrament, the question still recurred in regard to the specific blessing. If no other fruit could be assigned, there did not seem to be a sufficient reason for insisting upon the reality of Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament. Both old and new opponents have sufficiently insisted upon this. But Luther was not the man to have his work unfinished; he is courageous enough to unfold the entire results of his whole doctrine, founded in the scriptures; and that he does in the statement, that the reception of the body of Christ produces the physical transformation, yea, the glorification of the entire personality of the believer. God, says he in the essay that these words, &c., God gives the word for the soul, and the work (action) for the body, that both may be saved and receive one grace in two forms, to each what is appropriate; the heart cannot eat it bodily, and the mouth cannot eat it spiritually; God equalizes it, so that the mouth eats physically for the

[1] Loc. cit, 29, 345, 347. Those who go to the Lord's Supper, must believe and be assured, not only that Christ's body and blood are received by them, but they are there dispensed, and become their's. Likewise, every one should know these words; "that is, &c., there my Lord gave me his body and blood in bread and wine, that I might eat and drink, and that they might be mine, so that I might be assured of forgiveness, and that I might be free from death and hell, have eternal life, and be a child of God and an heir of heaven. Therefore do I go to the sacrament to seek this."

heart, and the heart eats spiritually for the mouth, and both are satisfied and rendered blessed by one food. The body, it is true, does not comprehend this, but the soul knows well, that the body must live eternally, because it receives an eternal food, which will not permit it to corrupt, or decay in the grave or dust. Therefore, Zwingli should not have concluded, if Christ's flesh is eaten there would nothing come of it but flesh, but there would be nothing but spirit. For it is a spiritual flesh, and cannot be changed, but changes and gives the spirit to him who eats it. Because the poor body has the hope of the resurrection and of eternal life, it must become spiritual, and every thing that is carnal in it, must be digested and destroyed; this is done by this spiritual food, when it is eaten bodily, it digests and changes his flesh, and changes it so that it becomes spiritual, immortal and blessed, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 15, 44. This food is indeed so strong, it changes us into itself, and of fleshly, sinful, mortal men, makes us spiritual, holy, living men; as we already are, but yet hidden in faith and hope, it has not yet been revealed, but it will be in the last day.[1]

These are fundamental features of the Lord's Supper, as developed by Luther in the controversy with the Swiss.[2] He

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[1] It is incorruptible, as everything from the Spirit is, and is a food of an entirely different character from a corruptible. This food changes him who eats it, into itself, &c. Bd. 30, 93, 94, 101, 119. The prominence given to this, is the more remarkable, because then the significance of the material was not well understood.

[2] Comp. the summary statement at the close of his great confession: As I see that there is a continual increase of tumult and error, and there is no end of the stir and rage of Satan, that hereafter, during my life, or after my death, some may make use of me, and may cite my writings falsely, to strengthen their errors, as the sacrament and baptism fanatics begin to do: I will, therefore, with this work, confess before God and the whole world, my faith, in which I expect to remain till death: in this (God aid me in it,) to leave the world, and to appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and if any one after my death say: if Dr. Luther was now alive, he would teach this or the other thing differently, for he had not sufficiently considered it: against this I now say, as then, and then as now, that I have, by God's grace, considered all these articles very carefully, by the scriptures, and often deduced them from them, and would as certainly contend for them, as I have now for the sacrament of the altar. I am not drunk nor thoughtless: I know what I speak: feel well what it will be to me at the coming of Christ in the last day: therefore, no one need come to me with jokes or balderdash (Tending) I am in earnest: for I know to some extent, the grace of God, as opposed to Satan: can he pervert or perplex the word of God, what may he not do with mine or another's words? After this protestation, the blessed Luther, amongst other things, placed this: Thus I speak, he says, likewise, and confess the sacrament of the altar, that in it the body and blood of Christ are truly eaten and drunk, although the ministers who administered it, or those who received it, did not believe, or otherwise perverted it, for it does not depend upon the belief or unbelief of man, but on God's word and ordinance: unless they first

directly thereupon, expressed them in the clearest and most decided manner, divested of every thing polemical and doctrinal, in his catechisms (1528): The sacrament of the altar is the true body and blood of Christ, in bread and wine, for us christians to eat and drink, instituted by Christ himself; from this he could so little be moved at the Marburg conference, (he persevered, that the text was too strong) that he immediately afterwards expressed the opposition to the reformed in this form: that the true body and blood of Christ are present in the bread and wine, according to the words, this is, &c.; and are not merely bread and wine, as the opposite part maintains; and in this sense, the Marburg articles became the basis of the Augustana.[1]

With no less determination did he adhere to his conviction in the proceedings in regard to the Wittenberg Concordia (1536),[2] and placed it a year afterwards in the Schmalkald articles as confession of the Lutheran church, as follows: Concerning the sacrament of the altar, we hold, that bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, are the true body and blood of

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change these, and explain them otherwise, as the enemies of the sacrament now do, who have nothing but bread and wine; for they have not the words and the established ordinance; but have perverted and changed them according to their own fancy.

[1] Comp. Frick's German Seckendorf, p. 966, and Köllner's Symbolik, 1, 159, 167. The Schwabach articles (1529) are nothing but a remodeling of Marburg.

[2] The formula which was then subscribed by both sides, was: "We have heard how Martin Bucer has expressed his opinion, and that of the other preachers, who have come with him from the cities, concerning the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, viz: thus: They confess, according to the words of Irenæus, that in this sacrament there are two things, a heavenly and an earthly: according to this, they hold and teach, that with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly and actually present, are offered and received. And although they do not believe in transubstantiation, that is, a natural change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and do not hold, that the body and blood of Christ are locally included in the bread, that is, in space, or are otherwise permanently united, except in the use of the sacrament; yet, they admit, that by sacramental unity, the bread is the body of Christ, &c. For beyond the use, if the bread is laid aside, or is kept in sacramental boxes, or is carried about in a procession and shown, as is done in popish countries, they do not believe that Christ's body is present. Again, they hold that Christ instituted this sacrament, that it is powerful amongst christians, and that it does not depend on the worthiness or unworthiness of the administrator, or of him who receives it; for, as St. Paul says, that the unworthy partake in it; they hold that the body and blood of Christ are administered to the unworthy, if Christ's ordinance and command are observed. But such receive it to condemnation, as St. Paul says, for they misuse the holy sacrament, because they receive it without true repentance and faith; for it was instituted that it might testify, that to them the grace and mercies of Christ are granted, and that they are united to Christ, and washed in his blood, who truly repent and comfort themselves by faith in Christ.

Christ, and are not only given to and received by pious, but likewise by wicked christians. Art. 6, Rechb. 330. From this appears clearly, how the 10th article of the Augsburg Confession, with its *improbant secus docentes*, was understood by Luther and the Lutheran divines, who contributed, by their advice or approbation, to its production, and how it was understood by the princes who subscribed it. In no other sense could Luther take the words: the true body and blood of Christ are truly present under the form of bread and wine, &c., than in that in which he himself wrote them; for they are transferred literally from the Marburg articles, which he wrote, to the Augustana; in no other sense did the associate authors of the Schwabach articles, Jonas and Bugenhagen, Schnepf, Osiander and Brenz, as can be proved by original documents, understand them; in no other were they then understood generally, and they could not be otherwise understood, as it was known that they were not only opposed to the Romish, but likewise to the Swiss doctrine.[1] If Melancthon entertained a different view, this amounts to nothing; but he entertained the Lutheran.

This may be shown briefly. Melancthon, likewise, emancipated himself from the doctrine of transubstantiation, without on this account denying the reality of Christ's body, and the reception of it. *Equidem*, he writes in the year 1520, *sententiam de transubstantiatione haud gravatim amplector, sed inter articulos fidei non temere numeraverim; verum corpus Christi manducari articulus fidei est, quocunque tandem modo sacrosanctum corpus figuram Christi induat* (*Corp. Ref. I*, 145), and from this his expression in his *loci* is explained: *Signum gratiae certum est participatio mensae Domini, hoc est manducare corpus Christi et bibere sanguinem ejus.*— When the controversy broke out with the Swiss, he appeared in private letters on the side of Luther, against Zwingli and Oecolampadius,[2] without, however, coinciding in all respects with the way in which Luther unfolded the doctrine. He adhered, as was his wont, to the simplest expressions, and was

[1] Comp. on the proceedings with the Swiss, the efforts of the Landgrave of Hesse, and the letter of Luther to him: Seckendorf, p. 980, ff., part. the communication of Schnepf in Köllner, 1, 180. Notum est omnibus, qui deliberationi illi a. 1530 interfuere—quam ob causam placuerit eo tempore solo adverbio vere, quamquam ambiguo, ut tum a multis disputabatur, uti, cum nemo tum omnium eorum, qui August. Confessioni adjuncti et in hunc deliberantium congressum admissi erant, cum Zwinglianis sentirent. Interfui enim et ipse sqq.

[2] Comp. The proofs in the profound investigation of Galler, Versuch einer charakteristik Melancthon's, p. 376 fs.

not disposed in this, as in general, to come to a final determination; but in essentials, he concurred with Luther, and entirely approved his exegesis of the words of the institution.—On this account, he not only most emphatically dissuaded from union with the Oberländer (*neque enim convenit, impiam sententiam defendere aut confirmare vires eorum, qui impium dogma sequuntur, ne latius serpat venenum* (1529), but he determined to write against the sacramentarians. He was not at all diverted from this purpose by his participation in the Marburg conference, so far from it, he wrote the following year to M. Görlitz: *Ego agnovi coram auditis antesignanis illius sectae (sc. Marburgi) quam nullam habeant christianam doctrinam; ego mori malim, quam hoc affirmare quod illi affirmant: corpus Christi non posse nisi in uno loco esse.* It confirmed him much to have the testimony of the ancient church in his favor; and he did not conclude, as has been asserted erroneously of late, that there was a real communication of the entire Christ, (for this was as little his view, as it was Luther's) but, as he says, specifically: it is *χοινωνία praesentis corporis. Ego sequor veteris ecclesiae sententiam, quae affirmat, adesse corpus Christi in coena, ac judico, hanc habere scripturae testimonium; non enim invenio firmam rationem, cur nomine corporis in verbis coenae oportet tantum absentis corporis signum intelligi. (Sententiae veterum aliquot scriptorum de coena domini).*

That he means the glorified body of Christ here, is clearly perceived by the stress which he lays, in this connection, on the resurrection. (Comp. Galle, p. 384, 393). The dialogue of Oecolampadius, which he received in Augsburg, did not alter his views, although it had influence upon the change of mind, which occurred afterwards. From all this, it results that Melancthon, in the 10th article of the Augustana, acknowledges the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, and the reception of the same, in the sense in which Luther and the body of Evangelical confessors understood it.. If there could be any doubt, it would be dissipated by the two treatises containing elucidations, which were published before and after the diet at Augsburg. For, in the celebrated Unterricht der Visitatoren, in 1528, he says: Concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, these three articles should be presented to the people: 1) That they believe that in the bread is the true body, and in the wine the true blood of Christ. For so speak the words in Matt.: and thus says Paul, 1 Cor. 11: The bread that we break, is the body of Christ distributed. Where is not to be understood the true body of Christ, but the

word of God alone, as some say, it would not then be a distribution of the body of Christ, but of the word and spirit. And this is to be thought, that this great miracle occurs, not from the merit of the priest, but because Christ has so ordained that his body should be present in the communion. In the apology he repeats the contents of the 10th article of the Augustana, in the words: *Decimus articulus approbatus est, in quo confitemur nos sentire, quod in coena domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi, et vere exhibeantur cum illis rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino, his qui sacramentum accipiunt. Hanc sententiam constanter defendimus, re diligenter inquisita et agitata. Et loquimur de praesentia vivi Christi. Rom.* 6 : 9. (*Rechenb.* 157, 158.) With Luther, he understands by the real presence the substantial.[1]

3) By this the third point, which yet remains, is determined; for the passages just cited are the open declarations of the Lutheran church upon its faith, and constitute, with the 10th article of the Augustana, its fundamental confession in regard to the Lord's Supper. The doctrine could not be more clearly and definitely exposed, the difference between it and the reformed could not be more clearly displayed than it was. If misapprehensions and perplexities after arose, it was from without, the original sense was clear and explicit. In this sense the Lutheran church held its doctrine in regard to the Lord's Supper, and till Luther's death, it was everywhere adopted and confessed.

As a proof, an entire series of documents can be urged. Not as if in them all the distinctions of Luther, in his controversy with the Swiss, were admitted; the entire exposition, in its very nature, belongs to the doctrinal and polemical, and not at all to the confessional; it was, therefore, possible that a difference might exist in regard to particulars; but that which is here to be considered, the fundamental aspects of the church doctrine: the real, "that is the substantial" presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the supper, the oral reception of the same with and under the bread and wine, as the divinely appointed means for receiving the supernatural substance; the determination that unbelievers receive the body of the Lord, whilst faith is the condition of blessing, which consists particularly in forgiveness of sins, life and salvation, but is not the condition of the real presence, nor the organ for the reception of the body and blood of Christ; finally, the reference of these leading distinctions to the words of the institution, as

[1] Comp. Planck loc. cit. 132.

the proper source of the entire doctrine: this is found declared in numerous catechisms, liturgies and church disciplines, from the year 1530 to 1560. That Melancthon, to effect a union with the Reformed from the year 1530, yielded the definiteness of the church's definition; that he did with many others, though with many fluctuations, incline to the opinion of the Oberländer, does not change the matter; the change itself of the 10th article, in the year 1540, and the use made in the Lutheran church of the variata, is not at all evidence that they departed from the old and true meaning of the confession—the variata was used without prejudice, because it was understood in the church's sense, and with so much less hesitation, because, not only Melancthon's friends, but he himself, loudly asserted the principle that the confession of 1530 was alone adhered to.[1]

Consequently, till this time, there was no occasion for farther symbolical decisions.

b) The introduction of Calvinism into the Lutheran church furnished an occasion. Calvin was at first considered in Ger-

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[1] Comp. The satisfactory proof in Köllner, loc. cit., p. 247, ff. It must be particularly remarked, that not only Melancthon's friends, but he himself, asserts unequivocally the principle that the confession of 1530 was the standard, and on this account did it particularly occur, that the Lutherans for some time did not particularly regard the change; some, because they saw an elucidation of the true Lutheran sense of the Augsburg confession; others, because if they noticed the double sense, they looked upon the doctrine of the confession as untouched, as acknowledged by the whole party, and Melancthon himself, and either secretly approved the ground of Melancthon, or from regard to him would not engage in hostilities.

Thus it came to pass that during Melancthon's lifetime the variata remained almost untouched, and obtained an extensive circulation. It was used in public proceedings, and obtained, it is true, in the assumption of its entire agreement with the Augsburg confession, and under occasional protests, at least a subordinate ratification. Further, p. 261: There is nothing at all binding in the whole, for the party, whatever may be the opinion in regard to Melancthon's reasons, that is, the whole of his change had no significance either doctrinal or political, for the Lutheran church. This appears from what follows: First, Melancthon undertook the entire matter of his own accord, (consilio privato) and thus the church had nothing to do with the change. That it did not prevent it, cannot be made an objection; as things were, it was not called upon to do it. For, what is a further consideration for the above assertion is, that Melancthon contemplated no change, he did not wish or desire to deviate from the Augsburg confession. At least, and this is the 3rd well to be considered point for our assertion, the church always took for granted, wherever the variata was allowed, that it did not deviate from the Augsburg confession, and admitted, that Melancthon and the church, in all this, were in error, the variata had no further significance, as both Melancthon and the Evangelical princes perseveringly explained, that they adhered to the Augsburg confession, and that with the improved and enlarged edition of the confession, they did not desire to do anything against the Augsburg confession, but, on the contrary, approved of it, only because, and in so far as it agreed with the Augsburg confession itself. S. there the further proof.

many a Lutheran divine, and was himself accused, in Switzerland, of Lutheran tendencies, as his expressions in regard to the Lord's Supper, certainly did, in part, agree to the letter with Luther's.[1] In fact, he had from the beginning an independent theory, which in its most interior thought more nearly connected itself with Zwingli's, and may be regarded as an extension of it. In the fixing of the sacramental idea, he goes further than he. For, first, he characterizes the earthly elements, not as naked signs (*nuda signa*) but as seals and pledges (*sigilla et pignora*) of the grace of God; then he considers the power of the Holy Ghost proceeding from Christ as that which is instrumental in the Lord's Supper; and third, the scope of this instrumentality is communion with Christ and his mediatorial blessings.

According to this, he distinguishes three things in the Lord's Supper: *significationem, materiam quae ex ea dependet (inseparabilis enim est a signo veritas), et virtutem seu effectum, qui ex utraque consequitur.* The *significatio in promissionibus sita est, quae quodammodo implicitae signo sunt; materiam aut substantiam voco Christum cum sua morte et resurrectione; per effectum autem redemtionem, justitiam, sanctificationem, vitamque aeternam et quaecunque alia nobis beneficia adfert Christus, intelligo* (*Instit. IV. c.* 17). According to this, the real meaning of the ordinance consists in this: that it is union with Christ, or rather secures it (*mysterium arcanae Christi cum piis unionis*); this union is distinguished as a real but spiritual,[2] and involves the reception of the blessings of salvation, which Christ procured for us by his sufferings and death; it is Christ, *qui se ipse cum bonis suis omnibus nobis offert*, and truly in such a manner that union with him is the ground of the receipt of those *bona; non enim ad nos bona illa pervenirent, nisi se prius nostrum Christus faceret;* but faith is the condition of this union, effected by the Holy Ghost; *nos fide eum recipimus, fides est os sumentis; omnia ad fidem referenda sunt;* loc. cit: The Calvinistic theory appears then, as an extension of the Zwinglian. What the latter merely hints, and places in the rear, is with Calvin the leading point. And if, according to him, likewise, this union is merely a spiritual in faith, and consequently the reception merely a spiritual in faith, and Calvin

[1] The literature may be found in Löscher Hist. mot., in Henry's life of Calvin; with which compare Hundeshagen's conflict of Zwinglianism, Lutheranism and Calvinism. Bern., 1842.

[2] Calvin calls, so far as he considers the spirit as something real, this communicatio spiritualis a real, whilst Luther by the real understands the bodily.

will admit no other, *nulla alia, quam fidei manducatio fingi potest*—he nevertheless conceives the last more profoundly than Zwingli; namely, as the appropriation by faith, of the matter of the sacrament; that is, Christ and the blessings treasured up in him, forgiveness of sins and eternal life. *Illis manducatio est fides, mihi ex fide potius consequi videtur; manducationem fructum et effectum fidei dico*, loc. cit., IV. 17, 5.[1]

What significance has the body and blood of Christ now, in this theory, which is built mainly upon John 6:? Calvin explains the words of the institution figuratively: bread and wine are, in his view, symbols of the body and blood of Christ; not merely so far as they were once offered for our redemption, but so far, likewise, as they serve in the course of time to our spiritual nourishment *(vitae nostrae spiritualis cibus)*; and how this is to be understood, the addition shows at once: *Jam ergo habemus, in quem finem spectet mystica haec benedictio; nempe quo nobis confirmet, corpus Christi sic pro nobis esse semel immolatum, ut nunc eo vescamur, ac vescendo unici illius sacrificii efficaciam in nobis sentiamus, sanguinem ejus sic pro nobis semel fusum, ut sit nobis perpetuus potus. IV.* 17, 1. Calvin teaches, according to these words, a reception of the body of Christ in the supper; yea, he calls this body, sometimes, the true body, the communication a real, and tries to prove the possibility of such a union, from the nature of the glorified Redeemer. But in what Sense? On this point, the first edition of the Institutes throws light: Although Christ has ascended to heaven with his body, he sits at the right hand of God, that is, he governs in the power, might and glory of the Father. But this kingdom is not confined in space, but is universal, and he exercises his power wherever he pleases, he manifests by the same his presence *(praesentem se potentia ac virtute exhibet)*, he is constantly with his friends, lives in them, upholds them, strengthens and protects them, just as if he was present with his body. In this way is Christ's body and blood given to us in the Lord's Supper. But he proceeds at once: *Docendi causa dico: vere et efficaciter exhiberi, non autem naturaliter. Quo scilicet significamus, non substantiam ipsam corporis seu verum et naturale corpus illic dari, sed omnia, quae in suo corpore nobis*

[1] Thus does he explain in the second very rare edition of his Institutes, in the year 1536. S. Henry 1, 127.; thus too in the Consensio mutua in re sacramentaria: Extra controversiam ponimus figurate accipienda esse; in the Consensus Tig. 1549, and in the later editions of the Institutes, IV. 17, 5.

beneficia Christus praestitit. Ea est corporis praesentia quam sacramenti ratio postulat.[1]

The same thought he expresses in a concrete form in his later writings, saying: that in the Eucharist the spiritual life flows to us from the glorified body of Christ, that Christ imparts to us the power and life, *virtutem et vigorem*, which dwell in his living flesh, that he nourishes our souls with his life-giving flesh; which is, however, restricted by the explanation: *Christum a carnis suae substantia vitam in animas nostras spirare, Christum sua ad nos virtute descendere.*[2] — And thus it appears as if Calvin taught a species of bodily communication. But this appearance disappears through the continual caution which accompanies: *quamvis in nos non ingrediatur ipsa Christi caro*, by means of the constant distinction between substantia and virtus, through the explicit explanation: that Christ's body exists in heaven, restricted by space, therefore, neither is, nor can be, corporeally or substantially in the Lord's Supper, *non quoad substantiam sed quoad virtutem.* An efflux from the body cannot be thought of under such expressions, which is indeed in a glorified body an unintelligible thing; but it all comes to a power and operation communicated (*virtus et efficacia*) of this body, which in itself remains at a distance from us. And by this we do not get beyond that spiritual vital union of believers with Christ, which takes place in the sacrament and out of it (*quae etiam extra signorum usum illis constat*), only then in a higher degree. A specific gift, a substantial presence, a communication of the body and blood of Christ in a proper sense, we have not.[3] This appears more clear, when we remember that according to Calvin the holy Ghost is the one who unites what

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[1] In Henry 1, 129. The same words are found in the latest editions of the Institutes, except that here, after non secus ac si corpore adesset, the addition is made: quin denique suo ipsius corpore nos pascit, cujus communionem spiritus sui virtute in nos transfundit.

[2] Thus in numerous passages of the Institutes, IV. 17, 3, 5: Ex absconditio deiiatis fonte in Christi carnem mirabiliter infusa est vita, ut inde ad nos flueret. Thus too in the Defensio I and II. (1559) where he says on the one hand: substantia carnis Christi animas nostras pasci fateor, but at once adds in explanation: nunquam dubitabo fateri, arcana sp. si. virtute vitam in nos diffundi ex ejus carnis substantia.

[3] Comp. likewise the consensio mutua Art. 23: quod carnis suae esu et sanguinis potione per fidem nos pascit — id non perinde accipiendum est, acsi fieret aliqua substantiae vel commixtio vel transfusio, sed quia ex carne semel in sacrificium oblata et ex sanguine in expiationem effuso vitam haurimus, with the remark in the commentary 1 Cor. 11: loquor vulgari modo (vere nobis in coena corpus Christi dari) sed intelligo vim ex carne Christi vivificam in nos per Spiritum diffundi, quamvis longe a nobis distet nec misceatur nobiscum (ed. Tholuck. I, 349).

is locally separated, effects the reception of the body and blood of Christ (in the sense above) by believers, and thus fulfils the promise of the ordinance,[1] a thought that he frequently thus expresses: the soul of the believer is raised by the Holy Ghost to Christ in heaven, there to partake of the power (vigor) of his flesh.[2]

What remains further but a reception, not of the body of Christ, but of his power intermediated by the work of the Holy Spirit? but a communion which consists just in this: that Christ's spirit lives and works in him, and likewise in us? By this, however, we have already got over to the subjective side of the matter, in which we have the touch-stone for the objective. We are here at once met with the declarations: the reception, the so called eating of the body of Christ, is a spiritual and not a corporeal, and consists in the lively feeling of the power of his death; the organ of it is the soul, not the mouth; the means of faith, and indeed nothing but faith, to such an extent, that when this is wanting, no reception can take place (*fides est os sumentis*).[3] Unbelievers receive nothing but the mere signs, although, as Calvin says, the body is offered to them. This is the final position of the entire theory, which nullifies the objectivity which it aims to assert.—"For if the res sacramenti is only received in a spiritual manner by the soul, it is merely spiritual; if unbelievers do not receive it, then it is not objectively present to be received." That finally, according to this, the terrestrial elements are not carriers and instruments of the heavenly, but that the sacramental communication, which moreover, is not specifically different from the ordinary union with Christ, that this sacramental communication occurs only at the same time with the symbolical act of eating and drinking, (*dum panis in mysterio porrigitur*), this follows, not only of itself, from the theory, but is plainly expressed in it. We see the difference between Calvin's doctrine and Luther's is material. What was the principal matter to the latter, the true body of the Lord, is by

[1] Comp. with the above passages Inst. IV. 17, 10, and comment. on Corinths. p. 349. Likewise Planck loc. cit 8.

[2] Not only so in the Consens. Tig., but elsewhere. See Planck p. 86.

[3] IV, 17, 4. Neque enim Christo rite et salutariter vescimur nisi crucifixio, dum efficaciam mortis ejus vivo sensu apprehendimus. 17. Hanc manducationem non aliam esse quam fidei manducationem fatemur — credendo manducare, aut, si clarius velis, illa manducatio fides est. It is very correctly remarked by a writer in this magazine, that Calvin does indeed speak of a true and substantial presence of the body of Christ in the supper, but when it comes to partaking of it, he lets the substance drop, and substitutes for it, the power and operation.

Calvin converted into the dogma: Christ, with all his mediatorial blessings, Christ's life and power; just the characteristic features of the Lutheran view: the *praesentia substantialis*, the intermediation by the earthly elements, the *manducatio oralis*, the partaking of unbelievers fail. The entire point of view, as well as the scriptural proof, is different on both sides; for whilst the German Reformer rested on that which the sacramental word names and promises, holding and confessing it in its genuine simple sense, the reformed view proceeds from the thought in John 6, and explains by this, taking for granted the restriction of Christ's body to space in heaven, the words of institution. To this the reflex influence of the dogma in the conception of the sacrament of baptism, the person of Christ, &c., in fact, the difference between the two modes of representation should never have been denied.[1]

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[1] With this view of the Calvinistic doctrine the judgment of distinguished reformed divines coincides. Comp. Hagenbach's History of Dogmatics, 2nd Edit., Vol. 2, p. 340. "With the earlier ideas (Zwingli's and Oecolampadius', in regard to a spiritual enjoyment of Christ, who is in heaven) Calvin perfectly agrees, much as at first he was repelled by Zwingli's sober theory, which he regarded as profana sententia. He only extended it further." The same. "Shadowy as is the difference between the Zw. and Calv. view, the Zurichers at first treated the Calvinistic view with some mistrust. But now the Zur. and Genev. coincided in their views in the Consensus Tigurinus.—The learned research of Alexander Schweizer brings out, loc. cit., 2, 648." Calvin teaches, moreover, going beyond Zwingli, that the body of Christ itself is partaken by us as our nourishment to eternal life, as a res sacramenti truly, and therefore not improperly; but the reception is not sensuous, but a matter of the spirit and faith, therefore, for such a receiving organ, there must be a corresponding substance to be received, which is designated as virtus et efficacia corporis Christi. And 655, where Schweizer states the advance of Calvin beyond Zwingli, in the full vital union of the members with the head, which Zwingli already had admitted, and then he proceeds: "at all events Calvin erred, when he thought he could unite the reformed and Lutheran views; for he rather increased than diminished the difficulty of a reconciliation. His doctrine remained reformed; unbelievers do not receive the res sacramenti, therefore it is not objectively present to be eaten, and all mystical expressions concerning an actual presence, displeased the Lutherans, because when the view was fully brought out, there was no real presence, because the expressions were to be taken mystically." To this I add the opinion of an acute and profound student of the older dogmatic, Dr. Schneckenburger: "We will be justified, after all that has been said, to assert: the Christ imparted in the Lord's Supper is present in no other way than that in which he is the imparter. As the active communicator, he is present in the supper (apart from the metaphysical omnipresence of the λόγος) only in his word, symbol and spirit, consequently can the Christ imparted in the believing reception of the Lord's Supper be he only who is contained in these media and concerning his divine human substance, his caro gloriosa as something that is received in the Lord's Supper, it can be in no other sense than that in which its present activity proceeds. As in faith we have part in Christ, the crucified and glorified, the exercise of faith and elevation in the Lord's Supper, involves no other operation of the Holy Ghost than that by which he unites us to Christ, and our communion is not so much a vivification by the caro Christi vivifica, as the Holy Ghost brings this to the

When both these came into conflict with one another, and the Calvinists desired to take the place of the Lutherans, and to oust them from their ecclesiastical position, it became necessary for the church of the Augsburg Confession to resist such an invasion, and to defend its rights.

This happened after Luther's death. Luther knew only in a general way the Calvinistic doctrine, which became of more consequence to Germany, by means of the Consensus Tigurinus (1549) and never said any thing specific in regard to its relation to his own.[1] I believe he regarded it as a modification of the Zwinglian, and had it in his eye, when in the confession of the year 1545, he says: I consider them all alike who will not believe that the bread of the Lord in the supper, is his true natural body, which is received orally by the ungodly as well as the godly; at all events, it is certain, that he did not depart from his earlier views. Melancthon, on the other hand, already since 1531, but more since 1536, inclined to the views of the Oberländer, and later the Calvinists.[2] He adopted them, if not in all their particulars, yet in the leading features and the opposition to the Lutheran view. He did not venture to come out openly with his deviating views, not even after Luther's death, and when he could not avoid it, he selected such equivocal expressions, as could be interpreted by each party in its favor. On the other hand, he made prominent the idea of the act: "that the sacrament *in usu consistit*, that Christ is present and operative, that he pledges us his blessings, and places himself into communion with us.[3] On this he lays the chief stress; and this is the most important point which Melancthon asserted, whilst he abandoned the

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earth, which is in heaven, or raises us, who are on earth, to heaven, but only thus far the life process of the God man, his death and his glorification, the actual God man, who was once on earth and died, and who is now in heaven, is presented to and impressed upon our faith, as his symbol is upon our eyes. When then, we read in modern defences of the reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that the heavenly which is communicated in it, is the glorified body of Christ, which, in despite of the communication, is not present bodily, there is in this the propagation of the old rhetoric, which obviously mystifies the simple representation of faith.

[1] Comp. Planck loc. cit. 132.

[2] Comp. Gallé, loc. cit. 421–436,

[3] In usu instituto adest Christus; dico in usu Christum nos sibi membra facere. Ego posui in usu sacramentalem praesentiam, et dixi, datis his rebus Christum vere adesse et efficacem esse. Id profecto satis est. Scio vere et substantialiter adesse Christum et efficacem esse cum symbolis utimur.—To Veit Dietrich C. Ref. III. 504, 515, 517. Similarly in the Locis of 1535, and in the late editions, and in the Frankfurth Recess 1555. Concerning the Lord's Supper it should be taught, that Christ is truly present in it, living and acting.

other important characteristics of the church doctrine, the substantial presence in Luther's sense, the partaking of the true body of Christ, the presence of the same in the bread and wine in the administration.[1] He thus presents the formula in *Examen Ordinandorum* in the year 1555. *Coena domini est communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sicut in verbis evangelii instituta est, in qua sumtione filius Dei vere et substantialiter adest et testatur, se applicare credentibus sua beneficia et se assumsisse humanam naturam propter nos, ut nos quoque sibi insertos fide membra sua faciat et nos ablutos esse sanguine suo*, and (to mention this here) in his last explanation in the year 1560, he would have the dogma thus presented: "The bread that we break is the communion of the body of Christ." He was hindered by death from expressing his entire agreement with Calvin.

Melancthon did not stand alone in this inclination to the Swiss doctrine. Many of his friends and scholars in Wittenberg partook of it, and more decidedly than he. They proceeded gradually and insensibly almost, to substitute it for the Lutheran doctrine. Along the Rhine, in the Palatinate, and other places, there was an adoption of the same views, and labor for the same end. The Lutheran church saw itself in danger in its inmost peculiarity, and this danger was the greater, the more the actual difference between its doctrine and that of the Calvinists was covered by expressions sounding alike, and the more diligently it was sought to conceal them. The necessity and the right of reaction, which at once commenced against these tendencies, may be said to be obvious. The point involved was, the protection of its own fire side, the defence against an intruder, who attempted to destroy the doctrine of the church in a most vital point. Be it true that Westphal, who commenced the controversy, did it in a manner not to be justified, he may not have done justice to the Calvinistic view, and may not have accurately weighed its subtile distinctions, and particularly its difference from the Zwinglian,[2] in this he did his church a valuable service, that he warned it against the threatening danger, and aimed to show the difference between the doctrines which the Calvinists concealed. After this was

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[1] He expresses himself most clearly in the Explicatio alterius partis Symb. Nic., in the year 1566. Nec ita instituta est haec coena, ut tantum unius exigui momenti praesentiam significet, sed ut sit pignus assiduae praesentiae et efficaciae in credentibus, quare statuendum est, in sumtione vere et substantialiter adesse filium Dei et hanc sumtionem testimonium esse assiduae praesentiae et efficaciae in hominibus. In this, however, it must be remembered that Melancthon considered the body of Christ as enclosed locally in heaven.

[2] It is not to be forgotten that he obtained his views from the Cons. Tig.

done, the result could no longer be doubtful. For the Lutheran church was, in general, true to its old confession. This showed itself at once. For scarcely had Westphal commenced the controversy, till the Ministerium of lower Saxony appeared with their confessions, in which they rejected the Swiss doctrine, and pronounced decidedly in favor of the Lutheran: the whole Thuringian (ducal Saxony) church had, independently of this, remained true, and in advance, contended for it. The Palatinate indeed became Calvinistic, and planted in the Heidelberg catechism the standard of the reformed confession; against this appeared, in Wirtemberg, the aged venerable Brenz, after having been silent twenty-five years, and around him to a man, the entire clergy of Wirtemberg, (*omnium et singulorum pius consensus*) and laid down in the confession of the divines and church officers in Wirtemberg, the Lutheran doctrine in the most explicit form, in connexion with the dogma in regard to the person of Christ. In other places the same was done, and thus the elements which had been introduced, were removed. In electoral Saxony, particularly in Wittenberg, the Calvinistic doctrine not only remained, through the influence of the more particular school of Melancthon, but an attempt was made to give it church authority. On this account the controversy was concentrated in the interior of the church itself, and this part of the movement is the most painful in the history of our dogma. Not only that on both sides there was bitter controversy, on the part of the Philippists, as well as the supporters of the confession, the insincerity of the first, at one time clothing their views in the forms of the church, at another showing them more clearly, in order to deceive both the Elector and the country; the artifices which they resorted to in the so called new catechism, in the fundamental exposition of 1571, and particularly in the Consensus Dresdensis,[1]

[1] It consisted in this, that they expressed every definition first in the words of the church confession, and then afterwards neutralized it by an appended Melancthonian formula. Planck very properly characterizes this proceeding loc. cit. 518. It was, he says, verbally Lutheran, when they taught and would have it believed "that Christ in the sacrament of the supper, was present truly, livingly, actually and essentially, and indeed so, that he gives us, with the bread and wine, his true body, which was elevated for us on the cross, and his true blood which was shed for us," but it was verbal explanation of Melancthon, when they added at once, "by which Christ justifies, that he receives us as his children, and makes us members of his body, and cleanses us from our sins by his blood, and will dwell in us truly and powerfully."

It was then the strongest Lutheran language, which they used, when they confessed "that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, given to us christians to eat and drink with bread and wine, according to Christ's ordinance," but it was the smoothest

rendered agreement impossible. And thus the contest was carried on, till finally the Wittenbergers, by means of the celebrated Exegesis perspicua, in the year 1574, crushed themselves.[1]

By this production, their doctrine long concealed is first brought out. It is, in essence, the Calvinistic; only it returns more decidedly to the Zwinglian. For the Wittenbergers have neither Calvin's certainly dark view of a spiritual efflux from the humanity of Christ, nor his subtile distinction between vigor and spirit (comp. p. 130), but they only know of *praesentiae efficaciae Christi*, which is nothing but the *efficaciae* of the Holy Ghost. This is intimately connected with the local inclusion of the Redeemer in heaven, according to which there is no such thing as even a remote communication of the body of Christ in the supper to be thought of. *Corpus Christi abductum est a nobis, ergo nulla pars (?) substantiae ex illo nobis infunditur. Dicta de manducatione carnis Christi sunt intelligenda de interiori spirituali renovatione, non de transfusione reali carnis. Coena significat renati nutritionem et communionem sumentis et Christi, qui pios pascit vera agnitione dei, vera vita et laetitia in ipso.* From this results the negation of all the church's distinctions in regard to the doctrine; the doctrine that Christ is actually present in the sacrament, is explained by the other: *sacras actiones esse organa per quae spiritus s. in credentibus est efficax*, and no other operation is ascribed to the Lord's Supper than that which the Holy Spirit, beyond its limits, produces in believers. When, therefore, the Exegesis speaks of a corporeal κοινωνία with Christ, it means the partaking of his mystical body, *quod est ecclesia*, not of his glorified. On the other hand, the Wittenbergers lay great stress here, as well as in the writings quoted before, that Christ is personally present and active in the sacra-

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language of Melancthon, in which they immediately added, "or, the sacrament is, according to Paul's words, the communion of the body and blood of Christ, in which the Lord, with the visible signs of bread and wine, really grants to us his body and blood, and thereby confirms his promises, that he will, on account of his death, forgive our sins, and will really be energetic in us. The object of this bringing together is easily perceived. This object they would not have accomplished, if they had any where introduced any thing in regard to the distinctive Lutheran view of an oral reception of the body of Christ in the sacrament. Whoever admitted this oral reception, he must, if consistent, give a Lutheran sense to the expressions of Melancthon; but on this very account there was the less doubt, that the entire silence, with which this point was passed over in the new confession, did not arise entirely from forgetfulness.

[1] Exegesis perspicua et forma integra controversiae de Sacra Coena. 1574. Printed without doubt, in Leipzig. Comp. Loscher, Hist. m t. III. 195 ff.

ment ; *filius Dei substantialiter, personaliter praesens et efficax est*;[1] a truth which, according to the above, must be restricted. The church doctrine is deformed and reviled by them.[2] It was represented as a Flacian innovation, an abortion of Flacianismus, it should not have been mentioned of late, it expressed a physical, local impanation, a papistical transubstantiation, a Capernaitish grossly sensual participation, and opposed the doctrine of Christ's ascension, and his session at the right hand of God. The admission of a ubiquity (in a relative and absolute sense) destroyed the reality of his human nature, and is as contrary to scripture as it is to reason. This is the leading objection against the defenders of the church view.

It is not to be denied, that some of them in the heat of controversy, used incautious expressions, which gave occasion to these representations ; but they all guarded themselves decisively against the sense which their opponents ascribe to them. The most eminen Theologians of the church, kept free from expressions which were liable to misapprehension. It is further not to be denied, that it was less the whole doctrine of the Lord's Supper than particular points of it, which were treated by them and by this, particularly in the first stadia of the controversy, their exposition seemed to wear the aspect of externality : but these are the very points denied and controverted by the opponents whose defense was called for, and on whose firm tenure the purity of the doctrine depended.[3] With this is further connected, that the conception of the act on the part of the orthodox, did not attain its legitimate position ; although it was made evident by celebrated divines of this system, Chemnitz, Brenz, Andriä and others.[4] Finally, in regard to the

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[1] Exeg. p. 23, and Cons. Dresd. D. 3. The first rule is, that nothing is, or can be a sacrament but the instituted custom. The other rule is, that the son of God (designedly instead of Christ) is truly and certainly present in the ministerio or office of his holy word and solemn sacrament, and that he works by it, and is powerful in his church.

[2] For inst. In the Ausschreiben of the Professors of the Theolog. Faculty at Wittenberg 1571 and in the Grundfeste.

[3] So e. g. Can that properly be defended, "with and under bread and wine," considered in itself, appear to lead to a local presence of the body and blood of Christ in the earthly elements ; but the proper interest here was the truth, that bread and wine are the interposed carriers of the communicated body and blood of Christ, which thus leads back to the fundamental idea of the Lutheran church, that the human act in the sacrament is the medium for the divine ; that appearance vanishes from this point.

[4] Chemnitz, de duab. naturis. Jam vero habemus expressum verbum et specialem promissionem—quod in actione hic in terris velit corpore et sanguine suo adesse. Part. his work : Fundamenta sanae doctrinae de vera et substantiali praesentia, exhibitione et sumptione corporis et sang. Domini in s. coena 1569, where all the points of difference belonging here may be found.

connexion of the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ with that of the omnipresence, all Lutheran divines maintained, not that the first was in the last, but in the words of the institution had its firm seat, and that only the objections of opponents made it necessary to proceed to the person of Christ, to show at least the possibility of a bodily presence in the Lord's Supper. In the way in which they do this, they differ from one another, for some deduce from the hypostatical union of the two natures a general omnipresence not excluding the humanity of the exalted God man, others only the possibility of a bodily presence and agency wherever and whenever he will. Closely inspected, this difference disappears by the distinction of the general personal presence of Christ from the specific of his body and blood in the sacrament. In all this there was no other object than to defend the Lutheran doctrine, and to secure its ecclesiastical authority. In proportion as the Wittenberg deviation appeared, the other kept pace with it. On all sides protestations appeared; nearly all the churches of lower Saxony expressed themselves loudly against the "Wittenberg innovations" and for the old confession;[1] the Wittenbergers testify their consent with the Saxon church, in a public letter, in a whole series of confessions, in the Thuringian Confutation, in many church disciplines was the doctrine asserted, in direct opposition to the Calvinistic, the most noted divines appeared in its behalf, in short, it was presented as the universal faith of the Lutheran church, in its entire mass. What was now done by the Formula Concordiae? Nothing more than to give this consent the proper impression. It rejected, on the one hand, the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, together with that concerning the mass, the worship of the host, and the withdrawal of the cup (602, 756); on the other hand, the doctrine of those who were called sacramentarians, which had intruded itself into the Lutheran church, with its nicest distinctions, because it concealed under the cover of words of similar sound, a sense different from that of the church.[2] Therefore then, many persons

[1] e. g. The Ministeria of the churches in Brunswick, both parts, Lüneburg, Grubenhagen, Mecklenburg, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, Hildesheim, Göttingen, Hanover, Einbeck, Hameln, Gosslar, Halberstadt, Halle; further, Mansfeld, Magdeburg, Schwerin, Husum, Dithmarschen, duchy of Prussia.

[2] Comp. the passage from the Sol. Decl. (663): Although some sacramentarians are busy in speaking, using, and confessing in words very nearly assimilated to those of the Augsburg confession, and the form and manner of its churches, that in the holy sacrament the body of Christ is really received by believers; nevertheless, when they are pressed to express their views clearly, sincerely and properly, they explain themselves unanimously thus,

of consequence were imposed upon by these fine, promising words, when they asserted and boasted that they were of no other opinion, than that the Lord Jesus is presented in his Supper truly, actually and vitally; but understand this of his divine nature and not of his body and blood, which are in heaven and not on earth; and he gives us, with bread and wine, his body and blood to eat spiritually by faith, but not to receive bodily by the mouth." Then it (F. C.) presented the doctrine of the Lord's Supper simply, with a reference to the old Confessions, yea with their very words (728–735), and comprehended them in the expression: *vera et substantialis praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi.* As infallible mark of this substantial presence, it mentions the *manducatio oralis*, in opposition to the spiritual enjoyment of the Sacramentarians 744. 602., and as a necessary consequence of the same, the participation of the ungodly, in opposition to the *spiritualis manducatio* by means of faith, and for guarding the objectivity of the Sacrament *(fides nostra sacramentum non efficit)*. In this there is not a step beyond the contents of the Earlier Symbols. What they add in addition was twofold: Firstly, they guarded the definitions which had been given

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that the true actual body and blood of Christ is as far from the bread and wine in the supper as the highest heaven is from the earth: abesse Christi corpus et sanguinem a signis tanto intervallo dicimus; quanto abest terra ab altissimis caelis: that is, we say, that the body and blood of Christ is as far from the sign, as far as the earth is from the highest heaven. They do not understand a presence of Christ's body on the earth; but in respect to faith alone, that is, that our faith is called out and revived by the visible signs as it is by the preached word, elevates itself and mounts above the heavens, and receives and enjoys, but in a spiritual manner, the body of Christ which is in heaven, yes Christ himself together with all his benefits: then as the bread and wine are here on earth and not in heaven; so the body of Christ is at present in heaven and not on earth: and therefore nothing is received by the mouth in the Lord's Supper but bread and wine. They first assert, that the Lord's Supper is only an external sign, by which Christians are known, and there is nothing given in it but mere bread and wine, which are mere emblems of the absent body of Christ. As this would not answer, they acknowledge that Jesus Christ was really in his supper, viz. per communicationem idiomatum, that is, by his divine nature alone, but not with his body and blood. Afterwards when they were forced to acknowledge, that the body of Christ was present in the supper, they explained it in no other way than spiritually, that is, with his power, operation and kindness, to be enjoyed by faith, because by the spirit of Christ, who is every where present, our bodies in which the Spirit of Christ dwells here on earth, are united with the body of Christ in heaven" Epit. 598: Vocabulum spiritualis nihil aliud ipsis significat, quam spiritum Christi, seu virtutem absentis corporis Christi ejusque meritum, quod praesens est. This is particularly the doctrine and course of the Wittenberg Crypto Calvinists. It is further to be noticed that the F. C. does not mention Calvin; for their controversy was with their own domesticis. p. 724.

against perversions and misapprehensions. It explains, that in the Lord's Supper there is no local inclusion of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine, likewise no mere contiguity or separation, but an actual union, which is analogous to the hypostatical union in this, that both, the heavenly and earthly interpenetrate each other without change, only that here the union is not personal, but sacramental, as Luther calls it,[1] whose nature is a mystery. This sacramental union makes the earthly materials the means of the communication of the supernatural substance of the true body of Christ; and the confessional language does not assert more than this: *cum pane, in pane, sub pane adesse et exhiberi corpus Christi*, (603. 735. 736.). It explains (*b.*), that from the *manducatio oralis* all corporeal representations are to be removed, all *sermones, qui crasse, carnaliter et capernaitice de coena proferuntur* are to be rejected, together with Luther's assertion that Christ's body is bitten by the teeth (see above 5. 113 Rem.); for this oral reception, although a true, is supernatural; yea it may be called a spiritual in opposition to a grossly sensual, only not in the reformed sense 604. 755. *tametsi enim participatio illa ore fit, tamen modus spiritualis est.*[2] *c.* It explains, that sincere Christians weak in faith and distressed are not considered the unworthy, in which great comfort is administered to persons with alarmed consciences, and it is at the same time remarked that what the opponents teach in regard to spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ, that is, in regard to the believing appropriation of Christ and his grace, that is freely conceded; without such a spiritual reception the sacramental would not be a blessing, but a judgment; only both must be well distinguished; for one is the objective effect of the sacrament, which all receive, who partake of it, the other the gracious effect, which is conditioned by faith. There is nothing to be found in these determinations of the F. C. that goes beyond the contents of the Larger Catechism, they are merely the necessary corrections of historical perversions. But certainly the F. C. goes a step further: for it makes prominent the idea of the act, which was brought out by Luther (p. 109), but was not sufficiently appreciated by his followers; this idea it brings out emphatically; and aids what is true in the Witten-

[1] Comp. Walch XX. 1293. We would say not an organic but a dynamic union.

[2] I find in the words of Hollaz the proper expression for the sense of the F. C.: Unius illius manducationis duplex est modus. Nam licet uno et eodem organo sumatur res terrena et coelestis, non tamen eodem modo. Panis et vinum ore accipiuntur immediate et naturaliter, corpus et sanguis Christi mediate et supernaturaliter.

berg system in its rights: The Supper is essentially an act, and only is an actual act accomplished according to the institution, *nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra actionem divinitas institutam;* thus completed it is both a human and divine act, an act of the God-man personally present in his church; *Christus enim ipse verus Deus et homo in coena sua, in legitimo nimirum ejus usu, vere et substantialiter praesens est.* Therefore it is not either the repetition of the words of institution by the minister of the church, which produces the presence of his true body in the earthly elements, but the word and omnipotence of Christ active in the human action appointed by him and performed by his command *(suum mandatum et factum cum recitatione nostra conjungit).* He himself, communicates now, still in virtue of the first institution, under bread and wine, his flesh and blood to communicants (747. 749. 750. 760). From this point, can we for the first time, obtain a lively view of the Lord's Supper and unite the variety of separate, specified points to an organic whole; from this point first, the relation of the earthly sign andthe supernatural *rès*, the human and the divine in this mystery, appears in its true light, and the appearance of externality disappears, which otherwise adheres to the explanations. Certainly a decided advance, but one deserving gratitude, which forms the acme, or if it is preferred, the basis of the dogma, because the idea of the act lies, in advance, at the foundation (comp. p. 109).[1] We see nothing here but a proper result of the old confession. As respects the benefits of the Lord's Supper, the Formula of Concord merely repeats the expositions of the earlier symbols: Strengthening of faith, assurance and appropriation of all the blessings which Christ purchased for us by his death. They made no use of the results mentioned above obtained by Luther. We ought perhaps to complain of this, because just in this according to my view, a necessary extension is contained, perhaps the very point from which the entire significancy of the Lord's Supper may be apprehended. Nevertheless we can only praise this keeping back, when we consider, that the idea of a communication of the materiality

[1] Gerhard has best brought out this idea, when he says: Causa efficiens s. coena est Christus, verus Deus et verus homo in unitate personae; — neque solum primae institutionis tempore s. coenam discipulis suis administravit, sed adhuc hodie secundum utramque naturam praesens est, quoties juxta ipsius institutionem s. coena in ecclesia administratur atque ipsemet corpus et sanguinem suum communicantibus distribuit. The human symbolical act is the medium for the divine sacramental operation. Is enim est, qui per ministerium in hoc mysterio agit, et quod ipsemet olim instituit ac promisit, re ipsa adhuc praestat.

of Christ to ours is rather intimated than evolved in the Scriptures (1 Cor. 11 : 16. 17, Ephes. 5 : 30. 32. comp. 26), and was at that time moreover a problem. If advance is necessary in this direction, the F. C. leaves room for it.

There remains but one point more, and that is the reference of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper to the person of Christ. The necessity of this reference lies in the nature of the matter. The personal presence of Christ, in virtue of which his humano divino existence is not confined to space; the substantial presence of his true body and blood presupposes the possibility, *quod Christus corpore suo praesens esse possit, ubicunque voluerit, ibique imprimis ubi suam praesentiam illam, ut in sacra coena, in verbo suo promisit.* 787. The denial of this possibility, denies the whole Lutheran doctrine. As the opponents resisted it from this point, as they with their ideas of the person of Christ, reasoned against the substantial communication of Christ's body in the Supper, the Form of Concord could not avoid taking this up and asserting, in defence of the dogma, this possibility. It does not assert properly any thing more than this possibility for the Lord's Supper. Every thing more belongs to the following article; the quotations from Luther's writings (p. 752 ff.) have not here the significance of a confession, but only that of an explanation, and are not intended to establish the dogma concerning the person of Christ, much less that concerning the Lord's Supper. The last has its foundation much rather in the simple, literal words of institution, and was believed and confessed by the church of God on this ground (738. 742). "Upon this firm, immoveable, unquestionable rock of the truth she stands with her doctrine of the Lord's Supper," and as the Solida Decl. has expressed it in numerous places, so the introduction to the book of Concord expresses itself unreservedly as follows: "Likewise, although some divines, and Luther himself, not willingly, but compelled to it by their adversaries, were drawn into a dispute in connexion with the Supper in regard to the personal union of both natures in Christ: explain themselves, in accordance with the contents of the Book of Concord and the norm therein contained, that, according to our and the book's uniform meaning, Christians in partaking of the Lord's Supper are directed to no other than the one basis and foundation, viz. the words of the establishment of the Testament of Christ, who is almighty and true, and can consequently do what he has determined and promised in his word, and as they were not driven from this point, they disputed not with others; but with simple faith adhered to the

simple words of Christ, which was safest and profitable to the laity, who could not comprehend the dispute. But when the opponents reproach this our simple faith and understanding of the word of the testament of Christ and call it unbelief, and charge us, as if our simple view of faith opposed the articles of our faith, and particularly in regard to the incarnation of the Son of God, his ascension, and session at the right hand of God, and considered them false and wrong: it was necessary by proper explanations of the articles of our Christian faith to show and prove, that the simple view mentioned above is not contrary to our articles.

Summing up thus far, the decision must be that the Formula of Concord has brought out and displayed in regard to the Lord's Supper the true sense of the Augsburg Confession.

CONCLUSION.

If we survey the whole of the instituted investigations, the following is the result of the relation of the Formula Concordiae to the older confessions of the Lutheran church:

1. Far the greater part of the elucidations, which the F. C. presents, are nothing but a repetition and confirmation of what the Augsburg confession teaches. They are the same old fundamental truths which are brought out against a determinate, historical resistance, arrayed against every opposing element. They assume a bolder relief, in consequence of this defensive attitude; they display their negative and exclusive side, or, as it is customary to say, their points. But these points are only the simple results of what they involve, this negative form only the other side of their positive scriptural truth. That the church confession brought them out in this form, was made necessary by the opposition which, in its consequences, destroyed the kernel of the Evangelical doctrine of salvation. No one who sincerely adheres to the fundamental confession of the church, can object to these expositions. The last embraces the first. Rejection of them must either be followed by breaking with the last, or settle down in that indecision which does not meet the claims of truth.

2. If we abstract these explanations, which are the direct and simple result of the old foundations, the remainder which are properly progressive, are not numerous. In judging of them, every thing depends upon the tendency from which they sprang, and the sense in which they are used. If this is properly apprehended, and to contribute to this was the object of our earlier remarks, it easily appears, how the expressions of the F. C., which belong here, proceeded from an actual

development of the Evangelical fundamental principles, and are implicitly contained in them. If the expression is not always the most accurate, if sometimes the words are not the most happy, this cannot prevent the recognition of the matter itself in its truth, as the thing to be settled here, is not the form of the Theology of that time, but the faith of the church.

We are directed to the last, and not to the first. It would not be very creditable to the progress of theology, if it could not express in a more simple and attractive form, that which is there presented in a heavy, unfitting garb; but bad for the present faith of the church, if we did not recognize in the old decisions concerning it, the expression of our own. It appears to me that these things are now viewed too much in the exterior—too much enquiry is made about symbols, instead of the truths contained in them, and thus the proper simple point of view is neglected.

If we proceed to particulars, the properly progressive additions of the F. C. embrace the following points: the question concerning the relation of human freedom to divine grace, and of the law to the gospel, the object of justifying faith, the relation of works to justification and faith, the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ and predestination. In reference to the first six, we believe that we have established, that the decisions of the Formula of Concord contain an actual, organic and necessary development: in regard to the person of Christ, we refer to extended explanations, in papers contained in earlier numbers of our periodical, and merely remark here, that in this matter, the point treated is not so much the outward form as the meaning, the proper sense of the confession. It may be thought that there are defects in the form in which it is presented; the form may be thought too scholastic; or a more consistent process might be desired. Every one will cheerfully assent to the truth itself, which is here discussed, who sees in redemption an act of a God-man, and believes in the presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the supper. For the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* is implied in these two fundamental articles; it is indispensably necessary. The expositions of the Formula of Concord, in regard to predestination, attain so exactly the proper mean between the Pelagian and Augustinian Calvinistic extreme; they are derived so entirely from the very vitals of the Scripture; they are so entirely in the spirit of the free grace of God, which is the centre and the vital breath of the entire confession; and they are conceived in so truly practical a spirit, that I am sure of

general concurrence, when I take just this point, and distinguish it as a true gain, as a glorious advance. (See below.)

3. Now the question can be answered, whether the Formula of Concord does not go too far in its expositions. In some degree this might be granted; it might be said, that in unfolding particulars it was done too diffusely, and that in general, there was too much theology in it. But it was in the first instance intended for divines, and so far its theological character cannot be blamed. But the form is not to be considered here, but the doctrine; not the theological explanation, but the sum of the doctrine of faith and practice, which it proposes. Looking to this, it cannot be said that it has done too much. The whole contents can be reduced to a few items, and in attempting this, we expect that the question above will find its solution. We will, of course, merely hint what is extensively presented in the old confessions.

"In regard to original sin there is, on the one hand, a careful distinction to be made between it and human nature, to which it cleaves; for, however deep our corruption in consequence of the fall is, it has not destroyed the created essence of man, it has not extinguished any of his natural powers, and consequently has not destroyed the capacity to be redeemed; but not less is the opposite error to be avoided, that original sin is a mere external and superficial corruption, or only a defect of original righteousness, or that it consisted merely in the bondage of the still existing power to do good, but it has penetrated into man's heart, from whence it infects all the powers of his being, and corrupts the whole course of his life. By the fall of Adam the nature and powers of man are entirely corrupt. Original sin, or the sin of the race is, therefore, an opposition to God, an active principle of wickedness in human nature, and as such, sin itself, indeed the moving cause of all actual transgressions, and comprehends all under the wrath of God, who hates and condemns sin.

As man by nature, that is, considered as fallen from God, and apart from all the influences of redeeming grace, is therefore not only entirely unfit, but actually dead to all good, and on this account, conversion to God can in no wise proceed from or commence with him, but the Holy Ghost must influence him, overcome the resistance of the old, and create in him a new life. Such a state of things is a real effect of divine grace, which man permits to be produced in him, which neither destroys nor excludes his natural freedom, because it occurs in his will, through the word, and leads this to concurrent and self-determining activity. And as this applies to the

very first movements of the new life, it does likewise to all the subsequent life of the christian in repentance and faith.—. Man never makes the initiative, but is always anticipated by the Holy Spirit, but then and through this does he receive and apply the grace. That which is the proximate aim, is justifying faith. Justification consists properly in the forgiveness of sins, in absolution from guilt and reception into sonship (Justify means *absolvere a peccatis.*) It has its foundation not in what man does of himself, not in what the grace of God does, not in the indwelling of the Holy Ghost or of Christ, but in what Christ has done for us. In his work of redemption, more particularly in the sufferings and actions of the God-man, in the entire obedience which, as God-man, he rendered freely for us—in this lies the sure basis of our salvation, as it is offered to us in the Gospel, and appropriated to us in justification; for justification takes place by means of the gracious imputation to the believer of that righteousness of Christ designed for all. The subjective condition of it is faith, which embraces Christ in the word of promise, and indeed faith alone, separated from all works and merit. Necessary as it is, that from this important article every thing should be kept at a distance, which in any way on man's part, could be considered as contributing merit or a claim of justice, be it called good works, new obedience, or what not, it is just as important that we should distinguish accurately between justification and renovation, that Christ's mediatorship may not be undervalued, and that the sincere may not be prevented from the undisturbed enjoyment of the consolations of grace; it is, however, necessary, on the other hand, to hold fast the connexion between the two. For faith which justifies man without works and merit, and consequently renders him an object of divine compassion, presupposes repentance, and is followed by love as an inseparable attendant. It is itself an effect of the Holy Ghost in the heart, actual experience of the grace of God, and can, as such, not unite with the will in sin, but it energizes it necessarily in love, in new obedience, in good works. Both faith and new obedience stand related as cause and certain consequence. The necessity is not a legal compulsion, but a free impulse, originating in the Holy Ghost and the love produced by him of the heart reconciled to God; which, however, has at the same time, the objective will of God revealed in the law as the basis of its self-determined activity. Indeed this law must serve, in distinction from the Gospel, as the future monitor and guide of the regenerate, as in him with the spirit the flesh, with the new the old man lives, and both are in con-

tinual conflict. And this conflict continues during the whole life of the Christian; however far he may advance in the divine life, he will not be freed from sin, so deeply rooted is it in nature; his own righteousness, the work of grace in him remains ever imperfect, and for this reason he cannot rest his gracious state upon it; but this, as in the beginning, so in the progress, rests entirely on the righteousness of Christ, received and held by faith. In this, and nothing else, lies both the comfort and the strength of the Christian; comfort in life and death, power for contest and victory.

The means by which Christ by his Spirit produces justifying faith in us, are his word and sacraments. By baptism he receives us into the fellowship of his salvation. In the Supper He gives us, with bread and wine, his true body and his true blood orally, although enjoyed in a supernatural mysterious manner, to seal the forgiveness of the believer's sins (bodily) and to strengthen his faith, and to condemn the unbeliever. This the word of Christ in the institution pledges. The fulfilment of this word, which promises the real, substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ, is not rendered impossible by the present condition of the glorified one; but it much more follows from it, that he is present with his body, and can be, wherever and in any way that he pleases, according to his promise. Whether this presence is only relative or absolute, remains undetermined by the Form of Concord,[1] but this is certain, that in Christ the divine and human are not brought together in a mere external and nominal unity, but in the real and living unity of *humano divine* personality, and therefore communicate themselves to one another, so, that the human nature of the Lord is pervaded with the light through the fulness of the Godhead, penetrated, and made participant of its glory, and is the perfectly and adequate and free organ for the presence and activity of the same. The two sides of the nature of the Lord are not in any way separated by space, or place, and they do not operate independently, just as little as he suffered merely as man, so little is he at present merely present in his divinity, in the word and sacraments; but his whole life and sufferings on earth in depression and poverty were truly *divino human*, and so are his manifestations in glory.

[1] For just in this, and what is closely connected with it, how the general presence of Christ is distinguished from that in the Lord's Supper, the Theology of that day was not in the clear.

The human poverty did not impede the Divinity's condescension in uniting with it, in order in it and by means of it to effect our salvation; the divine fulness does not find such limits in the created humanity, that it cannot pour itself into it, to convey to us by and through the same the salvation procured once for all for us, to conduct to a close the work of grace through the revolutions of the world. On this interpretation of the divine and human in Christ's person and work rests the truth and power of the atonement—upon it our continued communion with the Eternal Mediator, and through him with the Father — upon it the meaning and efficacy of the means of grace, particularly of the sacrament of the altar.

In the entire work of salvation finally, as it was completed by Christ on earth, and is applied by the working of the Holy Ghost by means of the word and of the sacraments in the call, illumination, justification, and sanctification of men, in all an eternal decree of God's grace is accomplished, and this is the decree of God to save men by Christ; not conditioned or founded in any foreseen worthiness or merit of any description of individuals, but proceeding from his redeeming love centering in Christ the Mediator, in whom the fallen race are loved by him, and on the other hand embracing the whole race so far as it becomes united to Christ, the beloved, by faith. In virtue of this eternal universal gracious will, which the Gospel unveils, God produces the conditions of participation in the salvation offered to all, in that he offers to every one, with the word calling him, the active grace, and makes him thus capable of receiving and retaining the grace. But he does not do this in such a way as to exclude, but include, human self-determination, as the decree has reference in advance to the faith of men, to it as the means by which the Redeemer is received — he therefore leaves every one to determine for or against, after he has amply supplied him with all the means, which render the personal decision for grace, practicable. His destiny is determined by this decision. The lost are lost by their own fault, and not because of the divine decree, the saved, thank God, in Christ, and no one else, for salvation and blessedness.

This is the short, bare summary of what the Concord Formula contains, in rich exposition. If any thing material fails, it is not excluded, but it is merely passed over here.

In closing thus our explanations, we believe that we have counteracted a considerable part of the difficulties in regard to the last member of our consistent confession. It is the same spirit that breathes through the whole; the same tone that

sounds in all. On the one side the deep earnestness of repentance, on the other joyous faith on God's grace; here a view into the abyss of the human heart, into the frightful character of sin, into the darkness of alienation from God, then the loud joyful praise of God's mercy in Christ. Our entire Confession cannot be read, without deriving from it the feeling that it has originated from such an experience and is penetrated by it to the last extremity. This is true too of the Formula of Concord. Its individual decisions are, taken together, in the most beautiful harmony with the fundamental principle of the church, and with the older symbolical doctrines; they all depend upon the Scriptures and can be established by them. As long as these two positions are unrefuted, the Formula of Concord holds its place in the organism of our luminous Confession. It belongs to the greatest achievements which our church owes to divine grace. In this respect, too, is the word applicable: "Hold fast what thou hast."

ARTICLE III.

THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.

By Rev. Charles F. Schaeffer D. D., Easton, Pa.

Those whose attention has been directed to the history of the Church of Christ, are aware, that at different periods, the Decrees of God have been prominent subjects of controversy. The discussions were, however, conducted with greater animation after the Reformation, than at any earlier age. The protracted controversies in which Augustine (who died A. D. 430) was engaged with the Pelagians, &c. usually referred to topics of a more general nature; the divine decrees did not necessarily constitute the main question. The agitation which was, at a later period, renewed by Gottschalk or Gotteschalcus, (who died A. D. 868) produced no decisive results. The eminent position of Calvin, the candor and boldness of his assertions, and the intrinsic importance of the subjects themselves, easily explain the deep and continued interest which the proposed establishment or refutation of predestinarian views awakened. The Lutheran church was never agitated by these contests. Luther and Melanchthon, guided by the wisdom that is from above, and favored by the special Providence of

the Head of the Church, were enabled to lay the broad and firm foundations of the true faith, and establish the creed of the church before the doctrine of election, as an element of strife, was introduced. Their grateful acceptance of all revealed truth, and their deep humility before God, which forbade them even to attempt to search out the unrevealed "things of God which no man knoweth but the Spirit of God," (1 Cor. 2: 11) were exhibited alike in the public Confessions which they prepared, and the private writings which they were induced to publish. The way of salvation, as they sincerely believed, was clearly revealed in the Scriptures; in *their* religious experience, the means of grace afforded by the church were found to be amply sufficient to maintain spiritual life in the soul. Hence they refused either to introduce into their creed any doctrinal views which the wisdom of God had not defined, and the wisdom of man never can decide, or to combine with the divinely appointed means of grace any human and unprofitable usages. This spirit of faith and meekness became the characteristic feature of the church: it re-appears wherever her pure confessions have remained unviolated, and her usages undefiled by any admixture with human inventions.

While, therefore, the church possesses all divine truth which God has been pleased to reveal, she has been preserved from those evils that invariably attend the introduction of error into the temple of God. Hence the Formula Concordiæ gratefully acknowledges (ed. Rech. p. 797[1]), that while others were harassed by the disputes which the doctrine of election had engendered, our own church had remained in peace. Still, there are reasons in which silence ceases to be wise and safe, and the church fully declared her sentiments respecting this doctrine, when the appropriate time had arrived.

The Decrees of God, in general, are defined in theological science to be the acts or operations of the Divine Will, while it is understood that, necessarily, an anthropomorphical or rather an anthropopathical aspect is given by such definitions to the Divine Mind and its manifestations. They constitute in reality only one decree or determination, but as the divine attributes, which are not isolated features of the divine nature, are nevertheless separately considered, in order that the finite mind may, at least partially comprehend them, so the acts of the divine will are separately considered, without implying by the theological process a succession or change of ideas in the

[1] We refer throughout this article to the pages of the old Rechenberg edition, which are usually found on the margins of the late editions of the Symbolical Books.

divine Mind. The decrees of God, after this explanation, may be stated to be very numerous: they are, for instance, the decree to create the world, the decree to send a Savior into the world, &c., and they are all uncontrolled and free, benevolent and wise, just and righteous, unchangeable and eternal — but they are not always fully revealed or capable of being fathomed by the human mind. In the Scriptures they are called the ways, thoughts, counsels, &c. of God.

These Decrees of God, in their practical results, had been abundantly explained in the earlier symbols, in those portions which presented the doctrines of the Atonement, of Repentance, of Justification, &c. but the theory itself had not been distinctly illustrated in any particular case. The Almighty, who could have created the world and all that it contains in one day, chose to assign six days to the work; while He could have established the New Covenant in a brief period of time, He permitted years to elapse between the first appearance of the Savior, and the actual existence of the church completely supplied with the means of grace and the entire canon of Scripture. Thus, too, when He was pleased to renovate the church, and cleanse it from the corruptions of popery, He could have, in a brief space, removed all ignorance and doubt from the minds of his agents, but in this glorious work He was pleased, in an analogous way, to permit years to pass before the entire written Creed of the Church appeared. For, the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran church, though written, like those of the New Testament, at intervals, constitute one undivided, and indeed, indivisible whole. We do not assign less authority to the Epistles of St. Peter than to the Gospel of St. Matthew, because they are later productions, neither do we assign less authority to the Concord Formula than to the Augsburg Confession, simply because it is a later document. We cannot put asunder what God has joined together — the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, the two Catechisms and the Smalcald Articles, would be incomplete without the Concord-Formula, and, as all breathe the same spirit, and proceed from the same source of truth, it would be a course as unwise as it would be unauthorized to select one and reject another. In this view, indeed, the Form. Con. itself represents (p. 797) the great object for which it came into existence to be, the prevention of dissentions and schisms in the church in all succeeding ages. It is intended to be the Standard or Confession of the church to the end of time, and to it we appeal with confidence and delight as to a noble exposition of the tenets of the Evangelical Lutheran church, coinciding ab-

solutely with the inspired word in the doctrines which it professes to have thence derived.

The doctrine of Election is accordingly stated in the Eleventh Article of the Concord-Formula, not only because the presentation of correct views on such an important subject was essential to the completeness of our creed, and would, in the providence of God, preclude the introduction of the dangerous tenets which had convulsed various portions of the Protestant host, but also because the doctrine, when exhibited in a scriptural form, is really a source of consolation to the believer. It was our original intention to furnish a translation of this admirable portion of the F. C.; its great length, however, in the *Solida Declaratio* (to which part of the F. C. we shall chiefly refer) renders this course impossible in an article intended for the Review. Still, we may, without essential loss, present an abstract of the article, which will, with sufficient distinctness, show the views of the church on this subject. We shall not occupy space by detailing the history of the origin, the etymology, the various definitions, &c., of the technical words employed in this question, (ἐκλέγω, προορίζω, προγινώσκω, πρωείδω, προθεσις) but use "election" and "predestination" as convertible terms, although the latter is employed by many as the *genus*, comprehending election and reprobation as the two *species*. We do not desire to give to our statements a controversial form in the most remote degree. The pastors and members of our church are still unanimous and prompt in deciding the question whenever it is presented to their notice; with others we have at present no interest in commencing a controversy; our object is simply to state doctrines and facts connected with an important and deeply interesting subject.

The Eleventh Article of the F. C., in which the whole doctrine of Election is presented, has been often misapprehended. Even those who adopt the general views which it advocates, have occasionally permitted themselves to ascribe to it indistinctness and vacillation, forgetting that the great subject which it discusses is recondite, in part connected with acts of the Divine Mind of which we have no revealed knowledge, and incapable of being presented with fulness of detail. We will give only one illustration of unfair representations. The celebrated Planck, (we quote from the Leipzig edition of 1800, Geschichte der Entstehung &c. Vol. 6) remarks, p. 814: "In the whole progress of the Article a certain confusion prevails, of which the authors of the Formula are never guilty in any other part of it." This "confusion" is really in the mind of Planck himself, who takes the particle of dust on the object-

glass of his telescope to be a spot on the celestial body which he is contemplating. For, on the one hand, he remarks, in addition to the above censure, that it was inconsistent (p. 804) to introduce the subject at all into the F. C., because "no controversy respecting it had ever occurred in the Lutheran church itself;" yet he pronounces this inconsistency (inconsequenz) to be truly meritorious, p. 805. Again, he remarks, p. 812: "It cannot but be distinctly seen in the whole mode in which they treat the Article, that they entered upon the subject with fear and trembling alone (nur mit Schrecken);" yet he twice says, p. p. 805 and p. 811, that the authors could have with great propriety passed over the subject in silence, and have even felt justified in avoiding all mention of it, but that they proceeded to discuss it from their own conviction that it was highly necessary to define and establish distinctly the church doctrine, p. 812, and he confesses that, under the circumstances, it was a meritorious act on their part, when, from a sense of duty, they noticed a controverted question, from the examination of which they could have so easily dispensed themselves. Their "Schrecken" cannot have been very serious. Lastly, he thinks, p. 812, that they avoid the main point, and travel round it in a circle, and yet he adds that it is clear from the course which they take, that this main point was not at all obscure or doubtful in their view. He then attempts to show, p. 813, that, nevertheless the subject was obscure in their view; afterwards, however, p. 814, he thinks that perhaps it was not the want of clear views, but the dread of Synergism,[1] which led them to avoid, not only a decision of the point in question, but even an attempt to state precisely what that point was! After having detected "reserve and confusion," p. 815, in the Article, sufficient to rob it of all value, if the charge could be substantiated, he informs us that these traits did no harm, and that the Article itself contains the fundamental ideas of a theory most clearly opposed to Augustinian and Calvinistic views, presented, moreover, in a form to which consistency could be given with the greatest facility. We confess, that after reading this extraordinary medley of censure and praise, we found even more "confusion and inconsistency" in Planck, than he finds in Article XI. The merits of Planck as a historian are confessedly great; still, the unbecoming spirit in which he occasionally assails the F. C., has called forth severe commments even

[1] Alluding to the previous Synergistic controversies (from συνεργεῖν cooperari) respecting man's ability or inability to co-operate in the divine work of his moral renovation, &c.

from theologians whose general views of it partially resemble his own. Such assaults are, however, harmless. Our rock is not easily shaken by breezes so fitful and weak.

An explanation of the peculiar usage in Art. XI. of the F. C. of the words "elect, election," &c. which seems to be the original source of the animadversions to which it has been exposed, is indispensable to a correct appreciation of its high value. The following statement embodies the results of a patient study of the Article, and is submitted as a slight contribution to the mass of materials employed in the elucidation of confessional[1] questions:

The translators of the Bible have repeatedly rendered the original word ἐκλεκτὸς by "chosen" (Matth. 20: 16, 22: 14, Rom. 16: 13, 1 Pet. 2: 9, Rev. 17: 14.), instead of employing the word "elect." The term itself is derived from the Old Test., and was originally applied to the people of Israel to designate the historical fact that they, as a people, were elected or chosen to be the depositaries of the written revelations of God, &c.; e. g. Deut. 14: 2, Ps. 105: 43. In this sense St. Paul declares, Acts 13: 17, that the "fathers," in their collective capacity, were the "elect" (chosen) of God; for the finite verb ἐξελέξατο is employed in place of ἐκλεκτὸς simply on account of the grammatical construction of the sentence. Analogous expressions like "separated, severed, peculiar," &c. occur in Lev. 20: 24, 26; Deut. 26: 18, 19. The epithet "elect" was applied to the whole people, and heathens who became proselytes were at once associated with the "elect" people of God. The Apostles found this word in common use, in a general sense, as the name of the highly-favored people to whom the revelations of God had been made through Moses and the prophets, as contradistinguished from those who by their birth and position were aliens or strangers; they transferred it, like the terms "temple, priest, sacrifice," &c. to New Testament facts, and regarded it, not as the title of a long chapter in modern books on Systematic Divinity, but simply as an appropriate and expressive word for describing the highly favored people to whom the revelations of God were made through Christ and his Apostles, and who were, by their profession of the Christian faith contradistinguished from those who through ignorance or enmity remained heathens and Jews. The idea of a personal election, or an election of in-

[1] This word, in the sense of "appertaining to Confessions of faith," is common in French and German authors (confessionell), although it has not yet been recognized by English lexicographers.

dividuals in the very bosom of the church or people who were already all elect, was foreign to the Jewish mind, and could not have been connected with the term by the Apostles without distinct explanations, such as occur in no passage of their writings. The reader of an apostolic letter, which mentioned the "elect of God," Rom. 8: 33, 1 Pet. 1: 2, could combine with the expression no other doctrine than that those, to whom it was applied, were, generally, the body known as "believers," "disciples," or members of the Christian Church. St. Paul accordingly assigns to them this very term (election) in Rom. 11: 7.

Still, the Apostles were conscious that the "elect people" in many cases destroyed that election, the ultimate object of which was, undoubtedly, their salvation, or rendered it unavailing, like the unbelieving Jews, by their impenitence and sins, and distinctly saw that the "election" of a people, among whom were found persons like the believing and baptized Simon the sorcerer (Acts 8: 13), did not necessarily secure the eternal salvation of all the individuals of that entire "elect people." They consequently modified their expressions, or rather, gave a new character to this election, by considering it in a two-fold aspect; *first* as an election, by which the favored people were placed in a salvable state, which blessing, in God's inscrutable providence, was denied for the present to many heathens in that form; and, *secondly*, as an election in a more exalted or in an emphatic sense of the word, in view of the actual results, or, in cases in which the elect actually availed themselves of the advantages which they possessed, and were qualified for the enjoyment of heaven. The practice of distinguishing between the inferior or general meaning of a term, founded on the intention on the one hand, and its true application as decided by the actual results on the other, is illustrated in passages like these: In Rom. 2: 28, 29, Paul does not deny, that the "Jew which is one outwardly" is a Jew in the lower or ordinary sense of the word *Jew*, but he asserts that in the higher sense, or when viewing the actual results as described in the latter part of verse 29, the "Jew which is one inwardly" alone is a *Jew*. In Galat. 3: 7, he does not intend to deny the historical fact, that the unbelieving Jews are literally the descendants of Abraham, but he denies that they can claim this appellation in its highest or emphatic sense, or in view of the actual results. When he remarks, Rom. 9: 6, "they are not all Israel, which are of Israel," he clearly sets forth these two definitions, the lower, and the higher or spirit-

ual or emphatic, which belong to the same word. In 1 Tim. 4 : 10, he speaks of "the Savior of all men, especially of those that believe." While the Lord may be called the Savior of all men in God's intention, still, in view of the actual results, he is the Savior emphatically only of those who believe, agreeably to 1 Corinth. 1 : 21.

Similar cases abound in Scripture in which the same word is employed in two senses, a lower or general, and a higher or emphatic, or one determined by the actual results. According to John 3 : 16, God loved the "world;" in the same Gospel the Savior says that the "world" hates him, chapt. 7 : 7. The "world" in the former case consists, in the general sense, of the whole sinful race, including those who afterwards believe, but the "world" in the latter, excluding those who believe and are regenerated and separated from evil, refers to those who reject the offered grace, and, as the result, remain sinful, constituting emphatically "the world," as sinful and opposed to God. The "kingdom of heaven" in Matth. 13 : 47, contains "of every kind," both bad and good, while, according to Matth. 5 : 20, 7 : 21, &c. none but the truly righteous, who actually do the will of God, shall enter the "kingdom of heaven." The expression in the former case evidently refers to the "kingdom" in a lower or general sense, in the latter, it views the actual results alone, and the phrase becomes emphatic. The sacred writers, namely, do not employ words in that strictly defined and technical sense which they necessarily receive in the theological system, in which great precision is absolutely indispensable, but rather employ words according to popular usage, without however inducing indistinctness by that course. Many words are constantly employed in the ordinary transactions of men, of which those who pronounce and those who hear them, could not always give a strict scientific definition, and yet no confusion of ideas occurs. — The language "eternal Spirit," Hebr. 9 : 14, "Spirit of holiness," Rom. 1 : 4, and "justified in the Spirit," 1 Tim. 3 : 16,[1] only *seems* to designate the Holy Spirit, one of the persons of the blessed Trinity, but is regarded by many sound commentators as in reality another term for *divinity*, *divine nature*, &c. in general. The Apostle refers in 1 Tim. 5 : 4, to her who is literally a "widow,"

[1] See the beautiful exposition of this passage in Wiesinger's continuation of Olshausen's Commentary, Vol. 5. Abth. 1. These passages, we may here remark, show that while the *letter* of the rule of the Am. Bible Society, "that the Bible shall be printed without note or comment" may be easily observed, a typographical necessity may sometimes compel the violation of its *spirit*. The Am. Bible Society's Committee of Versions presented a deeply interesting Report (adopted May 1, 1851) on the History and recent collation of the

and who, according to the popular usage of the term, may rightfully claim its application to herself. Still, she has "children or nephews," who are under obligations to sustain her, and is not entirely friendless. He then, in verse 5, employs the word in an emphatic or stricter sense; the "widow indeed," the *real* widow, ἡ ὄντως χήρα, is she who is entirely destitute of friends and of means, and who therefore alone corresponds really to the idea of a widow, or a female left destitute and friendless.

This important hermeneutical rule, which requires us to discriminate between the lower, general or indefinite, and the higher, essential, emphatic or more definite meaning of a word, but which, in the form here presented, does not usually, we believe, occupy a prominent position in treatises, is, nevertheless, continually if not consciously and distinctly, adopted by judicious interpreters. Paul says: "a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ," (Gal. 2: 16), while James says: "by works a man is justified and not by faith only," (James 2: 24). There is really no contradiction here, as all who adopt the present canon maintain *à priori*. Still, interpreters, by the variety of their explanations, confess that the juxtaposition of the two passages constitutes a *crux*. St. Paul presents the doctrine, that man's pardon and restoration to divine favor are not merited by his works, but flow from the merits of Christ, when apprehended by a genuine faith: St. James who is not, like St. Paul, discussing the original ground of justification, but the true nature of faith, presents the doctrine in its last and most glorious results, and teaches that man's pardon and restoration to divine favor occur when a genuine or living faith is exercised, the existence of which without its fruits he declares to be impossible, and his words are in strict accordance with St. Paul's teaching elsewhere, who similarly describes faith as being not inert but active, a faith not confined to verbal professions, but one which proves its vitality and power by its legitimate fruits.

It is precisely in this manner, that St. Peter is to be understood when he says: "give diligence to make your calling and election sure" (2 Pet. 1: 10); he does not consider the elec-

English version of the Bible, in which they remark, p. 24, that in the new and improved edition which we may soon expect to see, and which will doubtless be an honor to the Society, the word "Spirit" is to begin with a capital when it refers to the Spirit of God as a divine agent, but not when it denotes other spiritual beings or the spirit of man, and they append several specimens. They cannot possibly avoid the necessity of giving the character of a "comment" to their choice of the initial letter of the word in the passages to which we have referred above.

tion of those whom he addresses to be sure, or be an election viewed as really such by its actual results, until they adopt the course which he indicates in the previous verses. In the same manner St. Paul admonishes Timothy: "lay hold on eternal life whereunto thou art also called," (1 Tim. 6: 12) and urges him to make his calling effectual and sure. Thus the word "elect" in the lower or general sense (according to which the actual result is not specified) coincides with the word "called" which repeatedly occurs in the apostolic epistles, (e. g. Rom. 1: 6, 7; 1 Cor. 1: 2) as well as in the passages just quoted. A striking illustration of the coincidence of the word "election" and "calling," occurs in Rom. 11: 28, 29, in which Tholuck (Auslegung d. B. an d. Römer, *ad loc.*) interprets both alike, as designating "die Erwählung—Einsetzung zum äusseren Bundesvolk." Thus the "elect," in one sense in which the inspired writers use it, are the multitude, indiscriminately considered, of professed believers in Christ, comprehending both the good and the evil members of the church. The transition by which the other sense is reached is distinctly marked. The great object of God in calling and electing any community, company, city or nation was, undoubtedly, to induce them to enter his service by faith in Christ, to grant them the sanctifying influences of His Spirit through the means of grace, and ultimately to save them. This step in the development of the second sense distinctly appears in 2 Tim. 2: 10: "Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sake, that they may also obtain the salvation" &c. We combine with this passage the words: "knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God." 1 Thess. 1: 4, which, as the context shows, implies that the "elect" shall receive the means essential to make their election sure. Further illustrations occur in Coloss. 3: 12, and in 1 Peter 1: 1, 2, in which the true position of the word "elect" is before the word "strangers," agreeably to the original and Luther's version. Finally, the word "elect" is employed, in view of the actual results, by our Lord himself in the passage: "many are called, but few are *elect*," (Matth. 22: 14) as the original, not as the English version, reads. The parable to which this sentence is appended, does not design to speak of the multitude of those who, from their position, were not accessible to the king's servants; but *all* others it exhibits arranged in three classes. The first consists of those whom the invitation reaches, but who "would not come." These are the "called" in the general or original sense of the word, but by their own act they exclude themselves from the number of the elect, and do not enter even the visible church. The se-

sond class consists of those who are invited, and who formally accept the invitation, "both bad and good," ver. 10. These are the "called" in the higher sense of that word, in which it coincides with the lower or general sense of the word "elect." They are the "nominal professors of religion," who possess no spiritual life, through their own voluntary neglect, and are represented by the "man which had not on a wedding garment," ver. 11. The third class consists of those who actually wear the appropriate "wedding garment," or who are cleansed and sanctified, and "made meet to be partakers of the saints in light," Col. 1 : 12. These persons, called without merit of their own, but willing to obey, clothed in the garments of Christ's righteousness, and blessed by the Lord, not because of any worthiness existing in themselves, but because of his love alone, are, pre-eminently, according to the Lord, "*The elect*," ἐκλεκτοί, ver. 14. It is from this usage of the word, that the definition "choice, excellent, beloved of God," &c. is derived, of which we have instances in 1 Tim. 5 : 21; 1 Pet. 2 : 4, 6, 9; and Luke 23 : 35, compared with Isaiah 42 : 1, Septuagint; and it is in this sense that the followers of the Lamb are "the called, the elect and the faithful," Rev. 17 : 14.

We regard this development of the signification of the word, as the source from which the true interpretation of Art. XI. of the F. C. can be derived with facility and precision. The authors employ the words "elect, election," &c. chiefly in this higher or emphatic sense, according to which only the actual results which follow God's general offers of salvation are contemplated. It was their design to confine the discussion of the subject within the narrowest limits, and extraneous matters are omitted. Hence they do not consider the case of heathens who are not yet called, nor do they very extensively discuss the case of those who, though called and therefore elect in one sense, nevertheless do not make their election sure; for although Christ is termed the Savior, by whom also they were bought (2 Pet. 2 : 1), they are nevertheless, as to the actual retual result, not elect, that is, not sanctified believers and not heirs of heaven, and of them therefore Christ, as to the actual result, is not the Savior—they perish in their sins.

After these preliminary remarks, which the case before us seemed to render appropriate, we turn to Art. XI. itself, and proceed to furnish a summary of its contents.

The Concord-Formula distinguishes carefully (p. 798) between the prescience or foreknowledge of God on the one hand, and the election or predestination of his children to eternal life, on the other. The former comprehends all things, both good

and evil, the latter, according to Ephes. 1 : 5, refers exclusively to the children of God. The idea of a *reprobation* in the technical Calvinistic sense, is unequivocally disowned, and the very term in its technical sense is not recognized, for the passage, p. 808 ult. in which it occurs incidentally (reprobare — verwerfen), presents it as a penal consequence of the obstinate resistance to the Holy Spirit in an entirely non-Calvinistic connection.

The original cause of evil is not to be traced to God in any sense, but is found in the depraved will of Satan and man alone. It is true that the ancient problem of reconciling the liberty of man with the fore-knowledge of God is not here solved; *that* solution Revelation has not furnished, and it is admitted to be one which human wisdom is unable to furnish.[1] Still, one point is clear: the latter does not render the former impossible. An obvious illustration is afforded in the case of Saul and the inhabitants of Keilah (1 Sam. ch. 23), in which city David had found a place of refuge. "Will Saul come down — to destroy the city for my sake?" said David to the Lord. "And the Lord said, He will come down." "Will the men of Keilah deliver me and my men into the hand of Saul?" "And the Lord said, They will deliver thee up."[2] On receiving this divivine answer, David departed from the city, and, although God foreknew both events, *neither of the two* occurred—Saul did not approach the city, and the inhabitants did not deliver David up to him. If God's foreknowledge of events does not compel their actual occurrence, (for in the case of an infinite being like God nothing can be really contingent, and the distinction between these and other events

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[1] "Ist die Unmöglichkeit der Beantwortung einer Frage in der Unzulänglichkeit unsers Vermögens klar nachgewiesen, so ist dies die letzte antwort darauf, welche hienieden gegeben werden kann." Tholuck, Romans 8 : 28. p. 308. See also, Köllner, Symb. I. 634, sq.—Calvin's solution is one of the happiest instances we have ever found of the ease with which the knot may be cut that cannot be untied. He makes (Instit. I. 18. 4,) a distinction between God's will and his command; for instance, "when Absalom defiled the wives of his father, it was the will of God by this disgrace to punish the adultery of David; he did not therefore however command" &c. See also 17. 5. Such views prepare us for the following: "Since he (God) foresees future events only in consequence of his decree that they shall happen (!), it is useless to contend about foreknowledge, while it is evident that all things come to pass rather by ordination and decree." Instit. III. 23. 6. No difficulty is now found in attempting to reconcile human liberty and God's foreknowledge, for the former is annihilated, and the latter alone remains. Is this not fatalism?

[2] The omniscience of God, by which future so-called contingent events are known to God, is denominated in reference to cases like the present, *scientia media*.

exists only in our minds), then it is easy to conceive of other foreknown events, even when they do occur, as similarly free from an inevitable necessity of occurring, simply because they are foreknown. Hence, the F. C. holds (p. 799) that while God foreknows the evil that takes place in the world, this result is not produced by God's will or act, but is contrary to his will; He permits the occurrence of evil within certain limits, but in the exercise of his absolute power, according to his own will, He assigns bounds which it cannot transcend. We do not deny, however, that even after we have followed such a course of ratiocination and illustration, the unduly inquisitive human mind is not fully enlightened and satisfied. We are conscious that grave difficulties remain unadjusted, and this feeling is sometimes permitted to degenerate into a morbid desire to understand the ways of the Deity, which are "past finding out," Rom. 11: 33. The Calvinistic system, characterized by a vigor which leads to rashness, responds promptly and distinctly to many questions which the Scriptures refuse to answer; still, it creates new difficulties that are even more painfully felt than those which are allowed by the silence of the Scriptures to remain; it comes in conflict with all our views of God's character as revealed in His word, and we instinctively reject the whole system as irreconcilable with reason and with revelation. The Lutheran system occupies altogether a different position. The F. C. explicitly asserts that, as to this subject, while much is revealed, much too has been withheld from our knowledge, and that the Church, in place of fruitlessly attempting to investigate points which God has been pleasd to involve in deep mystery, is under solemn obligations to confine her attention to the revealed word of God alone, p. 811 ult. It asserts that, undoubtedly, God knew, before the world was made, how many among those who are called, will believe or not believe in Christ, and (not recognizing the Calvinistic doctrine of Final perseverance) how many of those who are converted will persevere or not persevere, how many individuals of the converted who have relapsed into sin will return, and how many again will be hardened (in Verstockung fallen) and perish in their sins, p. 812. E. g. "Et haud dubie etiam numerus eorum qui salvabuntur, et damnandorum Deo probe notus est." These points are termed the *secrets* of God, and are declared to be improper subjects of investigation, for no satisfactory results can be expected. Thus too, the F. C. proceeds, God grants his word to one country or region and not to another; the one is blinded or given "over to a reprobate mind," (Rom. 1: 28.) the other, equally guilty, is

converted &c. The inspired apostle Paul, in Rom. 11 : 22, exhibits all the light on this point which we can expect to receive. According to his doctrine, God is placed under no obligations to grant his grace to guilty man ; when he, nevertheless, condescends to offer it, and it is voluntarily rejected, Acts 13; 46, the final impenitence of the sinner, who is assumed to have equal advantages with any other, is a just consequence of his folly, and an illustration of God's justice, according to Rom. 1 : 28, while the sanctification of the obedient is a glorious illustration of his goodness. Beyond these limits, we are not enabled to penetrate the counsels of God.

The Church consequently enters upon the discussion of the doctrine of Election in a very humble spirit, and adopts, at the commencement, the principle repeatedly inculcated in Art. XI. of the F. C., that our decisions are to be guided exclusively by the revealed word, and that, in place of allowing our own reason to decide, we are to assume no position which is not therein indicated and allowed, p. 804. The aspect in which Election on the part of God is to be viewed is this: we are not to regard it in an isolated position, but to connect it inseparably with God's decree to send a Savior into the world. "This eternal election or ordaining of God to eternal life is not to be considered as standing detached or alone (nude) in the secret divine and inscrutable counsel of God, as if it embraced nothing more, or as if no more belonged to it, or as if, in meditating upon it, nothing more were to be taken into consideration than this, that God foresaw who and how many men would obtain salvation, and who and how many would perish forever, or as if the Lord had instituted a species of military levy or review, and said or resolved: This man shall be saved (soll selig werden — salvandus est) but the other shall be damned; this man shall steadfastly persevere in the faith unto the end, but the other shall not persevere." (Lat. p. 800). The false security which such a doctrine would produce in some minds, and the despair which it would occasion in others, are copiously set forth ; the F. C. proceeds to state, that the doctrine is to be viewed in its connection with God's counsel and purpose in Christ, and adds: "Let us embrace in mind *at the same time* the *whole* doctrine of the purpose, counsel, will and ordination of God, to wit, all things that belong to our redemption, vocation, justification and salvation." p. 802. "The eternal predestination of God is to be considered in Christ, (in its connection with him) and by no means independently of him, for, in Christ, as Paul declares, Eph. 1 : 4. God hath chosen us &c." p. 814.

This election of God is *general* or *universal*, in the most noble sense of these words. "If we desire to consider the eternal election to salvation in a profitable manner, this (principle) is to be most firmly and steadfastly maintained (Ger. — steif und fest), that not only the preaching of repentance, but also the promise of the Gospel is universal, that is, belongs to *all* men." p. 804. The following passages, which are usually presented as a refutation of the doctrine of a limited atonement, are then quoted *verbatim:* Luke 24: 47; John 3: 16; ib. 1: 29; ib. 6: 57; 1 John 1: 7; ib. 2: 2; Matth. 11: 28; Rom. 11: 32; 2 Pet. 3: 9; Rom. 10: 12; ib. 3: 22; John 6: 40; Mark 16: 15. This atonement agrees with Prop. I. p. 802, "That the *human race* is truly redeemed &c."

"And this calling (vocation) of God, which is offered to us through the word of the Gospel, let us not regard as only a feint or dissembling, but assuredly hold that through this calling God reveals his will; to wit, in reference to those whom he thus calls, he desires to operate effectually through the word, so that they may be illuminated, converted and saved," &c. p. 805. "As God ordained in his eternal counsel, that the Holy Spirit, by means of the word, should call, enlighten and convert the elect, and justify all those who receive Christ in true faith, so too, he decreed, in the same counsel, in the case of those who, when called through the word, nevertheless reject it, resist the Holy Spirit who desires to operate effectually in them through the word, and obstinately persevere in such contumacy, to harden, reprobate and consign them to eternal damnation." p. 808. There is no reference to individuals — the general divine plan is here sketched. In order that this process of hardening, and this act of reprobation may not be traced positively or negatively, directly or indirectly, to any previous agency of God, or any withholding of the means by which that mournful result might have been prevented, the following explanation is subjoined: "There are few (alluding to Matth. 20: 16) who, in an earnest manner, receive the Word and yield it pure obedience, the greater part contemn the Word, and will not come to the royal marriage feast, Matth. 22: 3. *The cause of this contempt of the Word is not the foreknowledge or predestination of God*, but the perverse will of man, which (will of man) rejects or perverts that medium and instrument of the Holy Spirit offered to man through the calling, and resists the Holy Spirit who desires to operate effectually through the Word, as Christ says, Matth. 23: 37, "how often would I have gathered thee and thou wouldst not." p. 809.

After this rejection of the Calvinistic doctrine that the influence of the Spirit is irresistible, the next paragraph refers to those who at first receive the Word with joy, but afterwards fall away, (Luke 8: 13) and teaches that while God himself had commenced that good work in them (thus asserting that the conversion was genuine and rejecting the doctrine of final perseverance), their fall does not occur because God was unwilling to grant them grace to persevere, as such a doctrine would contradict Phil. 1: 6. "The true cause of their defection is this, that they wantonly turn away from the holy command of God, that they grieve the Holy Spirit," &c. p. 809.

The call of God, which he desires that all alike should accept, and which is addressed with equal efficacy to all whom it reaches, is, on the one hand general in its nature, and as, on the other hand, it is addressed to the elect, the conclusion follows that this election is general, or in other words, that all who hear the preaching of the Gospel are enumerated among the elect, in the lower sense of that word, referring to God's intention, but not in that sense which the word bears when the actual results are contemplated. Christ calls *all sinners* to himself and promises them rest; and He seriously desires that *all* should come to him, permit their own interest to be consulted, and accept relief. To these he offers himself in his word as their Redeemer, and he desires that they should listen to the word without closing their ears, and neither neglect nor contemn the word. And He promises in addition, (Ger. darzu.) to bestow the power and operation of the Holy Spirit and Divine aid that we may remain steadfast in the faith, and obtain eternal life." p. 618. Various passages are quoted, like 2 Pet. 3: 9, "The Lord is . . not willing that any should perish," &c." The Call is uniformly represented as being made, not without means, but invariably through the Word, as the instrument employed by the Spirit, ("the Holy Spirit hath called me by the Gospel," &c. Cat. Min. Art. III.) and the Sacraments, ("the vocation or call is made through the Word and the Sacraments," p. 808). See also p. 671.

The condescension of God has provided us with ample security against any evil suggestions which, after all these explicit declarations have been made, might attempt to neutralize their force, and virtually confine the election of God to a certain number technically called, in the Calvinistic system, "the elect." "If, according to Matth. 20: 16; 22: 14, many are called while few are elect, the cause of this (result) is not the divine Call which is made through the Word, as if such were the language of God: I call you all, to whom I set forth my

word, externally indeed, through that word to become partakers of my heavenly kingdom, but the intentions of my heart do not refer to a call seriously addressed to all men, but only to a few, for it is my will that the greater part of those whom I call by my word, shall be neither illuminated nor converted, but be condemned to eternal death and remain therein, although I express a different intention in the Word by which they are called," &c. p. 807. After discarding these unworthy conceptions of the Supreme Being, the F. C. proceeds: "For this very purpose, namely, that we might entertain no doubts respecting God's revealed will in reference to ourselves, Christ not only causes the promise of the Gospel to be generally set forth (ingemein—generaliter—to all), but also, by attaching the Sacraments as seals to his promise, confirms the (truth and) certainty of the Gospel promise to every believer."

In reference to the passage: "No man can come to me, except the Father .. draw him," John 6: 44, the F. C. says: "The Father draws none without means; but employs, as the ordinary means and instruments, his Word and Sacraments. And it is the will neither of the Father, nor of the Son, that any one should neglect or contemn the preaching of the Word, and meanwhile wait until he is drawn by the Father without word or Sacrament. For the Father draws indeed man by the power of his Holy Ghost, but still draws him in the order decreed and instituted by himself, to wit, by the hearing of his divine word," &c. p. 818.

A very interesting question connected with the doctrine of Predestination is also considered. "Since the elect alone are saved whose names are written in the book of life, (which book of life *is Christ*, p. 618, p. 802, that is, through him alone life is to be obtained), in what manner and by what indications can it be ascertained who those elect are to whom this doctrine can, and (indeed) should, become a source of consolation?" p. 804. This question, which is represented as altogether unanswerable, except in view of the revealed word and will, refers here to those who are both elected and actually saved, that is, the "elect" in that sense of the word which refers to the actual event. The call which they receive, and which is made not immediately, that is, without means, but through the word of the Gospel, is one mark by which they may be recognized, (pp. 804, 805,) agreeably to Rom. 8: 30; Luke 24: 47; 2 Cor. 5: 20; Matth. 22: 2–10; ib. 20: 3–6.—Their acceptance of the Gospel, and obedience, is another, agreeably to John 10: 27; Eph. 1: 11, 13; Rom. 8: 25; Matth. 5: 6, (pp. 805, 806). The Christian character and

the life of the individual furnish a testimony to others, but his own religious experience in its intimate connection with the revealed word, is a testimony to himself of his election. On the other hand, namely, when the word is used in the same restricted sense, or in view of the actual results, those are not among the elect who reject the Word, grieve the Spirit, and persevere in sin, for although they are called, they resist the Holy Spirit, and such the Lord casts away, p. 808. Of them, according to Paul, 1 Tim. 4: 10, the Savior of *all* men is still not the Savior, in the result.

The F. C. then considers the case of those who frustrate the gracious purposes of God, practically refuse the divine election, and finally perish. "But if not all who hear the word of God believe, and if (consequently) they are condemned eternally to suffer punishments, which for that reason are the more severe, we are not to suppose that God is unwilling to bestow salvation on them (nicht gegönnet—invidere—grudges). They are themselves the cause of their perdition, and bear the responsibility, (culpam — fault), because they do not hear the word with the intention or purpose of learning seriously and with desire, but of despising, blaspheming and reviling it, when it is heard, and of resisting the Holy Spirit who sought to operate in them through the word." p. 818. Reference is then made to Rom. 9: 22, ("God — endured with much long-suffering the vessels wrath fitted to destruction") and the striking fact is noticed that God makes "vessels of honor" alone; the following comment is furnished: "In these words Paul distinctly says that God endured &c., but *he does not say* that God made them himself vessels of wrath; for if such had been his will (that this should be the result) the divine long-suffering would certainly not have been requisite. If, further, they are "fitted to destruction," the fault lies with the Devil and men, but by no means with God," (p. 819) repeating a previous declaration that this is the work of the Devil and man, "who by the instigation and impulse of the Devil, but not of God, *makes himself* a vessel of dishonor." The acts of the "potter" are only partially an illustration of those of God; the former makes vessels of both kinds (Rom. 9: 21), while God makes vessels of honor alone; in the same manner, when the Lord says: "I will come on thee as a thief," Rev. 3: 3, he does not design that both characteristics of the thief, the unexpectedness of his coming, and also the spoliation should illustrate his course, but only the former.

The F. C. proceeds to discuss the subject on these principles, and, after re-asserting that God does not desire the

damnation of one soul, refers to Rom. 6: 23, Ezek. 33: 11, 2 Pet. 3: 9, Ezek. 18: 23, and concludes, in reference to 2 Tim. 2: 21, with the renewed declaration: "Concerning the vessels of mercy, the Apostle clearly says, that the Lord himself prepared them for glory, which (agency of God) he by no means affirms respecting the damned, who themselves, but not God, have made themselves vessels of damnation." p. 819. If some, on account of their voluntary disobedience &c. are afterwards (hernach) punished by blindness and obduracy, this statement is not to be taken in such a sense as if God had never seriously wished them to come to the knowledge of the truth, and to be saved, &c. p. 820.

The case of Pharaoh is thus stated: "Therefore, Pharaoh, (of whom it is written) "Even for this same purpose" &c. Rom. 9: 17, Exod. 9: 16), did not perish because God was unwilling to grant him salvation, (nichtgegönnet—invideret) or as if God were pleased with his damnation and destruction, for He is not willing that any should perish, 2 Pet. 3: 9, and He has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live, Ezek. 33: 11. But if God hardens the heart of Pharaoh, so that the latter continues to sin, and, the more seriously he is admonished, the more he is hardened — this is a punishment of his previous sins, and of the most inhuman and studied (multiplicis) tyranny, which he practised in reference to the children of Israel, against the reproaches of his own conscience. And since the Lord caused his word and will to be declared to him, and Pharaoh nevertheless purposely, and with intentional malice, directly and contumaciously rebelled against all exhortation and admonition, (therefore) the Lord withdrew his hand from him (withdrew his sustaining aid) and abandoned him; in this manner his heart was hardened (i. e. was abandoned to its own natural corruption, according to Pharaoh's own voluntary desire), and the Lord executed his righteous judgment upon him, for Pharaoh was in all respects worthy of hell fire. And, indeed, St. Paul adduces the instance of Pharaoh (Rom. 9: 17), with no other view than to illustrate by it the justice of God, which He displays in the punishment of impenitent men, and despisers of his divine word. But it is by no means Paul's meaning, that God was unwilling to bestow salvation on Pharaoh or any other man, or that, in his secret counsel, he had predestinated any one unto damnation, so that he might not, in any manner, obtain salvation." p. 820 sq.

This last expression: "*nequaquam—Dominus—in arcano suo consilio — quemquam ad damnationem predestinavit,*"

indicates, that several of our older theologians have given undue prominence to the "*decretum reprobationis*," which they have introduced into their dogmatic works. The systematic form of their discussions may have seemed to require it; still, even though their explanations are anti-Calvinistic, it is to be regretted that the phrase was ever employed in their theological systems. Its insertion is unauthorized by the Symbolical Books.[1]

The consolations which this doctrine affords are next stated by the F. C., which finds the cause of our election in God's mercy and the merits of Christ (Eph. 1 : 5 sqq.), but not in ourselves. "It is therefore false, and at variance with God's word, when any teach that the cause of our election is not God's mercy solely, and the most holy merit of Christ alone, but also something in ourselves, on account of which God had predestinated us to eternal life. For not only before we had done any thing that was good, but even before we were born, yea, before the foundations of the world were laid, God elected us in Christ," (p. 821) that is, determined to offer salvation through Christ to the fallen world, agreeably to Eph. 1 : 4, 1 Pet. 1 : 20. "The Gospel excludes no repentant sinner from salvation, but calls and invites all sinners who are burdened by sin, and distressed by a sense of God's displeasure, unto penitence, unto the acknowledgment of their sins, and unto faith in Christ, and promises the Holy Spirit in order to their cleansing and sanctification." p. 822. The whole tenor of these statements shows that no personal election is contemplated, but that the election described refers to the pardon and salvation of all men.

The substance of the Church doctrine, as the foregoing quotations demonstrate, is as follows: God, who from all eternity foresaw the corruption and guilt of the entire human race, originating in the fall of Adam, determined in his infinite mercy, to refrain, after the fall, from the immediate infliction of the deserved penalty, which would have resulted in the eternal damnation of all, and to adopt a plan of salvation, which would equal in its extent the original evil for which it was designed to be the remedy, (Rom. ch. 5.). He determined to give his only-begotten Son to the world which He pitied and loved, and accept the work which the Son would perform in obeying

[1] The true spirit of our doctrine is exhibited with great felicity in the very name, in German. That which we call simply Election or Predestination, the Germans call "Gnadenwahl," that is, *Election of grace*, (Rom. 11 : 5) as a compound name, which altogether discards the very idea of a "decree of reprobation." Our own inelastic language would not admit of a compound like "grace-election."

the law and suffering death, as a substitute alike for the service which fallen man could not render, and the penalty which fallen man deserved. The salvation of the human race was now compatible with the justice of God. This salvation he determined to cause to be proclaimed to all men, in the course of his Providence, through men as his agents, after Christ's ascension. Means of sufficient efficacy for awakening attention, for properly disposing the heart, and for abundantly qualifying men to receive this salvation, invariably accompany this proclamation of the divine purpose of pardoning sinners for Christ's sake: these are the means of grace, that is, the Word and the two Sacraments, employed by the Divine Spirit in awakening faith, &c. without which faith &c. the sinner remains in his original state of disqualification for heaven. All who hear this proclamation are, consequently, placed in a situation in which they are amply provided with means to obtain salvation. All these are the "called"; they are also the "elect" or "chosen," in contradistinction from those who, in the order of time, have not yet been actually "called" by the Gospel. Now, of the entire number of those whom the Gospel reaches, one part, as experience shows, consists of those who voluntarily resist the Divine Spirit, who reject the offers of God, and who, yielding to their evil hearts, will not obey and exercise faith in Christ, or who, after repenting, relapse into sin, resist the Spirit, and die in impenitence: these persons practically abandon their calling and election, and class themselves with those, who, from another cause, that is, the absence of a call, remain without the advantages accompanying the "election." The other part of the called and elect, consist of those who yield to the Divine Spirit's influence, faithfully use the means of grace, possess a faith which manifests its genuineness in their holy life, and by divine aid, persevere in God's service. These persons make their calling and election sure, and are preëminently or emphatically "THE ELECT," that is, the gracious decree of God to save men is actually carried into execution in their case. Now the election originates solely in the grace of God, and is not made in view of any works or merits of individuals; and it is absolutely general, embracing all who are made acquainted with it. Hence, a personal election, or an election of individuals from among the mass of the elect, is not conceivable, for it would cause the declarations of God to contradict themselves. Further, while salvation itself is conditional, or depends on the acceptance of God's offered terms, this election, as far as it is equivalent to an offer of salvation, cannot be termed either conditional or unconditional,

for it is made by God's grace in Christ, and not in view of the works of the individual; and, finally, a "decree of reprobation" co-ordinate with the decree of election," in the sense now stated, is to be altogether discarded as incompatible with the foregoing principles and facts. Consequently, all who hear the Gospel and desire to be saved, are fully enabled to place themselves among the *elect* in the highest sense of the word, and may obtain eternal life. The conditions of this salvation are repentance and faith. From this doctrine the believer derives great encouragement; while he remains faithful, he may be fully persuaded that, after death, his soul will be saved, for his salvation depends not on his own insufficient righteousness, but on the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ.

It is evident that the Lutheran doctrine is remote alike from Calvinism and from Arminianism; these two generic terms, however, are respectively the representatives of several theories, characterized indeed by the same essential principles, but variously diverging from each other, and all alike occupying positions entirely distinct from our own. The Westminster Confession, Chapt. III. is very explicit: "some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death." § 3. "These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished." § 4. — "Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the elect only." § 6. The Canons of the Synod of Dort are equally explicit. There is an eternal difference between this system and our own. The characteristic features of the former are honestly and undisguisedly exhibited by Calvin: "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which He hath determined in himself, what He would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny, (there is, however, less fatalism in the original *pari conditione*, than in this translation by Allen); but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. *Every man, therefore, being created for one or the other of these ends*, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death." Calvin's Institutes, Book III. Chapt. 21. § 5. We presume that this specimen is amply sufficient to illustrate the character of Calvin's system of election; we concur with him in considering the decree, which he has exhibited and maintained to be scriptural, "a horrible decree," (decretum quidem horribile, fateor, ib. ch. 23. § 7.). The personal election of some indi-

viduals to salvation is unknown in the Bible and our system, which also disavow the idea of a reprobation of others, in Calvin's sense. The mitigated Calvinism of Milner, author of the Church History, is perhaps more prevalent among Presbyterians than the original system of Calvin; it softens the word *Reprobation* into *Preterition*, and declines to adopt the doctrine of a "limited atonement;" practically, the results are the same as in the original scheme. Although it admits the universality of the atonement, the special and essentially necessary influences of the Spirit, are regarded as given to the elect people of God alone; the rest are passed over, and are, in reality, as harshly treated as Calvin's own doctrine of Reprobation could desire. We are not prepared to state the views of the "New England Divines" on the general subject, as we have never found time, possibly, never taken sufficient interest in their multiform and fluctuating theories, to study their true position. Each leading "Divine" propounds his own modification of Calvinism—no *church doctrine*, in a tangible shape, can be grasped, and we have a general idea that all these diluting, vamping and abscinding processes to which Calvin's original system has been exposed by them and others, have only marred the logical propriety of its conclusions and destroyed its symmetry, without either infusing truth into its premises or fundamental principles, or removing the original vice in the heart of the system—its essential enmity to the Bible doctrine that God desires the salvation of all men.

The seventeenth article of the Episcopal "Thirty-nine Articles" is characterized by the feebleness and indefiniteness, which are the besetting sins of others in the same collection. The later divines of the Church of England concur in denying that this article was framed in a Calvinistic sense; the facts which they adduce undoubtedly possess great weight, and the *Lambeth Articles* of Dr. Whitaker, (the leader of the Calvinistic party at Cambridge) which were prepared by him in 1595, but which were fortunately not adopted either in the reign of Elizabeth or James, afford additional evidence, that the Calvinists of that day did not regard it as decidedly Calvinistic. It is certainly susceptible of a Lutheran interpretation, which, in a case of necessity, would allow us to subscribe it; still, it is very agreeable to us that such a necessity cannot possibly occur — the article is too affectedly solemn, and yet too undetermined to possess any value or authority—it allows the Episcopalian to be a Calvinist or anti-Calvinist, according to his own pleasure. However, even if this point be of great

importance, and if a decision could have been reasonably expected from "the church," still, as she gives *her* children exclusively the advantages flowing from the Apostolic succession, according to their belief, she may be excused for exhibiting in other respects a novercal spirit to her sons and daughters.

The position of the German Reformed Church is, perhaps, to be fixed at this point, where the boundary is established between those who incline on the one hand to Calvinism, and those on the other who are more or less disposed to sympathize with an extravagant and ultra form of Arminianism. In the whole series, it is to be understood that no place is claimed by us for the Lutheran Church, whose phraseology, definitions, and general character or spirit assign to her an independent position. We prefer to any statements of our own, or any detailed extracts from other authorities in reference to the German Reformed Church, (which is represented by the Heidelberg Catechism, its sole Symbolical Book,) the following extract from a note to an article of Dr. Nevin of Mercersburg, Pa., on Z. Ursinus, the principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism, in the Sept. 1851 number of the Mercersburg Review: "Ursinus was a believer, too, in predestination; he read over the whole Bible at one time from beginning to end, just to satisfy himself on this point, and it remained a settled article for him ever after. But it was controlled practically by the Melanchthonian or proper German habit previously established in his soul. He could not make the decree of election, which is by its very conception partial and abstract, to be the *principium* or root of the new creation. No *such* election accordingly appears in the Catechism. It moves in harmony with the old Apostles' Creed. It teaches (qu. 37) not a limited, but a universal atonement, an incarnation for the race, not a Gnostic or Baptistic phantasmagoria for only a part of it." Prof. Schaff, the Editor of the Kirchenfreund, furnishes a translation of this article in the Sept. number of his periodical, and has appended several original notes. To the above, which is the conclusion of Dr. Nevin's note, we find attached in the German translation, the following sentence, which, although not marked as usual, "D. Red.," is doubtless an addition of Prof. Schaff. "Concerning a *decretum reprobationis*, (or) an eternal foreordination of a part of mankind to damnation, which is the most offensive part of high Calvinism (im rigoristischem Calvinismus), there occurs not a word in the whole Heidelberg Catechism." The writers could have also quoted *quest.* 20, as embodying all on the subject that the Catechism contains: "Will then all men be again saved through Christ

as they were lost through Adam? Answ. No, but they alone (will be saved), who through true faith are united with him (Ger. eingeleibet, Lat. inseruntur,) and accept of his benefits." Since this catechism constitutes the basis of the German Ref. church, we assume, that as it proceeded from a moderately Calvinistic source, without, however, introducing the salient points of the system, therefore the Ger. Ref. church cannot be classed with either Calvinistic or anti-Calvinistic bodies; its members may adopt any views on that particular subject which do not contradict other established doctrines, and still be fair representatives of the doctrinal system of their church.[1]

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[1] The same position seems to have been taken by a highly respectable body of Christians, who have recently adopted the name of "The American Lutheran Church of the General Synod." It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the tenets of the body with precision, as it has not been long in existence, and its doctrines have not yet been fully developed or established, its founders are still all living and are venerable, rather for their admirable personal qualities and their works, than for their years. A striking affinity seems to exist between this body and "The Evangelical Lutheran Church (of the Formula Concordiæ)," not only in name, but also in doctrines and usages; (still, this affinity is not perhaps greater, than that which is found between the latter on the one hand, and the so-called "orthodox churches" on the other). They and the Alt-Lutheraner of the western States differ as the prodigal and miser. The latter, like a sullen boy, refuse all cheerful companionship with those who, while exhibiting equal fidelity to the Church Confessions, ascribe little importance to certain singularities which the Alt-Lutheraner tenaciously hold as valued treasures. With regard to the former, we might perhaps object to their special assumption of the name "American," since we too claim the appellation, and regard none as more honorable than that of native "American;" possibly, however, the name is used by them poetically, as we, for instance, speak of an "American sky." If they use the name to designate that they chiefly employ the *American language* in their churches, as we speak of the *Swedish* or *German* Lutheran Church, we object decidedly to their exclusive use of the name; we also claim the English to be our mother tongue. Altogether, there is something unscriptural in this whole phraseology, for St. Paul regards all invidious distinctions of language or country, like those of the Greeks, Hebrews, Scythians, &c. Col. 3: 11, as having been abolished among Christians.

The American Lutheran Church, if we are correctly informed, adopts select portions of our Augsburg Conf., (differing here from the Moravians, who profess a general adherence to the *whole* of it,) and even our Luther's Small Catechism, in an *amended* form. As, however, these two works, particularly when presented in an altered form, do not exhibit the *whole* of our doctrinal system, we presume that the American Luth. Church has no very exact and distinct system of faith. Thus, if we take the case of the doctrine to which this article refers, the said church, in the two works just mentioned, does not allude to predestination, and doubtless, as this church discards the Concord-Formula, a member of "the American Lutheran Church" might be an orthodox Calvinist of the ultra class, and also an *American Lutheran*. If we may take the liberty to express the opinion which a stranger would probably form, we should say that they are religious Eclectics, who have chosen the best out of all existing creeds, as far as they can judge. Thus, they believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and even make the Bible their Creed, and this spirit is lovely. Still, the Bible must speak that which *they* consider a rational language, and be interpreted according to the principles of *their* com-

The Arminian scheme, has, unfortunately for itself, been often misunderstood. Two of its articles originally contained the following views: 1. That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those who, he foresaw, would persevere, unto the end, in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours. 2. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular; that, however, none but those who believe in him can be partakers of their divine benefit. The third article asserts the natural inability of man, &c. the fourth declares that the Holy Ghost may be resisted, the fifth hesitates to adopt a principle, which the party afterwards unanimously adopted, viz. that the saints may fall from a state of grace. While Mosheim admits that the tenets of the Arminians originally *resembled* the Lutheran system, although this resemblance was denied by the Calvinists, who had read our Symb.

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mon sense; and language like: "This is my body—my blood," is freely acknowledged, *but* in a Zwinglian sense. The old doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded on these words and other passages, and which is regarded by us as a precious possession, they reject as base coin. They still retain the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper—the former is a good mode of outwardly initiating into the church, the latter is a very appropriate religious ceremony, by which the attention of the communicant is directed specially to Christ's death; the higher views of the Sacraments presented by *our* Symbolical Books they disown, possibly, because they are somewhat old, and not recognized by "sister churches." We believe that they also retain the rite of Confirmation, but likewise in a modified form, that is, not as a religious rite in addition to the Sacrament of Baptism both in infant and in adult baptism, as we practice it, but rendered unnecessary in the case of adult baptism. As this American Lutheran Church has, accordingly, no "distinctive features," and indeed has not presented to the world an exposition of its entire doctrinal system, since its more recent manifestation as a *Gegensatz* to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, we presume that it will undergo considerable changes in the course of a few years; it is an "orthodox" and an "evangelical" church, without any doctrines specially at variance with those of Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists, and hence its members find it easy to unite with those denominations in a true "christian alliance," that is, to become actual members of those denominations, and still retain all that they had believed as members of the American Lutheran Church, only making certain additions to their creed suited to the special case, sufficient to convert them into sound Episcopalians, Presbyterians or Methodists. We are personally acquainted with various brethren of said church, whom we admire and love, and we are inclined to believe that no grave departures from other doctrines of our own church, besides those which have already occurred, will take place as long as the present generation of the "American Lutheran Church" survives. Perhaps, as the operations of our church coincide with their own, we may indulge the hope that, ultimately, we shall coincide with them in doctrine, that is, that they will cordially adopt the whole body of the Symbolical Books of our own Evangelical Lutheran Church. We are authorized to expect this desirable result from their candor and love of truth.

Books, and who charged the Arminians with Socinian and Pelagian errors, he also says, that if the original articles were interpreted in accordance with the system of the later Arminians, it would be difficult to show that the suspicions of the Calvinists were groundless. (Mosh. ch. Hist. Cent. 17. Sect. II. Part II. ch. 3. § 4.) Arminianism subsequently degenerated into mere Latitudinarianism (ib. § 10.), and the "Arminian community was a kind of *medley*, composed of persons of different principles, and, properly speaking, it could have no fixed and stated form or system of doctrine." ib. § 12.— The characteristic feature, however, is that the election of persons to salvation is the effect of their foreseen perseverance in faith, which is a direct contradiction of the Lutheran system; for we hold that while man's salvation is conditional, or dependent on his compliance with the divine commands, still the *offer* itself of salvation, or the election of men (not of particular individuals) or the divine purpose, is the effect not of any good thing in themselves, but of God's grace in Christ.

Here Arminianism coincides with Methodism; in both we find indeed the principle adopted, that the Calvinistic doctrine of election is false, but in both, too, we find a course of argumentation, which, on account of the ambiguity of the phraseology, seems to involve numerous contradictions of itself. It has been quaintly remarked, that the "ingenuity of Arminius was more praiseworthy than his ingenuousness;" the necessity of the times compelled him to adopt a Calvinistic phraseology in an anti-Calvinistic sense; that necessity no longer exists, but the inconsistencies which it occasioned remain. The Methodists have entirely omitted, in their "Articles of Religion," the Episcopal (17th) article of "Predestination and Election," and substituted nothing in its place. Still we can partially understand, not perhaps what they *do* believe, but, at least, what they do *not* believe. In Tract, No. 40, "Scripture Doctrine of Predestination, Election and Reprobation, by the Rev. John Wesley," and published by the Methodists as an expression of their doctrine, Wesley remarks: "God hath chosen some to life and glory before or from the foundation of the world." But, "men are called elect from the foundation of the world, and yet not elected, perhaps, till some thousand years after, till the day of their conversion to God." "They are not chosen before they believed, much less before they had a being, any more than Christ was slain before he had a being." — "God, from the foundation of the world, foreknew all men's believing or not believing. And, according to this his foreknowledge, he chose or elected all obedient believers, as such, to salvation,

and refused or *reprobated* all disobedient unbelievers, as such, to damnation."—"Faith in Christ producing obedience to him, is *a cause without* which God elected none to glory . . . but I do not hold that it is the cause *for which* he elects any." Wesley proceeds, *in his way*, to prove that the Calvinistic position: "Christ died for the elect, as elect," is a "solemn nothing." We apprehend, without contradicting this decision of Wesley, that when the substance of his own doctrine, with all its Scriptural phrases, is sought for, it might perhaps, in the opinion of many, claim the same significant appellation. Indeed, this contest between Calvinists and Arminians, with neither of whom we sympathize, is as singular a spectacle as that between the supra and infra-lapsarians, both of whom we know to be equally in error. Near the conclusion, Wesley dramatically introduces a lively interlocutor who exclaims: "O then you are an Arminian! You are a free-willer. You hold free will in man!" Wesley does not, in his answer, disown that he is an Arminian, but quotes Baxter's remark, "that Calvin, as well as Arminius, held free will," &c.

The next highest Methodist authority (Watson's Theol. Institutes), is, of course, merely a re-echo of Wesley. "Election is not only an act of God done *in time*, but also it is subsequent to the administration of the means of salvation. . . . Actual election cannot be eternal." Ch. 26. p. 337. This asascription to God of successive acts, the original purpose, the actual offer, &c. our church does not sanction, but regards the whole plan of salvation as one decree. It is *man* who, in the order of time, accepts of the offer.—"Election, without respect to faith, is contrary also to the history of the commencement and first constitution of the church of Christ." p. 340. The author had previously made the following remark: "Election, we have already said, must be either God's purpose in eternity to elect actually, or it must be actual election itself in time; for as election is choosing men 'out of the world' into the true church of Christ, actual election from eternity is not possible, because the subjects of election had no existence," &c. p. 339. We find it difficult to understand fully the Methodist doctrine of Election. It evidently desires to exclude practically the fore-knowledge of God, as the election is made to depend on the faith of the individual after his real existence has commenced, and Watson's system seems to be as fully Pelagian in its results as the Conf. Marchica, Art. 14, which does not itself teach the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, nevertheless, pronounces the allied sentiment of an election occasioned by a foreseen faith to be. Some Socinian traces also seem to

remain, even after the Wesleyan filtration has been completed. The Socinian definition itself is short: "The Predestination of God in the Scriptures designates nothing else than a decree of God before the foundation of the world, of this kind, that he would give eternal life to those who would believe in him and obey him, but that He would punish with eternal damnation those who would refuse to believe on him and obey him." Cat. Rac. qu. 440. Socinus adopted the doctrine of man's liberty or free agency in the widest sense, and as he believed that any previous knowledge of actions deprived them of the attribute of liberty, he boldly denied that God foreknew the future actions of his children. (Guerike, p. 176.) This Socinian principle seems to coincide with the obvious intention of the Methodist authorities to restrain God from an actual election, till his creatures really existed, and by their course of conduct enabled him to decide whether they were fit or not fit to be elected. The Methodist writer, Watson, nevertheless, ch. 4. teaches the fore-knowledge of God.

We find that our space does not permit us to refer to the phases which the doctrine of Election has assumed among the Papists, &c. The position, however, of these sects, on many other points, are known to be opposite to those of the Lutheran church, and an investigation of their views is not of primary importance on this occasion.

Precisely as we could by no means consent to abandon St. John's Gospel, because it contains many important discourses of our Lord, &c. not furnished by the other Evangelists, and forms with them an inspired and complete whole, so the Church can by no means consent to relinquish the F. C. because it contains many important doctrinal statements, without which the Creed of the Church would assume a disjointed or fragmentary form. Indeed, it was evidently designed, in the providence of God, to be a fit conclusion of the great work of the Reformation. When united with the Augsburg Conf., the Apology, the two Catechisms and the Smalcald Articles, it forms a source of doctrine of unparalleled fulness and purity. The reproaches to which it has been exposed, the coldness with which it has been received, the obsoleteness which has been ascribed to it — are features in its history which have become familiar by their frequent repetition. They re-appear whenever decided adversaries, or cold friends of the Scriptures and the Church express their real sentiments. We are not, however, aware that we have ever entertained less reverence for the Bible, or less highly prized its glorious fruit, the Symbols of the church, because we have been informed, that vari-

ous classes of persons might be found who did not respect God's word, or its true interpretation as found in those Symbols. Even if Elymas was a man "not seeing the sun for a season," Acts 13: 11, Paul and those who stood at his side did not perceive, that the blind man's darkness exercised any influence in diminishing the light of the sun. "Great is the truth and it will prevail."[1]

As our attention has been chiefly occupied with the Concord Formula, which has always found friends more mighty by their faith than its adversaries, we cannot conclude without a reference to the interview between Frederick William, the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg, a decided adversary of the Lutheran faith, and Paul Gerhard. This holy man, unintimidated by the frowns of his excited sovereign, very humbly but unequivocally declared, that he was ready to suffer imprisonment, and willing even to die, if the Elector gave the command, but that he was not, and, while he lived never would be ready or willing to abandon the Formula Concordiæ. His steadfast faith in God, the convictions of his pious mind, the voice of his enlightened conscience, the warm feelings of his tender heart—all combined to render the doctrines of that Confession sacred in his eyes. Would to God, that the Lutheran conscience of our day were always found to be as enlightened and tender as was the conscience of Paul Gerhard, the sweet singer and faithful pastor! The moral victory which he gained in the interview to which we allude, in defending the doctrines of God's word and the Concord-Formula, was truly sublime.

Another occurrence, the last communion of Lilius, and his death, the most solemn scene which we have ever seen described, exhibited anew the lofty virtues of Gerhard. We have, however, no room to transcribe the narrative to which we allude. Lilius, whose conscience rebuked him in his last hours for a temporary defection from the faith, had at length found peace, and, in company with Gerhard, received the body and blood of our Lord in the holy Communion, administered by the hands of Lorentz. After a scene, rendered extraordinary, by the uncommon conscientiousness, faith and hopes of the three men, the eyes of the tranquilized and happy Lilius closed, and his departing spirit, which still lingered till Lorentz had pronounced a final benediction, peacefully left its earthly tenement. Then, standing by the side of the corpse,

[1] "Wir stimmen seinem (Köllner's) Gesammturtheil bei: 'Für Art. XI. von der ewigen Gnadenwahl ist die lutherische Kirche den Verfassern der Konkordien formel zu ewigem Danke verpflichtet.'" Thomasius, d. Bekenntniss d. ev. luth. Kirche, p. 223.

Gerhard extended his right hand to Lorentz and said: "Here, before this corpse, and in the presence of the Eternal Lord and Judge, let us vow and take an oath that we will not yield nor waver, but hold to the Confession of our hope. ETERNAL FIDELITY TO OUR LUTHERAN FAITH! Neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen!"—"Amen! Amen!" repeated Lorentz, "so mote it be." And the two men, ever faithful to God's truth contained in the Concord-Formula, which was, preëminently, the object of the persecuting Elector's hatred, and liable at any moment to be condemned to imprisonment, exile or death for their faithfulness, silently withdrew, more firmly resolved than ever before, to make every earthly sacrifice cheerfully, by God's help, but never to peril their souls, by denying their holy faith set forth in that sacred Confession.[1]

ARTICLE IV.

THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING AND CIRCULATING THE BIBLE IN PREFERENCE TO ALL OTHER BOOKS.

By the Rev. H. Ziegler, A. M., Williamsport, Pa.

"THESE were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Acts 17: 11.

These words teach, that searching the Scriptures for the purpose of ascertaining whether our religious instructors speak in accordance with God's revealed will, is deserving of praise. Paul and Silas were, at Thessalonica, preaching that Jesus is Christ. Some of their hearers believed, and many united themselves to them and became their disciples. The unbelieving Jews, however, having become exasperated in consequence of their success, banded together and raised a mob, with the intention of either destroying or driving them from

[1] The scenes to which we refer, are, graphically described in A. Wildenhahn's 'Paul Gerhard. Kirchengeschichtliches Lebensbild aus den zeiten des grossen Churfürsten.' Leipzig, 1850. The extraordinary beauty and power of his mode of relating the occurrences will be felt, by all who read the extracts given in Nos. 13 and 14 (October, 1851) of the *Luth. Herold*, published by H. Ludwig, N. Y.

their city. When it was no longer safe for them to remain in Thessalonica, they were sent to Berea, where also they preached Christ. The Bereans "received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily," to see "whether the things" preached by Paul and Silas were true. For this course they are praised in the language already quoted.

We are confirmed, then, by this passage of Scripture and its accompanying circumstances, in the oft-repeated sentiment: *That we are not to receive, as divine and infallible truth, the religious instructions of any one, or of any number of uninspired men, however fully they may themselves be convinced of their correctness; unless they prove those instructions by express declarations of, or legitimate deductions from the inspired word of God.* In short, the Bible must be our ultimate arbiter to decide concerning the truth or falsity of any point in religion, embraced in divine revelation. "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. 8: 20. The Bible, then, is to be received and studied as the only original source of, and infallible guide to all religious truth. Other religious books there may be—there are many—the greatness of whose past and present influence, no truly good man would pretend to deny. May such books ever be read by increasing numbers, and with increasing interest! But admitting the former and sincerely desiring the latter, we must, nevertheless, ever bear in mind, that these books must be read and recommended and multiplied and circulated, only in so far, and because they are founded upon and illustrate the Bible.

The truth, then, which I wish to illustrate, is, *The Importance of Studying and Circulating the Bible in preference to all other Books.*

I. The Bible is the original source of all Religious Truth, and ought, therefore, to lay the foundation of our faith.

We enter a house, and find on the table papers and pamphlets on politics, science, and general subjects—the library also is composed of works of fiction, history, philosophy and infidelity. But the Bible is not to be found. What impression is made on the mind of him who loves the Bible? *Religion is not in this house. Beware of infidelity.*

We enter another house, and find the table covered with religious papers and periodicals, and the library filled with the works of the church-fathers, and those of Doddridge, Baxter, and other eminent Christians. The different members of the family have read these works with avidity and quote from them

with accuracy. But the Bible is not here; or if here, is neglected. No one refers to the Bible to prove the soundness of his faith, the genuineness of his experience, or the correctness of his practice. What impression is now made on the mind of him who loves the Bible? Religion may be in this house, but it cannot be religion in the vigor of its manhood. It rests too much on human authority. It does not grasp the authority of God.

In the one case, the tendency is to infidelity—in the other, to Romanism—in both, so far as religion is concerned, it trammels independent thought, begets an unqualified and servile submission to the teachings of others, and thus exalts human authority to an equality with, if not to a superiority to the Bible. This state and tendency of mind once produced, is very difficult to be counteracted; humanly speaking, it is next to impossible, when such has been the training in childhood and youth.

It is a true and weighty remark, that "Impressions, made in childhood, are most generally retained through life."

The following is the language of Carlyle to Mr. Wilberforce. The latter visited him in prison, during his confinement in Dorchester, and endeavored to engage him in a conversation upon the Scriptures. He refused, saying: "I have made up my mind, and do not wish it perplexed again;" and pointing to the Bible in the hands of his visitor, he said in an awful manner: "How, Sir, can you suppose that I can love that book? for if it be true, I am undone forever!"[1] Oh! how difficult to find access to the mind that has neglected or is prejudiced against the Bible! My position, then, That the Bible is the original source of all religious truth; and ought to lay the foundation of our faith, can not be too early, nor too deeply impressed upon the youthful mind. Oh! how important, that among the earliest impressions made upon the mind of every child, the most prominent should be—*God is the Author of the Bible; in it, holy men of God spoke and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; in it, God now speaks to us—its every sentence is truth—it reveals the one only way to heaven—it must be our only rule of faith and practice.*

It is related of a certain mother whose husband was an infidel, and who made a jest of religion in the presence of his own children, that she nevertheless succeeded in bringing them up in the fear of the Lord. Being asked how she had preserved them from the influence of a father whose sentiments

[1] Bible Society Record, Vol. I. No. 20.

were so openly opposed to her own, she made the following answer: "Because to the authority of a father, I did not oppose the authority of a mother, but that of God. From their earliest years, my children have always seen the Bible upon my table. This holy book has constituted the whole of their religious instruction. Did they propose a question — did they commit a fault—did they perform any good action—I opened the Bible, and the Bible answered, reproved or encouraged them. The constant reading of the Scriptures has alone wrought the prodigy which surprises you."[1]

The following is the counsel of Dr. Chalmers to his brother, in a letter dated May 21st, 1812:

"I look upon Baxter and Doddridge as the most impressive writers, and from whom you are most likely to carry away the impression, that a preparation for eternity should be the main business and anxiety of time. But, after all, the Bible should be the daily exercise of those who have decidedly embarked in this great business: and if read with the earnest sense and feeling of its being God's message — if perused with the awe and veneration and confidence, as if the words were actually coming out of his mouth—if, while you read, you read with the desire and prayer that it may be with understanding and profit, you are in a far more direct road to 'becoming wise unto salvation,' than any other that can possibly be recommended to you. There is no subject on which people are readier to form rash opinions than religion. The Bible is the best corrective to these. A man should sit down to it, with the determination of taking his lesson just as he finds it—of founding his creed upon the sole principle of, 'Thus saith the Lord,' and deriving his every idea and his every impression of religious truth from the authentic record of God's will."[2]

II. The Bible is our only Infallible Guide to all Religious Truth, and must, therefore, ever be our ultimate arbiter to decide all doubtful and controverted subjects in Religion.

The world is filled with religious tracts, newspapers, pamphlets, books and religious teachers, each professing to deliver the message of divine truth.

At one time we are taught, that there is one God, and three persons in the Godhead, all of the same essence, and equal in attributes. The very next hour we may hear or read, that God is one in person, one in essence, and one in attributes, and that what some call the different persons of the Godhead, are

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[1] Bible Soc. Rec. Vol. I. No. 20. [2] Ib.

only different manifestations. One declares unto us, that Christ is God, equal with the Father, and as such existed from eternity; but that He, in due time, also became man in order to be our Redeemer. Another as confidently affirms, that He is a creature—either the most exalted of God's works, or possibly only a mere man. Now we read that Christ suffered in our stead, and made an actual, vicarious atonement for our sins; but soon we are informed, that it would be unjust in God to require his innocent Son to suffer for us guilty offenders—that He did not appoint him to die for sinners — that he died as a martyr, to seal the truth of his doctrines with his blood. To-day we hear proclaimed from the sacred desk, the doctrine of human depravity and the necessity of a change of heart, the sanctification of our natures, and a holy life as a preparation for the enjoyment of heaven; to-morrow we hear all these doctrines contradicted, and the unqualified assertion made, that all men will be saved.

Now, amidst all these conflicting teachings, these contradictory doctrines, how shall we decide so as to satisfy our own minds? Shall reason be our guide? Shall the Confession of Augsburg, or that of Geneva; the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England be our arbiter? Shall the writings of Francke, of Baxter, of Doddridge be our ultimate appeal? No; none of these; not all the writings of uninspired men. The Bible must be our ultimate appeal—the Bible must decide; for the Bible alone can fully and finally satisfy the mind which is anxiously seeking the truth.

The following is the language of Dr. Chalmers: "But there is one other most important conclusion, to which this reasoning carries us. It carries us, with all the docility of children, to the Bible, and puts us down into the attitude of an unreserved surrender of thought and understanding, to its authoritative information."[1]

Richard Baxter gives this testimony in favor of the study of the Scriptures: "To tell you the truth, while I busily read what other men said in their controversies, my mind was so prepossessed with their notions, that I could not possibly see the truth in its own native and naked evidence; and when I entered into public disputations, though I was truly willing to know the truth, my mind was so forestalled with borrowed notions, that I chiefly studied how to make good the opinions which I had received, and ran farther from the truth. Yea,

[1] Bible Soc. Rec. Vol. I. No. 20.

when I read the truth, I did not consider and understand it, and when I heard it from those whom I opposed in wrangling disputations, or read it in books of controversy, I discovered it least of all; till at last, being in sickness cast far from home, where I had no books but the Bible, I set myself to study the truth from thence; and so, by the blessing of God, discovered more in one week than I had done before in seventeen years' reading, hearing, and wrangling."[1]

Luther says: "Gladly would I have seen all my books neglected and lost. This was also my design when I began the translation of the Scriptures themselves, that I hoped there would be less writing done, and more studying and reading of the Scriptures. For all other writings should lead us to the Bible, as John to Christ, in order that each one might drink out of the pure fountain. For neither the councils, nor the fathers, nor we ourselves can, by our best and most successful efforts, make as good works as the Scriptures, as God himself has made."[2]

III. The Bible is the surest and never-failing source of comfort under all the trials and afflictions incident to human existence.

Take the case of a careless sinner. He meets with losses in property. His parents, his children, his companion are all, in quick succession, taken from him by death. He is overwhelmed with troubles. To drown his sorrows, he seeks the society of the world, and makes a free use of the bottle. But he finds no permanent relief. He now reads the Bible carefully and perseveringly. New prospects are presented to his mind. He repents, he trusts in Christ for salvation, he obtains peace with God, his soul is comforted. He can now say, "Bless the Lord, oh my soul! and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, oh my soul! and forget not all his benefits," &c.

Take an awakened sinner. He is most earnestly asking the question, "What must I do to be saved?" He is directed to pray to God for mercy. He does so for many days, but finds no relief. A second tells him—only pray on; persevere till God hears and answers your prayers. If possible he now goes to prayer with more earnestness than ever; but yet he obtains no settled peace. He relates his experience to a third, and he inquires of him: Have you never felt the burden of

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[1] Bible Soc. Rec. Vol. I. No. 20.

[2] Dr. S. S. Schmucker's translation, Luth. Obs. Vol. XVII. No. 42.

your sins becoming lighter? Probably he answers, Occasionally I have felt some little relief — I do not now feel as heavy a burden as at some former times. Again he tells him: Be encouraged; take comfort; this is God, blotting out your sins and blessing your soul. This may quiet his conscience for a short time, but it imparts to him no permanent comfort. While in this unenviable condition, at one time almost persuaded to hope, and then again harassed with fears, he meets an experienced Christian, who, learning his state of mind, directs him to the Bible. He reads to him from its sacred pages, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them;" and adds, you are under this curse. He reads again, "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." "He is of God made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." "He made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." "God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," &c. "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

He hears, he reflects, he examines, he understands, he trusts in the atonement, and now his anxious and agitated soul reposes calmly and sweetly on God, reconciled in Jesus Christ.

Look at the case of a Christian. He is persecuted, despised, reduced to poverty, forsaken by his friends, and afflicted in his own house and in his own person. He reads his Bible. "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets who were before you." "All things work together for good to them who love God." "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." His soul is comforted. He rests in God, in anticipation of a final deliverance, and "an inheritance which is incorruptible, and undefiled, and which fadeth not away."

Under this head I will add several examples:

The excellent Cecil said to a friend who expressed sympathy for him in a severe illness, "I find every thing but religion only vanity. To recollect a promise of the Bible—this is sub-

stance. Nothing will do but the Bible. If I read authors and learn different opinions, I cannot say — This is truth. I can not grasp it as substance; but the Bible gives me something to hold."[1]

The following is related of a poor colored woman, who was almost entirely burnt out by one of those fires with which the city of New York has been visited. Dr. Ely, after some conversation with her in reference to her misfortune, and seeing under one of her arms a quarto Bible, asked her the following question: "Have you saved nothing but the Bible?" "Nothing" she replied, "but one trunk of things: but this blessed book is worth more than all the rest. So long as I keep this, I am content."[2]

"A negro in Virginia, who was remarkable for his freedom from all gloomy fears in regard to his eternal state, was once addressed on this wise: "You seem to be always comfortable in the hope of the Gospel. I wish you would tell me how you manage it, to keep so steadily in this blessed frame of mind." "Why Massa," he replied, 'I just fall flat on the promises, and I pray right up.' "[3]

Such is the Bible! and such are the results which accompany the prayerful study of its contents, and the practice of its precepts. Oh! what a blessed book! The only original source of all religious truth; the one only infallible guide into all religious truth; the surest and the never-failing source of comfort under all the trials and afflictions incident to human existence. But it is even more than all this. It infallibly leads the obedient soul to the possession and enjoyment of everlasting happiness in heaven. Oh! blessed Bible! Who can fully comprehend thy truths, in all their length and breadth and depth and height! Who can estimate thy priceless, thy never-ending bestowments!

What would we be without the Bible? What are we with it? What might we become, if all would devoutly study it, and yield entire obedience to its divine injunctions!

In conclusion, I will venture an opinion concerning one of the great controversies now carried on in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of this country — the controversy concerning the estimation in which we ought to hold our Symbolical Books.

The Bible is the only true stand-point. This must lay the foundation of our faith, and to it we must ever appeal in all our perplexities and controversies in religion. Our Symbolical

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[1] Bible Soc. Rec. Vol. I. No. 18. [2] Ib. [3] Ib. Vol. I. No 20.

Books must occupy an inferior, a secondary rank. Whatever doctrine we advocate, let it be first proved from the word of God; and secondly, when it is necessary and possible to give it additional weight from church authority, let it be confirmed by our Symbolical Books.

To enable you to form a distinct idea of my views on this subject, I will make the following supposition: A minister of the Gospel subscribes, in toto, none of the creeds of Christendom. His creed consists only of those doctrines, which all Christians receive as biblical, and of those phases of disputed doctrines to which all assent. These alone he preaches in his private conversation and public ministrations. All love him, and all fellowship him. He is sent by the American and Foreign Christian Union as a fit representative of the Church, to preach the Gospel to a tribe of heathen that has just renounced, by a national decree, their entire system of idolatry. They welcome him as their religious instructor. He teaches them only those doctrines already alluded to, and gives them the Bible in their own language. They know nothing concerning the divisions, and the contradictory creeds and doctrines of the Christian church. They study the original languages, and the best works on Biblical Archaeology, and make themselves familiar with the most approved rules of interpretation. Thus furnished, they study the word of God, and free from all prejudice, they form their opinions from its unadulterated pages.

But now the discovery is made that, although they agree on all doctrines which involve their individual salvation and the general interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, they nevertheless differ on some minor points. The question arises, What is to be done? Their minister lays before them the various creeds of the different denominations of Christians. Some decide in favor of Luther, some of Calvin, some of Zwingel, &c. They are about to form distinct parties, and to teach their children these different creeds as the correct exponents of the Holy Scriptures.

What, under these circumstances, should the Union advise? whose counsel we still suppose them to receive. Here I can speak only for myself, while others must be left to decide concerning my orthodoxy or heterodoxy. My advice would be—Study those creeds, in order to understand the doctrinal position of the church at the time they were written, and then place them in your libraries as books of reference on church history. All those doctrines which involve your individual salvation

and the general interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, are so plainly set forth in the Bible, that no sincere inquirer can fail to discover their truth. On these points you all agree. Let these doctrines, then, form your creed, not for the purpose of, in any sense, superseding the use or taking the place of the word of God, but simply as a bond of union. Let the Bible be your stand-point. Let it continue to lay the foundation of your faith, and let it ever be appealed to, to decide all doubtful and controverted subjects in religion. When it cannot enable you to decide, drop the controversy as useless and unprofitable, and unite in the great work of edifying your infant church, and extending the privileges of the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

This, according to my judgment, would be giving, both to the Bible and to creeds, their proper position. Unless my head and heart are wrong on this subject, the church must adopt a creed of essentials, and carry into practice the truths admitted by all Protestants—that the Bible is above all human productions, and that God equally acknowledges as his covenant people all who believe in and obey the Lord Jesus Christ — if she is ever to exert upon the world the full extent of her delegated power and influence. What did the Savior mean by that memorable petition, recorded by St. John? "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as Thou hast loved me." The import of this petition evidently is, that the oneness here prayed for of all who believe in Jesus Christ, would exert a powerful influence in convincing the world, that the Father had sent Him — in other words, that the religion which He promulgated was of divine origin and worthy of man's highest regard.

But what kind of oneness did the Savior intend? It might be answered—such an oneness as exists between Him and the Father. But this does not settle the question. Wherein consists this oneness of the Father and the Son? In essence, attributes, and purpose. Just so does the Savior pray, that all who shall believe in him, may be one. It is an oneness in every thing which is necessary to constitute a genuine believer, in essence, in attributes, and in purpose. It is an oneness in

the essential features of conversion from sin to God; an oneness in the belief of the essential doctrines of the Bible; an oneness in entire consecration to God in person and property; an oneness in unreserved obedience and submission to and acquiescence in his whole will; an oneness in holy zeal and singleness of purpose for his glory and the salvation of the world; and finally, an oneness in conceding liberty of conscience to, and in exercising charity towards each other, on all other points, concerning which there exists a conscientious difference of opinion.

If the Christian Church now stood firmly on this basis and acted accordingly, how soon might the whole world be supplied with faithful missionaries! May the time soon come, when the whole Lutheran church shall present such an undivided front to the ranks of the great enemy. We live in an age, in which the great Head of the Church has committed to the Lutherans of these United States an immense work to perform. We should, therefore, well consider our responsibility; and forgetting the little differences which exist among us, we should join together more closely on the essential doctrines of the Bible which we all adopt, and on these alone. May the Great Head of the Church speedily make all his people one, to live for the glory of God and the salvation of this sin-ruined world!

"In essentials, unity;
In non-essentials, liberty;
In all things, charity."

ARTICLE V.

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN THE NORTHWEST.

By W. M. Reynolds, D. D., President of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio.

1. *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i "De forenede nordamerikanske Fristater" af J. W. C. Dietrichson, Præst. Stavanger. Trykt og forlagt af L. C. Kielland.* 1846. [Travels among the Norwegian Emigrants in the U. States of N. America by Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, Stavanger (Norway.)] pp. 128.
2. *Handbog for den Hellige Almindelige Kirkes Be Kjendere fremsat i Sporgsmal og Svar. De Scandinaviske Udvandrere i America, isœrdelesbed etc. New York: Protestant Episcopal Tract Society.* [Manual for Members

of the Holy Catholic Church in questions and answers. Dedicated to the Scandinavian Emigrants in America &c.] 1846. [By Rev. G. Unonius.] pp. 24.

3. *Nogle Ord til de Scandinaishe Udvandere i Chicago.* [A few words to the Scandinavian Emigrants in Chicago.] 1850.

AFTER an interval of two centuries, the Northman has again turned his adventurous bark towards America. How changed is every thing since he first discovered its leafy forests, and admired the vines that covered its islands, and settled upon the wonderful land to which he gave the name of Vinland! Great changes, undoubtedly, took place within the eight hundred years that elapsed, from the first arrival of the Northman upon the northern part of this continent until the discovery of the West India Islands and the South America continent by Columbus. In that interval the Skraellings, or Eskimo population, seem to have been driven off by the more powerful race that came from the west, and all traces of the Norwegian and Icelandic colonies had also disappeared not only from the continent but even from Greenland. But still greater have been the changes, from the time that the flag of Sweden was struck upon the Delaware and Swedish emigration to America ceased (1655), until the present day. The forests have been cleared from the Atlantic coast. The Indian, who loved the Swede so well, has vanished like the leaves of Autumn. Philadelphia and New York, that were but villages, even half a century later, now take rank among the wealthiest and most populous cities in the world. A mighty nation has been born, and the roaring wave of its population has crossed the Alleghany Mountains, flooded the Mississippi valley, inundated the nearer provinces of Mexico, swept over the Rocky Mountains, taken possession of California and its golden treasures, and made itself at home upon the banks of the Columbia and the shores of the Pacific. But there is still room within our territory for the hardy Northman, although he comes almost last among the races of Northern Europe to our shores. There are still forests to be felled, and land to be tilled that have never yet been subjected to the hand of human industry. Emigration seems naturally to move along the same parallels of latitude, and hence our Scandinavian population instinctively turns to the Northwest.

By their situation and habits a maritime people, a considerable number of Swedes, Danes and Norwegians still, from year to year, found their way to the U. States, not only upon

their own vessels, but likewise upon English and American ships. A few of these, from time to time, remained here chiefly in the seaports of N. York and Philadelphia. By these, as well as by the sailors who still returned to their old homes, accounts of the U. States, their prosperity and the beauty of the country would, of course, be diffused over Scandinavia generally, and the idea of emigration would thus be excited in many minds. But it was not until the year 1824, that a considerable body of the people undertook to carry this purpose into effect. A few years before this (in 1821), as we are informed by Mr. Dietrichson, in his interesting sketch of his labors in America, "one Kleng Pedersen from the district of Stavanger [in Norway] emigrated to the U. States. In 1824 he revisited Norway, and by his accounts of the country awakened the desire of emigration in that part of Norway. A society of about fifty persons purchased a small sloop, loaded it with iron, and set sail for N. York." After various adventures upon the coast of England and at the Madeira Isles, they finally, after a voyage of fourteen weeks, in the Summer of 1825, reached the place of their destination. But here, again, they had to contend with new difficulties. "The sloop had more persons on board than the American law allowed, and a process was served upon the captain and sloop together with its lading. But the captain extricated himself, and the owners again received their vessel and its freight, which they then sold, though with great loss. With the exception of the captain and pilot, the rest of the party, some of whom were Quakers, aided by the members of that society, moved westward. Some of them settled in the city of Rochester, N. Y., where one of them, Mr. Larsen, still lives. The others went about thirty-five miles further N. W., where they purchased land for five dollars per acre. Their sufferings were often great, and they sometimes wished themselves back in Norway. Meanwhile they were industrious, and in 1834 sold their lands to advantage, and removed to Fox river in La Salle Co. Illinois. This little body was, in 1837, increased by another party from Norway, and in the course of ten years there were not less than five hundred Norwegians in that single County (La Salle) of Illinois." Deitrichson, pp. 93–94.

This was the beginning of Norwegian emigration to the Northwest. The climate of Illinois not agreeing with these pioneers, they naturally turned their eyes to a more northern location. The beautiful and fertile territory of Wisconsin was just at that time coming into public notice. Pedersen, or as his name is anglicised Piersen, was the pioneer in this direc-

tion also, and having explored it, made known to his countrymen its advantages and adaptation to emigrants from northern Europe especially. These, the Norwegians, who have well been termed, "the Yankees of Scandinavia," were not slow in appreciating. Emigration rapidly set in in that direction, and by the year 1845 their number was roughly estimated at something like ten thousand. They settled chiefly in the counties of Dane, Jefferson, Milwaukie, Washington, Dodge, Portage, Racine, Roch and Iowa, and in less force at some other points. At the same time emigration still continued to flow, according to its first direction, into Illinois, where it extended over the counties of Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Winnebago, Boone, McHenry, La Salle, and Cook. Small settlements were also formed, at an early period in the northern part of Iowa, in the neighborhood of St. Joseph's in Missouri, and in the neighborhood of Nacogdoches in Texas. More recently Norwegian emigration has set in towards the shores of lake Pepin and the upper Mississipi.

The Swedes have settled in much smaller numbers in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin. The strongest impulse was given to this emigration by Jansen, who led his deluded followers into Henry Co. Ill., in 184—. Before this however, in 1841, a few Swedes had settled among the Norwegians at Pine Lake, in the western part of Milwaukie (now Woukesha?) Co.; twenty-eight miles N. W. of Milwaukie city. Among these was Unonius, to whose history we shall presently allude.—Others took up their residence at Chicago, Ill., and a small colony was also formed in Iowa. Altogether, we may estimate the numbers of this Scandinavian population, which is steadily increasing with every year, at from 25,000 to 30,000.

Composed generally, not to say universally, of the poorest classes of Sweden and Norway, (with now and then a Dane) their population at its first arrival in this country has, of course, the usual characteristics of the peasantry, the mechanics and the sailors of the several provinces from which it is drawn. In Norway, Stavanger, Vos, Thellemark, Nummedal and Sogndal seem to have sent forth the largest nubers, and in Sweden, the vicinity of Stockholm and the southern part of Norrland. Although now united under one government, the two nations are not yet assimilated in manners, nor have they even forgotten their ancient hostility. The Norwegians are more rude than the Swedes, but have, at the same time, a more independent and enterprising character. Though a monarchy, Norway is one of the freest and most democratic governments in the world. The king has less control over the Storthing,

or Legislature, of Norway, than the President of the U. States has over the deliberations of our Congress. He has no final, but only a *suspensive* veto, any act passed three times by the Storthing becoming a law even without the king's signature, nor does it assemble by his proclamation, but according to its own adjournment. In like manner is the power of the nobles nearly annihilated. Sweden is making progress in the same direction, though more slowly, its system of legislation being much more cumbrous. Here the king's prerogatives are great. He appoints all officers, civil and military; he is obliged to convoke the Diet, or Legislature only once in five years, and has a negative upon all its acts. The nobles having become impoverished by the division and sale of their lands, the burghers and peasantry, or small landed proprietors, have become more powerful from year to year, and assert more and more their proper influence in the State. The honesty of the Swedish peasant is proverbial: highway robbery is almost unknown, and charity-boxes, set up in the public roads, have never been plundered. Intemperance and unchastity are their greatest vices, but these have been greatly exaggerated by such travellers as Mr. Laing, and are undoubtedly decreasing. The Swede is rather sluggish and indolent, but the Norwegian is the boldest if not the most skilful sailor in Europe. Nowhere is the ability to read and write more universally diffused.

Both nations are imbued with a deeply religious character. From their conversion to Christianity, at the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, until their hearty reception of the Reformation in the sixteenth, amid all their superstition and devotion to the papal see, the strong religious character of the people was still prominent. But nowhere was the Reformation so universally and so cordially received. Within twenty-five years from the delivery of the great Protestant Confession at Augsburg (1530), scarcely a single adherent of the papacy, and no church where Romish worship was celebrated, was to be found in Denmark, Sweden, Norway or Iceland, so completely had the hardy children of the North thrown off the dominion of the South; so fully had the Gospel supplanted tradition. And how steadily, from the time of the great hero of Protestantism, Gustavus Adolphus, whose victorious sword shattered the power of the house of Austria, those tools of Jesuitical wiles, and quenched the fires of inquisitorial persecution in oppressed Germany, they have maintained the great doctrines of Protestantism and of the Augsburg Confession, even to the present day, when they are foremost in the battle against Rationalism, a still more danger-

ous and more insidious foe than even Romanism, we need not here stop to tell, though each step of this great work, from the time that Claus Harms (in 1817) published his ninety-five theses, and began a second Reformation in Denmark, is well worth considering.

True—the "first love" of the Reformation cooled in Scandinavia, as everywhere else. There was a falling off in its zeal and devotion to the cause of Christ. Yet Denmark commenced the first Protestant Mission, extended its activity from Greenland to Hindoostan, and sent out those apostolic men, Egede to Greenland, and Schwartz to India, whose patience, self-sacrifice, success and holiness will serve as an example and encouragement to all succeeding ages. Here also, as elsewhere, the spirit of Missions has revived, in our day, as the brightest omen for the future. One of the fruits and natural results of this has been the organization of the Lutheran Church among the Norwegians of the Northwest, and the furnishing of them and the scattered colonies of the Swedes, in that region with a supply of faithful and laborious preachers. This is another instance of the reflex influence of Foreign Missions, which it is worthwhile for us to remember. We give the circumstances as gathered from Mr. Dietrichson's sketch, pp. 28–29.

Claus Lauritz Claussen was born on the island of "Aro" in Denmark, somewhere about the year 1818. From his childhood he was the subject of deep religious convictions, though subsequently led astray by certain enthusiastic views. But from these he was, in the good providence of God, happily delivered, mainly through the instrumentality of pastor *Fenger*, in Sjoeland, Rev. *F. Boisen*, and the later writings of *Grundtvig*. By these he was led to a true position and to the established doctrines of the church. For some time, he felt a strong desire to be in God's hand an instrument of usefulness to his fellow-men. This desire was greatly increased and more strongly and distinctly developed, when he heard of pastor *Schrender's* determination to go as a Missionary to the heathen. On this account he travelled to Christiania, became acquainted with Mr. Schrender, and proposed to follow him into the heathen world. But difficulties interposed, and he seemed to be providentially hindered from pursuing such a course. At this time the condition of the Norwegian emigrants to America began to attract attention in Norway. It was suggested to him to come to the U. States, in order to labor as a schoolmaster among the Norwegians. This he finally resolved to do, and arrived, in August, 1843, in Wisconsin, where he prepared to

take up his residence and to labor in his vocation in the Musquigo (Muskeego) settlement, about twenty miles south of Milwaukie. Here, however, he soon found that it was vain to think of attempting to effect any good by means of schools, as long as the church, the ordinances and authority of religion were absent. The spiritual destitution of the people made a deep impression upon him. He began to assemble them together on Sunday and read sermons to them. Soon, a desire for church privileges and the other means of grace was awakened and strengthened from day to day among these poor dwellers in the wilderness. Not daring to hope for the arrival of a minister from Norway, they consulted together, and then wrote a letter to Mr. Claussen, urging him to become their pastor. Claussen could not but regard this as a *call* to the ministerial office, but still he believed that something more was necessary—he desired to be regularly *examined* and properly *ordained.* This he signified to the people who had called him, and they again took the subject into consideration. Hearing of a Lutheran minister, the Rev. *L. Krause*, who was at that time acting pastor among the Germans in Washington Co., Wisconsin, not far from Milwaukie, they sent Mr. Claussen to him with the request that he would examine, and if he believed him competent, as they did, ordain him. Pastor Krause assented, and as his written declaration says, found him well-grounded in the knowledge of God's word and familiar with church history, &c., and therefore, on the 18th of October, 1743, he (according to the forms of the Norwegian Liturgy) ordained him as pastor of the Norwegians in Musquigo. And thus was their first minister given to the Scandinavians of the Northwest, in the person of the Rev. C. L. Claussen. And who can doubt that the hand of God was in it, and that though a different instrumentality than that which we would have selected ordained him to the sacred work, yet he was regularly called, examined and ordained? Such was the reasonable and Scriptural decision of the Theological Faculty of the University of Christiania, to which Mr. Claussen subsequently applied, when difficulties had been raised upon this subject by certain ill-disposed persons from without, in which they declare, that "*the circumstance that an ordination is performed by a minister (Praest), and not by a bishop cannot, in and of itself, destroy the validity of a ministerial ordination.*" Dietrichson, p. 31.

Pastor Claussen has continued ever since to devote himself to the spiritual improvement of his countrymen in the North-

west. His labors have been of the most active and self-denying character, and the confidence of those who know him best was most fully and unequivocally, declared when, at the organization of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, at the commencement of 1851, he was unanimously elected their first Superintendent, or Bishop.

Pastor Schreuder's mission to the heathen in Africa, was likewise the occasion of the coming of the first Missionary, the Rev. *J. W. C. Dietrichson*, from Norway to this country. Of this we give the circumstances as nearly as possible in his own words: "In the summer of 1843, I became acquainted with a serious Christian in Christiania, Mr. P. Loerensen, a master painter, who first suggested the mission to our countrymen who had emigrated to America. In our intercourse, our conversation very naturally passed over from the sending of our dear Schreuder to the heathen in Africa, to the religious destination of our brethren in the faith, who have emigrated to another distant part of the world. As this matter had long lain near Mr. Loerensen's heart, he enquired of me, whether I would feel disposed to accept of a call to undertake a journey to America, in order to *examine into the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the Norwegians there, and to labor for the establishment of churches and of a good church discipline among them.*" At the same time, he offered to advance the money to cover the expenses of such a journey. This proposition moved and interested me the more, as suggested by Christian love, it came from a man who rather gave from the widow's mite than from the abundance of the rich. It is true, that I had some time before thought with considerable anxiety upon the spiritual destitution of emigrants, but it had never occurred to me, that I should be called upon to do anything for them in this respect. The subject now assumed a new and more definite interest to me, and as I fully understood the importance and difficulty of such a call, I took it into serious consideration, and consulted with a number of Christian friends, in whose judgment I had much more confidence than in my own, as to their opinion of my ability to effect anything in the direction just mentioned. Encouraged by them, I resolved, in reliance upon the Lord, who is strong in them that are weak, to comply with this call, if I could have it sanctioned by my ordination as a minister of the Norwegian church; for it soon became clear, both to myself and to those whose advice I took, that if I was to effect anything in an ecclesiastical point of view among the emigrants, I must be put in a situation to operate with that authority which ministerial ordination alone

can give in affairs of the church, and only then when that was accorded to me could I venture, in accordance with the divine testimony received in this call and consecration, to see in the *proposition* that had been made to me, *a call from God*, and feel at liberty to accept of it. I therefore humbly presented my request for ordination as a minister, and on the 12th of October, 1843, his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant the same. In connection with J. Hansen, who was called to officiate as a Chaplain in Rollongs parish, I was, on the 28th of Feb. 1844, ordained to the holy ministry, in Oplfloe church, by his Excellency the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Christiania."

In his following narrative, the title of which we have put at the head of this article, Dietrichson proceeds to give us an account of his voyage to America, and his labors in this country. Embarking upon the brig "Washington," which then lay in the "Langesund," on the 16th of May, 1844, he set sail for New York on the 21st of the same month. The vessel was laden with iron, and had 112 passengers and emigrants on board. To these he labored, during the voyage, to make himself useful, preaching to them every Sunday, with a single exception, when they were prevented by a storm, which was the only one they had during the voyage, notwithstanding the sailor's superstition of the storminess of a voyage when there is a preacher in the ship. After a very pleasant run, they reached Staten Island on the 7th of July. Two days after he landed in the city of New York. Of this place he gives a very correct description, so far as he saw it. He preached twice in New York for the Norwegians, Swedes and Danes, once on board the ship of Captain Nissen, of Gottenberg, who belongs to an association of Swedish captains, who have agreed that whenever they lie in a foreign harbor on Sunday, they will assemble their countrymen on board their vessel for divine service. Capt. Nissen had a "Bethel Flag" consecrated by the Archbishop of Sweden, the hoisting of which was the signal for church.[1] The following Sunday he held service in the German Lutheran St. Matthew's church, of which Rev. C. F. Stohlman was then, as now, pastor. Mr. D. speaks with great warmth of Mr. Stohlman's kindness, and of that of his church generally. There were about 200 persons present at this service, worthy Swedes: the Norwegian liturgy was used, but the singing was out of the Swedish hymn book.— He also insists upon a point, which must be evident to all who

[1] The writer of this Art. had the pleasure of meeting Capt. Nissen on board his ship, in the harbor of N. York, in 1846, and found him a noble specimen alike of the Swede, the man and the christian.

reflect upon the subject, the importance, namely, of a settled minister for the Swedes and other Scandinavians in N. York, informing us also that there are more Swedes resident in this city than in London, where a Swedish chaplain has been stationed for nearly two centuries. We should like very much to insert his description and comments upon a Methodist meeting, which he visited one evening, but our limits will not admit of this.

From N. York he went, by way of Albany and Buffalo, to Milwaukie, in Wisconsin, around the lakes, reaching the last named place on the 5th of August. Of Wisconsin and the adjacent states, he gives a very good, though brief description, his great object being to make known the condition of his countrymen, whom he there met. Here he found some old acquaintances, but made it his first business to make himself acquainted with Rev. Claussen, whom he visited in the Musquigo settlement, and of whom he speaks in the highest terms. Coming to a full understanding with Mr. Claussen, and agreeing with him upon a plan of operations, Mr. D. proceeded to visit all the Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin, and also extended his labors into Illinois and Iowa. He spent about a year in this labor, and was certainly unwearied in his efforts to promote the great object for which he came to the United States. The principal field of his operations was in Dane Co., at a point called Koskonong Prairie, where there is perhaps the largest Norwegian population that is to be met at any single point in the U. States. A sketch of his proceedings here, will show us how he undertook to solve the great problem submitted to him, viz: *how to relieve the spiritual destitution, and to introduce church order among the Norwegian emigrants in America. In reference to this, he himself tells us, pp.* 45–59.

"In my first visit, I confined myself to holding divine service for all who chose to participate therein, in the hope of thus awakening a *conscious desire* to remain in communion with the true church of their native land, and its edifying institutions. But it was clear to me that, in order to form churches among the emigrants, it was absolutely necessary to have from the colonists a distinct declaration, as to how far they intended, in this land of freedom, to separate themselves from the Norwegian Lutheran church and its order, or to continue to retain the same. In order, therefore, that there might be some *fixed principles* for the formation of congregations, I introduced the following form of procedure, which was the result of very serious deliberations. When about to organize

a congregation, I proposed the following questions to the applicants for admission into it:

1) Do you desire to become a member of the Norwegian Lutheran church?

2) Will you, to this end, submit yourself to the discipline established by the liturgy of our native country, Norway?

3) Do you promise that you will not call or accept of any other person as a minister or pastor, than such a one as can clearly show that he is properly called, and regularly ordained in accordance with the order of the Norwegian Luth. church? And will you show such a minister, when called by you, in connection with the other members of the congregation, as your spiritual guide, that respect and obedience which is due from a church member to a pastor, in all that he does, in so far as it accords with the discipline of the Norwegian church?

4) Will you, by signing your name, or allowing it to be signed hereto, acknowledge that you have entered the congregation upon the terms just mentioned?

Supposing the people to be perfectly familiar with the regulations of the church of their native country, and that there was nothing in its ritual as a state church, inconsistent with the voluntary system which necessarily prevails in this country, this mode of organizing the church might answer very well, though we can easily conceive of improvements upon it. In this way, however, two congregations were, by the 13th of October, organized upon Koskonong Prairie, the one in the eastern, and the other in the western settlement.

The congregation which Mr. Claussen had organized in Musquigo, was not established upon principles so well understood, and here difficulties soon made their appearance. The most serious of these resulted from Mr. C. insisting, according to the Norwegian liturgy, which, however, had fallen into disuse in their native country, that all those who wished to celebrate the Lord's Supper should first meet with him, for the purpose of conversing upon a matter so important. No *confession* was required, this being left entirely free to the members. Only their attendance, and an opportunity for conversation with the pastor was required. This, however, was pronounced, by some who undertook to be leaders in the little community, a "popish yoke," and it seemed at first as though the church would be entirely dstroyed. The storm, however, blew over when the matter was properly understood, and the two ministers remained firm, although some who had originated the disturbance, still kept themselves aloof.

During his year's labors in America, Mr. D. laid the foundation of *ten* congregations, baptized one hundred and eleven children, confirmed twenty-eight catechumens, whom he had instructed, (chiefly at Koskonong), administered the Lord's Supper to nearly one thousand whom he had gathered into his churches, and preached indefatigably from day to day. That he had to encounter difficulties of no ordinary magnitude any one will understand who is acquainted with the state of things in our frontier settlements, especially among European emigrants who are more completely cut loose from their old associations, than any other part of our population, and, if possible, still more exposed to the wiles of impostors than others. As one difficulty, in which Mr. D. was involved, has been used to his disadvantage, and prejudiced many who have only heard vague rumors about it, against him, we shall, as a matter of justice to him and his ministerial brethren who have been identified with him, here give a brief statement of the facts as set forth by himself.

A certain person who had connected himself with the church at Koskonong became a notorious drunkard. Repeatedly admonished, both by the pastor and by the Church-officers, he not only persevered in his sin, but became an open reviler of every thing sacred, to the great scandal, not only of the church, but of the community generally. After due deliberation, he was, therefore, in accordance with the discipline of the church, formally excluded from church privileges, or, as the church phraseology is, excommunicated. The man, who had before made violent threats against both pastor and officers if they should discharge their duty, now became furious. In this he was encouraged by certain sectarians who, if he had remained in the church would have pointed at it the finger of scorn, but now that he was excluded, spoke of priestly arrogance, Romish usages, and unchristian conduct — a matter not unusual even further east! Soon after, he associated himself with the notorious Jno. G. Schmidt and Elling Eielsen, who held meetings in that region, denouncing Messrs. Claussen and Dietrichson, who had refused to fellowship with them, as "*wolves in sheeps' clothing*," and advising their hearers to read Spener's "*Spiritual Priesthood*," applying all that he there says about *Romish* monks and priests to what they termed "*Norway's papistic clergy, in whose long gowns the devil has his seat!*" Such is the origin of the cry of Romanism, which has been raised against these gentlemen. But to proceed with the case of discipline. The excommunicated, drunkard having threatened to burn the church, kill the minister and beat the church-

council, declared, among other things, that he would come into the church when he pleased, and bring his bottle of whiskey with him. Upon his entering the church soon after, the officers, by Mr. D's. direction, led him out of the house.—Hereupon he brought a suit against him for assault and battery, before a Justice of the peace, for the County of Dane. Mr. D's. account of his trial before the learned Justice, the character of the Attorney who conducted the suit for the plaintiff, of the jury and the witnesses, is true to the life, and would be amusing, were not such high and holy interests committed to tribunals and influences where ignorance and prejudice so strongly preponderate. The Jury, as might have been foretold from the materials of which it was constituted, and the arguments addressed to it, brought in a verdict of "guilty"! and laid the damages at some ten or twelve dollars! An nppeal was, of course, taken from this ridiculous decision, but as Mr. Dietrichson (who had already, before the suit was brought, made his arrangements for returning to Norway) was not present, some necessary legal formalities were neglected, and as the appeal was not brought forward within the time prescribed by the statutes of Wisconsin, it could not be prosecuted. Of course, the excommunicated man and his friends, and all the opponents of Mr. D. were greatly rejoiced and strengthend by this decision. It is quite possible that Mr. D. did not act with sufficient prudence in this matter, and that it would have been better to let the offender keep his seat in the church, but that cannot, in the least, change our opinion of the purity of his motives and the propriety of the course pursued by the Norwegian church in the matter generally.

Mr. D's. accounts of the various persons and parties whom he met during his missionary tours, and of the religious condition of the Norwegians generally, is always clear and interesting, and sometimes quite graphic. Besides Jno. G. Schmidt and Elling Eielsen, of whom we have already spoken, and who are too insignificant to require any further notice, although they did a vast deal of mischief in their narrow sphere, he gives us an insight into the operations of the Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians among the Swedes and Norwegians, and especially of the origin of Mormonism and its inroads upon the Norwegians in Illinois. In La Salle Co. Ill., the distraction of the people was greatest, and least of a pure church element was to be found. Of this region he says, pp. 94, 95. "At the close of April, 1845, I made a tour into that colony, though with very little hope of being able to introduce anything like a church organization in a settlement, of which

I had heard from the best sources, that the religious distraction among the Norwegians was great, but I wished to see with my own eyes how matters stood. Only too clearly did I then understand from this visit, how it goes with the poor emigrants in religious affairs when no spiritual aid is furnished them by the church of their native land: our dear countrymen, received into the church by holy baptism, and going forth from the motherly bosom of the church of their fathers, are here, with few exceptions, split up into all kinds of sects—some are Presbyterians, others Baptists, others Methodists, others Ellingians, others Quakers, and others Mormons." In the southern part of Iowa, Abner Kneeland had also made some proselytes.

Of his intercourse with Mr. Unonius, who has devoted himself to the establishment of the Episcopal church among the Swedes and Norwegians, he gives the following account:

"About twenty-eight miles N. W. from Milwaukie is a Norwegian colony which is generally called "the settlement at Pine Lake," from a small lake of that name, sometimes also "the Swedish Settlement." It has received this last name from a Swedish student, *Unonius*, who, with some other Swedes, first settled here in 1841. As the Swedes are not numerous, the settlement owes its increase chiefly to the Norwegians, a Mr. *Gasman* having chosen this point, and settled there with a number of Norwegians, in 1843. . . . A few days after my arrival at Musquigo, in August 1844, I made a trip to that colony, and was received into Mr. Gasman's family with the kindest hospitality. . . As regards church relations in that settlement, most of the Norwegians have gone over to the *Episcopal church*. Already in 1843, it was determined by Mr. Gasman, Mr. *Fribert*, the editor of the newspaper called "Dagen" (The Day), and some others, that they would unite with that church, and choose as their minister, *Mr. Unonius*, a Swedish student, who had studied Civil Law (Cameralvidenskaberne) in the University of Upsala. Had this transition been made with the distinct understanding, that they were thus separating themselves from the church of their native land, we could only regret this step, in reference to which the Archbishop of Sweden, in a letter written to Mr. Unonius upon the subject says, "that, although he will not call it an *apostasy*, he must still call it a *downfall*,"—without, naturally, being in any way bound to labor to induce any one who was at heart *Episcopal* to become *Lutheran*. But, upon going over to the Episcopal church, the Norwegians were told that there was no essential difference between the doctrines of the two churches, and *that they might still continue Lutherans after*

they had connected themselves with the Episcopal church! I had a conversation with Mr. Unonius upon this subject; I set before him, as well as I could, the *four* chief points of distinction between the two churches, namely, in regard to *Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Predestination, and the power of Bishops:* I endeavored to prove the truth of the doctrines of the Lutheran church, and to show how it differs *essentially* in these important points from the Episcopal church. But when Mr. Unonius persisted in the doctrine of his new church, and was of the opinion that the difference was a mere *war of words* between *theologians*, which church-history clearly shows not to be the case, I saw at once that *we* could not unite, as both churches have, from their origin, differed upon these points. I, therefore, merely represented to Mr. Unonius, the necessity of going *openly and honorably to work in a matter so important to both churches*, told him that the differences between the two churches should be clearly pointed out to every one who was to make such a transition, and that he might then be left to choose as he pleased. As this had not been done there, I regarded it as my duty to tell him, that this must be done, in order that those who had gone over might understand their true position, and not rest under the false impression that they still remained Lutherans after they had become Episcopalians. As he promised me to bring this matter before the settlers, and to this end to read a letter from the Archbishop of Sweden, in which the Archbishop points out these differences, I believed it best to let the matter rest there: I did not regard myself as called to proselyte Episcopalians to Lutheranism, but to bring back to our church its scattered members, and endeavor to bring church order among them. I must suppose, that it was out of politeness, and church liberality, that Mr. Unonius invited me to preach at the service that he had appointed at the next Sunday—but this I naturally, on various accounts, declined. Mr. Unonius was not at that time ordained; he was attending a (Theological) Seminary in that neighborhood, [Nashota], where he was to be prepared for the ministry; Confirmation had been performed in the spring by a bishop [Kemper], who alone, according to the canons of that church, has the right to administer this rite: in the meantime Mr. U. preached, and an Episcopal minister administered the sacraments. Later, I conversed with Mr. Unonius at the consecration of the church in Musquigo, where he declared that he had fulfilled his promise, and that the colonists had determined, notwithstanding, to unite with the Episcopal church.

He also told me that he had thought of using the Liturgy of the Norwegian church in his services, just as he had formerly used the Swedish Liturgy. I directed his attention to the fact that the Norwegian church, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, clearly and distinctly expresses a doctrine different from that of the Episcopal church. . . I likewise told him that I did not believe that he, as an *honorable Episcopalian*, and as a minister in that church, could take upon him to present to his members a doctrine that was at variance with the teachings of their church, and that I did not believe that his spiritual superiors could allow him to use the ritual of our church. . . But he still thought that he might do so, and requested me then, and afterwards repeated it in a letter, to obtain for him a copy of the Liturgy and Altarbook, in which, however, I could not think it proper for me to assist him. I cannot reconcile myself to *such* ecclesiastical *liberality*, which, it seems to me, cannot be exercised by an honorable man at the expense of truth. About Easter, 1845, Mr. Unonius was ordained by an Episcopal bishop, and receives, as I am informed, a salary of three hundred dollars per annum from the Missionary treasury of the Episcopal church."

Honorable men everywhere must approve of the course pursued by Mr. Dietrichson in this matter, and we cannot conceal our surprise, that so intelligent and high-minded a body as the Episcopal church in the U. States, should sustain Mr. Unonius in his policy. Or does the fact, that his ministrations are performed in languages with which they are unacquainted, prevent them from properly understanding the subject? We have elsewhere endeavored to bring this matter before them in its true light, and although we have only received bitter abuse and personal denunciation for our efforts, we shall persevere until the public generally understands this subject properly, even if the Episcopal church does continue to wink at it, or to shut its eyes hard against all attempts at enlightenment.

The second tract that we have put at the head of this article, professes to be a translation of an Episcopal Tract, by Rev. G. Unonius. Its evident design is to proselyte Scandinavian Lutherans to Episcopacy. In his Dedication, he says, "the Lutheran church, into which we were taken in our native land, here wants partly a perfect church organization, and is partly divided in itself—our (two) churches (in Wisconsin) have therefore united with the American Protestant Episcopal church, in the full persuasion that this is the only way to preserve the true christian faith among us and our posterity." Here the impression is made that the faith and order of the Lutheran

church in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, are the same as that of the Episcopal church in this country, and that by joining this latter they are most truly persevering in the faith of their fathers. This was written by Mr. U. in October, 1845, more than a year after Mr. Dietrichson had so clearly and faithfully shown him the contrary! In the section headed, "*Of Protestant Dissenters*," the question is asked, "who are *Protestant Dissenters?*" and the answer is, "Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers, Unitarians, Universalists, Mormons," &c. We should like to know whether in the original tract, of which we have been unable to obtain a copy, Lutherans are omitted in this list of "Dissenters," and, if so, why? Is it for the same reason that the fifty-ninth question is asked on p. 15—"Did *Luther* and the other Reformers reject the order of bishops?" To which it is answered, "*No. Both in the Augsburg Confession and in Luther's writings, the necessity of the episcopal office in the church is distinctly acknowledged.*" Now Mr. Unonius ought to have known, if the writer of this Tract did not, that both the Augsburg Confession and the Smalcald Articles, which last Luther wrote, *distinctly reject diocesan episcopacy as it is taught in this Tract*, giving the bishops, except by courtesy, and for the sake of peace, no other power in the church than that which is possessed by every ordained minister or pastor. We do not, therefore, hesitate to pronounce this a most reckless perversion of the name and authority of Luther and the Lutheran church, in order to bolster up Episcopacy, as maintained by the High-church section of the Episcopal church of this country. To the episcopacy of Sweden and Denmark, Norway and Iceland, however, we have no objection—it is consistent with our church principles.

Another specimen of the manner in which Mr. Unonius is endeavoring to delude his countrymen in the Northwest is presented in the Appeal, of which we have given the title in the third of the works in our heading. Having gone from Wisconsin to Chicago in Ill., and laboring there to establish an Episcopal congregation among the Scandinavians, in which he was favored by the disorders produced by Schmidt, as well as by the unchurchly position taken by some others calling themselves Lutherans, among the Norwegians, he publishes an address (over the names of his church-council) to the Scandinavians, in order to induce them to transfer themselves to the Episcopal church. The following extracts from this Address will sufficiently exhibit its character.

After having stated that the true Church of Christ is universal, and to be found here as well as in their native land, it proceeds: "Let us, therefore, here, although in new political and civil relations, continue to serve the God of our fathers and remain steadfast in the communion of the Christian church, of which we are members, and firm in the confession of the faith which has been delivered to us as well as to all the congregations of the saints. After having seriously considered how, in this foreign land, we may best regulate our church relations, in order that we may here continue to enjoy the benefits and blessings of the church, we have as members of that church, which, under the name of the *Evangelical Lutheran, has preserved the Apostles' order, government and doctrine in our fatherland, Sweden and Norway*, entered into communion with the Protestant Episcopal church in America. We believe that we have in this church found, in that which is most essential, the same faith and doctrine in which we have been reared, and which we will not exchange or cast away for any other."

Here we have a distinct declaration from Mr. Unonius and his whole church-council, or Vestry, that they are devoted to the doctrines and usages of the Lutheran church, and will never forsake them. And yet they are recognized as a parish in the Diocese of Illinois! True, they declare that they are equally attached to the doctrines of the Episcopal church.—But of this, from the nature of the case, with the exception of Mr. Unonius, they can know but little. Educated in the bosom of the Lutheran church, they, of course, know what its doctrines are, but of the Episcopal church they can know little more than what their preacher tells them, having had little opportunity to examine the writings of that body which are almost exclusively in English, of which their knowledge is, of course, limited.

If the Episcopal church of this country really believes, with Mr. Unonius, that the Lutheran church of Sweden and Norway is a true church of Jesus Christ, having the Apostles' doctrine and order, we beg leave to suggest, that a very different procedure from that which we are here exposing would be becoming, and might produce the happiest results. Instead of trying to absorb our Scandinavian population and so prevent the formation of a Lutheran church among them, let them encourage those Swedish and Norwegian ministers who are here laboring to establish the Lutheran church among their countrymen, upon the same principles as distinguish the church of their native land. This church they can then recognize as

a true church of Jesus Christ. The other sections of the Lutheran church in this country will, of course, do the same thing. This would lay the foundation for an honorable union between the Lutheran and Episcopal churches — they could here meet upon common ground. And certainly this would be much more honorable, and much more in accordance with apostolic order and usage, than such attempts, as that which we have just been exposing, to steal away members from the Lutheran church under such false pretences, and with the guilt of which we will not charge the Episcopal church of this country, until, when properly informed of the procedure of one of her ministers, as we desire that she should be, she countenances him in it by refusing to instruct him better.

But we shall close this Article, which has unexpectedly grown upon our hands, by a brief statement of the subsequent proceedings of Mr. Dietrichson, and some of the results of his mission to America. Having organized a church that had two distinct places of worship, one on the East and the other on the West of Koskonong prairie, for each of which four elders were elected, and a Precentor appointed, measures were taken for erecting houses of woorship at each of these points. This work was pushed forward with great vigor by both pastor and people, so that on the 19th of Dec., 1844, the first, a log building about forty feet square, was consecrated in the western settlement, according to the formalities prescribed by the Norwegian liturgy, Mr. Dietrichson being assisted on this interesting occasion by pastor Clausen. This was the first Norwegian church erected in America. On the 31st of Jan. following, (1845), the second church was consecrated in the eastern district by pastor Dietrichson alone, and on the 13th of March, of the same year, pastor Claussen's church in Musquigo was opened for divine service in the same manner, Messrs. Dietrichson and Krause participating in the services of the occasion.

Mr. Dietrichson, believing that his work was merely to organize regular churches among his countrymen, as a Missionary, and then report upon their condition in Norway, declined accepting permanently of the call which the people of Koskonong gave him, in accordance with their Constitution relating to that subject. They, therefore, tendered a similar call to Mr. Claussen, who agreed to serve them in connection with his original charge at Musquigo, until Mr. D. should either return or send some one to take his place. With this view he, in the Summer of 1845, set out on his return to Europe, by way of New New York, visiting Philadelphia, where he examined the

Pennsylvania Penetentiary system with great interest, and became acquainted with Rev. Dr. Demme, who has devoted so much attention to this subject, and finally reached Norway once more in the beginning of July, after an absence of a little more than one year—a year most eventful both to him and to the Lutheran church among his countrymen in America.

Mr. Dietrichson did not abandon the cause of the church and of the poor emigrants in America after his return to Norway. On the contrary, he laid himself out there to do every thing that was in his power for their relief. In the account of his Mission, which he published immediately after his return, he urged the taking of immediate measures to supply their wants, the formation of Missionary Societies and the sending of ministers both to the congregations already organized, and in order to seek out the people wherever they were scattered. Of his success in this work, and of the subsequent history and development of the church among our Scandinavian brethren in the Northwest, we propose speaking in another article, this having already extended much beyond our original intention, although we had hoped in it to dispose of the whole subject for the present.

ARTICLE VI.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D. D.

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, Pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa.

(Continued from page 129, Vol. III.)

CHAPTER II.

Of the Vocation and Salary of the Ministers of the Ebenezer Congregation.

The Society in London "for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," having (in its own voluntary good will for the oppressed protestants from Saltzburg and Germany) since the year 1733, kindly undertaken to provide the then yet to be planted congregation, with ministers and schoolmasters, and to salary them, and having confirmed and established said privilege likewise, by certain agreements with some eminent ministers of our Evangelical Lutheran parent church in Germany, especially with the Rev., now deceased, Senior Samuel Urlsperger, in Augsburg, and Tit: Rev. Gotthilf Augustus

Francke, in Halle, and Tit: Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, British court chaplain, in London, and their successors for the time being; and having also really executed the same since then for forty years: therefore, the right to call ministers for the Ebenezer congregation is contained in these agreements of the honorable society with the aforesaid Rev. Fathers and their respective successors in Europe, and it remains with them, until the aforesaid agreements are annulled, or the Ebenezer congregation shall have become unworthy of such a favor.

§ 1.

Consequently, when a vacancy occurs of one or more ministers in Ebenezer, the congregation must apply in a becoming manner, to the honorable society, or its committee, to supply the vacancy.

§ 2.

And inasmuch as, according to a decision of Rev. Senior Urlsperger, in A. D. 1770, the salary of each Ebenezer minister and pastor shall not be less than £60 sterling at the present time, but the salary contributed by the society does not exceed £50 sterling for the first preacher, and £40 sterling for the second; therefore, an addition is to be made thereto from the revenues of those institutions which were founded with the help of the European free will offerings.

§ 3.

In regard to the perquisites accruing from incidental labors, such as weddings, infant baptisms, funerals, &c., this must be left to the kindness and equity of the hearer, who well knows that the laborer is worthy of his hire; therefore, let not the minister demand anything; nevertheless, he is not prohibited from receiving presents, legacies, &c.

§ 4.

In case, which may God forbid, an Ebenezer teacher and preacher should introduce erroneous and spiritually-injurious doctrines, contrary to the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets in the word of God, and contrary to our Augsburg Confession, and this either publicly or secretly; or should give a public and proven offence, or should be guilty of schism and faction, he shall in the first place be examined by the other ministers and two of the vestry, and be required to confess, to deplore and to abhor said offence, also to renounce the erroneous doctrine in a practical manner, and to manifest sincere penitence. Should, however, such a minister, after due rep-

resentations, refuse to perform the above conditions, and obstinately and wickedly continue in such errors, then the remaining ministers and the whole vestry, together with the aid of experienced members of the congregation, shall investigate impartially, said error and offence anew, report it to the Reverend Fathers, and from thence await the final decision of the whole matter, and in the meanwhile suspend such a minister from his office, until the offence given be removed.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Teachers and Pastors of our Congregation.

§ 1.

The teachers and pastors are obligated to teach in our congregation, publicly and privately, pure and unadulterated, the doctrines of our Evangelical Protestant religion, as also the holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and this according to the foundation of the apostles and prophets as contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (in which Christ Jesus is the Corner-stone), agreeably to our unaltered Augsburg Confession, and other Symbolical Books.

§ 2.

The requisite qualifications and official duties of our aforesaid teachers and pastors, are described partly in their written calls; partly also in our Symbolical Books, [in unsern symbolischen Büchern] and most distinctly in God's Holy Word as the standard and rule of our faith, our life and our whole conduct. e. g. Matt. 28: 18–20. Mark 16: 15. 16. Eph. 4: 11. 12. 1 Tim. 3: 2–13. Tit. 1: 5–11. 1 Pet. 5: 2–4. Jam. 3: 1. 1 Tim. 4: 10–13. 2 Cor. 6: 1–10. 2 Cor. 5: 17–20. 2 Tim. 4: 2. 5. Acts 20: 28. Joh. 13: 34. 35. 1 Cor. 13: 1–10. Matt. 7: 22. 23. Luke 17: 10. Rom. 12: 7. 8. 1 Cor. 12: 4. 5. 7. &c. &c.

§ 3.

The Actus Ministeriales, to wit: Holy Baptism, the Holy Supper, Confession, marriage ceremony, confirmation, &c. &c. are to be observed and performed, without any arbitrary changes, according to the written and customary forms introduced by the first ministers of this congregation.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the order of Public Worship in our Congregation.

§ 1.

According to the order introduced at the beginning, our Ebenezer congregation has two churches, or meeting houses,

and one collegiate or associate, namely, the Jerusalem and Zion churches, and the collegiate Bethany. As long as there were and are two ministers, the whole congregation shall be served and provided with the means of grace collegiately and unitedly, as follows: namely, 1, the oldest minister, until otherwise ordered by the Reverend Directors, conducts the public worship of God every second Lord's day in Zion's church, and preaches a sermon on the Catechism on one day in each week, and also on various Sundays and festival days attends to the public worship in the congregations at Gosen (the fourth Sunday), and at Savannah (the sixth Sunday), if he be not sick; and whatever Sundays and festival days he has left, he applies to the public worship of God in Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer village.

The younger or second minister conducts, until otherwise ordered by the Rev. Directors, divine service in the Jerusalem's church on those Sundays and festival days when the older minister has service in Zion's, Goshen and Savannah—and because the members in Bethany belong to the Jerusalem church, and with the approbation of the first ministers built a house of God, and the old and infirm members living there can scarcely attend the Jerusalem church — therefore the minister living nearest to Bethany shall preach several Sundays in the year in the small church at Bethany, as has been customary from the beginning, on condition that the members of that place, according to the teachings of Christ, provide that the minister be conveyed to and fro at their expense, and while with them be furnished his meals, &c.; further he shall also preach the customary week day sermon in Jerusalem church.

§ 2.

According to the order already introduced, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be administered to the congregation, every six weeks, namely, after this manner: 1st, it shall be published two weeks beforehand in both churches by both ministers, during the morning service, and both ministers record the names of those persons who may make known their intentions to commune. But should one or another not be present at the time it is published, and yet have a desire to unite in the participation thereof, he shall be permitted, during the interview, to announce himself to one or another of the ministers. Both ministers must communicate to each other the names recorded by each one of them, and confer with one another before the time of Confession regarding them, whether any person be among the number against whom any com-

plaint might exist, known either to the pastors themselves, or lodged by creditable witnesses. In such cases the pastors must proceed wisely, impartially and according to the teaching of Christ, and confront in their presence accusers, accused and witnesses, and agreeably to the result either acquit the innocent, or treat the guilty in unison with the degrees of exhortation. Should they be weighty matters, then the pastors shall have the liberty to convoke for aid some sensible, pious members of the vestry. But no pastor shall be permitted of his own accord to deny the Lord's Supper to any one; on the contrary it shall be done with the knowledge and consent of both pastors, and on account of satisfactory reasons. And if any have given offence in the congregation through gross and public vice, and such person or persons, having been brought to sincere sorrow and repentance through the exhortation and instruction of the pastors, desire, next to God, to be reconciled to the congregation and received anew into fellowship: then the church penance shall take place in that church to which such erring member lives nearest, as has been customary from the beginning; namely, the minister shall read the name of the person, commend him to the intercession of the congregation, and after due admonition receive him again into membership. but in regard to things, overhastiness and faults which occurred privately and not publicly, and which were not an offence to the congregation, these shall by no means be treated personally on the pulpit, but shall be settled privately by the ministers, and the offenders be directed to amend.

§ 3.

In the week sermon before the Lord's Supper, the ministers can select such texts as can have an influence upon the preparation for the Holy Supper. The confessional or preparatory services are held on Saturday morning by both preachers in both the principal churches, namely, in Jerusalem and Zion; if both the ministers be well and able. The Holy Supper will be administered in the most spacious church, and the emblems be distributed by both the pastors, namely the oldest minister shall consecrate them and shall give the consecrated bread to the communicants, and the youngest minister shall give the consecrated cup. At the dismission the deacons shall take up a collection as is customary. The preparation and confession shall take place in Bethany on the Friday before the Lord's Supper. The instruction and confirmation of the youth shall be as follows: 1) Parents, guardians and masters shall have the privilege to send their young folks to be pre-

pared by the pastor to whom they live nearest, or by whichsoever of them they prefer. 2) Both pastors shall exert their utmost fidelity, according to the grace and ability with which God has endowed them, that the young souls entrusted to their care be thoroughly grounded, through the help of the Holy Spirit, in our Evangelical dogmas and practical duties, or in the order of salvation, or in the whole counsel of God concerning beatitude, upon Jesus Christ the Rock of our salvation. 3) This having been accomplished, and the time having arrived when they shall be examined and proved publicly, they shall renew their baptismal covenant and receive confirmation with the imposition of hands: then each pastor can publish the day and examine, and receive the vows and confirm by the laying on of hands in one or the other of the churches the little flock which he instructed, and in a friendly manner invite the presence of his colleague as co-pastor, because on such solemn occasions especially, faithful shepherds and teachers, and souls sincerely loving Jesus, can be encouraged, rejoiced, comforted, strengthened and be excited to intercessions, if they have the spirit and mind of Jesus. 4) The members instructed and confirmed by either of the ministers shall be recorded in a suitable church book to be preserved as testimony for posterity. The act of confirmation shall be conducted according to the order in the Liturgy in use.

§ 4.

The order of the public worship of God on Sundays and Festivals, shall be observed and conducted in the two principal churches, as follows: 1) In the morning at the usual time, the minister commences with a prayer out of the London Liturgy, or a suitable prayer out of J. Arndt's Paradies-Gärtlein; 2) the Schoolmaster reads a portion of the Holy Bible, following in order the prayer; 3) a hymn is given out by the minister, from the Halle hymnbook, according to the number, and it is stated whether the whole or a part only shall be sung. 4) The minister reads either the appointed Gospel or Epistle; 5) another hymn is announced; 6) the minister prays extemporaneously and closes with the Lord's Prayer. 7) He reads either the Gospel or Epistle or Text from which he intends to preach; 8) the sermon follows, concluded with prayer. 9) The minister reads the General Prayer in the London Liturgy, or the Litany in the Hymnbook, and closes with the Lord's Prayer. 10) Publications are made, ending with an apostolic wish; the congregation sings, and is dismissed with the Benediction of the Lord.

The afternoon service commences, 1) with a chapter in the Bible; 2) hymn is sung. 3) The youth and children repeat what they learned out of Luther's Catechism, or verses out of the Book of Scripture Passages, or of the Order of Salvation, or hymns. 4) A hymn is sung; 5) the minister prays and catechises from what the children learned; 6) closes with prayer and the Lord's Prayer; 7) singing and the dismission of the congregation with the Benediction of the Lord.

For good reasons the morning service shall not continue longer than two hours, and the afternoon service not longer than one and a half hour.

§ 5.

As has been customary from the beginning, thus the three grand festivals, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, shall be celebrated two days—also shall be celebrated New Year's day, Epiphany, the anniversary of our Fathers' arrival between the 9th and 11th of March; Maundy Thursday (when the doctrine of the Lord's Supper shall be especially explained for edification); and Good Friday.

Every year from Sunday *Esto Mihi*, till Easter, in the afternoon service, the history of the sufferings of our Lord and Savior shall be propounded and explained, catechetically and paragraphically, either from an Evangelist or from a Harmony approved by our venerable Fathers.

§ 6.

When members of the congregation have consented together in the state of wedlock, they shall signify the same to one or the other, or to both of our ministers, and if required, exhibit lawful testimony of both being of age, of the consent of their parents or guardians, of their not being too nearly related, or of their not being bound servants, or of their not perhaps even having a yet living wife or husband. And their intention being not contrary either to the divine or civil law, they shall be regularly proclaimed three times in our two churches, namely: if proclaimed the first time in Jerusalem, they shall be proclaimed the second time in Zion, and the third time in Jerusalem; or if the first time in Zion, then the second time in Jerusalem and the third time in Zion—and they shall be married by the minister to whom they signified their intention, and who proclaimed them the first and third time, if no obstacles intervene. For this purpose, the respective ministers must communicate such intentions to each other, and they will be known by the whole congregation, marriage connections being a critical matter and of dangerous consequences, if formed in aught against the divine or civil laws.

§ 7.

Both ministers shall be especially concerned for the general and special care of souls, and for the nurture of the sheep and lambs entrusted to them, according to the grace, gift and experience which God has bestowed upon them, and for which they are daily to implore him; they shall visit industriously, the schools in their neighborhood, likewise the sick members, if such desire it, and serve these with the means of grace, as far as their bodily and mental faculties permit; they shall confer with each other orally and by letter, concerning cases of conscience occurring, and mutually serve each other with the gift they have received; and thereby manifest to their flock that each regards the other superior to himself, that they serve one Lord and one congregation, and take heed unto themselves and the doctrine, that they continue in that entrusted to them, and so act that they shall both save themselves and them that hear them; 1 Tim. 4: 16. If one or the other be visited with sickness, he that is well shall serve the whole congregation, as far as possible. Thus the will of God will be done; the wish of the Fathers, according to Ps. 133, will be fulfilled, their hearts rejoiced, and the onerous official duties of the ministers of a congregation will be relieved, and their word and exemplary walk will be a terror to refractory souls, and a blessing, comfort and growth in grace to the godly.

CHAPTER V.

Any one who wishes to become or remain a regular member of our Evangelical Protestant congregation of the Augsburg Confession, and to enjoy and participate in its spiritual and temporal blessings, privileges and rights, must 1) be or have been received by Holy Baptism into the gracious covenant with the triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; 2) must have been sufficiently instructed for the Lord's Supper, be confirmed, and be, or have been, received as a communing member; 3) must attend, as is becoming, as much as possible, to the hearing of the word of God and the participation of the Lord's Supper; 4) must voluntarily contribute his bodily and temporal gifts, or mite, according to his ability, to the support and continuation of the Evangelical worship of God, in such manner as the vestry may require, and the constitution, chapter 1st, points out; 5) must not live in reigning sin contrary to the moral law or ten commandments of God and of our Savior, or in open works of the flesh, as enumerated in Gal. 5: 19–21. 1 Cor. 6: 9, 10, 5; 11, 12, &c., on the contrary must walk as christian, according to the doc-

trine of Jesus Christ, and his vocation; 6) should one or another of the members be overtaken by a fault, and the same become known to the pastors, then it becometh faithful pastors, according to Matt. 18: 15–17, to speak first alone with such erring and sinning member, and through love, mercy and earnestness, to lead him to contrition and amendment. Should this not avail, then the minister resorts to the second degree, takes with him one or two sensible members of the vestry, experienced in the word and ways of God, as witnesses, and repeats the cordial admonition.

And if this also should avail nought, then the offender shall be cited before the vestry, and the admonition be again repeated. Should he not heed, or wilfully refuse to appear, or disobey the last admonition, then he excludes himself thereby from the congregation, and has neither part nor vote until he manifests genuine repentance, and exhibits sufficient evidences and proof thereof, announces himself to the pastors, and in some one of the confessional services asks the congregation to forgive him his offence, and reconciles himself unto it.

To each and every article of the above constitution, all and each member of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation of the Augsburg congregation, in and around Ebenezer, in Georgia, obligates him or herself among and toward each other, the Trustees of the lands belonging to the said congregation, the regularly called ministers of the congregation, one towards the other, as also towards the whole congregation, their hearers; and the hearers towards their ministers; and they obligate themselves under condition of forfeiting their share, rights and privileges in the congregation, if they offend against the whole or a part of said constitution.

Nov. 26th, Saturday. My breast affection increased so much that I could do but very little.

Nov. 27th. Pastor Rabenhorst (and wife) went to the Ebenezer village to begin a new ecclesiastical year, (it being the first Sunday in Advent), to preach in the morning in Jerusalem church, and in the afternoon to hear pastor Triebner. I was compelled to remain at home and be bled, on account of oppression in my lungs, and to keep my infirm wife's company.

Nov. 28th. Pastor Rabenhorst kindly provided two chaises, so that he, I, my wife and daughter could perform a necessary journey of 16 miles, by way of Bethany, to Esquire Treutlen. On the way we tarried at Bethany, at Mr. J. Michael's, a trustee of the Ebenezer congregation, but did not find him at home. Meanwhile, the mother of the family related many

things to me of parson Triebner's conduct in their house, viz: that he continually tried, in a mean way, to make them distrustful of his senior colleague, Rabenhorst. But because they neither could nor would agree with him, he was displeased against them and their family, and manifested it to the present time. Thence we drove further, and between 3 and 4, P. M. we arrived at Esquire Treutlen's, and found him very sick.—This was the place where Israel Heintzleman was a merchant's clerk for nearly a year, and lost his life. I conferred in the evening with Mr. Treutlen, in regard to the congregational matters, as much or as little as his sickness permitted, and during the evening or night, wrote down the necessary details.

Nov. 29th. Started again in the morning; at noon we arrived again at the Trustee's, Mr. J. Michael, who was now at home, received us kindly, and prepared a dinner for us in *sancta simplicitate.* He was one of those who entertained the ministers when they preached in the Bethany church; he aided also actively, in building the Jerusalem church in Ebenezer, and was denounced by parson Triebner, because he declined assisting to build a house for a new schoolmaster in Bethany, which house, shortly afterwards was burnt. The name of the schoolmaster was Bühler, a neophyte from Philadelphia, who first was a store clerk with Mr. Wertsch, and afterwards awhile an overseer on parson Rabenhorst's plantation. Parson Triebner also had upwards of twenty boards taken out of the Bethany church, and used for said house. Mr. Häg, the former, but now discharged schoolmaster, and his wife, came also to me, and desired to unbosom their troubles to me. Eighteen years ago already, the wife had been roused from her sleep of sin, and had attained repentance and faith. Parson Triebner had enlisted her as his disciple, on condition that she should regard pastor Rabenhorst as an unconverted and worldly-minded fox. It happened, however, that she became enceinte, and some one playing on the dulcimer, she lusted after a dance, which was betrayed to Rev. Triebner, whereby she fell into great terror of conscience, and spiritual anguish, and was compelled to undergo severe church penance, &c. Towards evening, through the mercy of God, we reached home in safety.

Nov. 30. Pastor Rabenhorst and his faithful partner drove to Zion's church, where he held divine service and catechetical examination. I remained at home with my rib and wrote. In the afternoon I was visited by the wife of Mr. W., a justice of the peace, to whom some time ago Rev. Rabenhorst, during the administration of the Lord's Supper in public assembly,

handed the consecrated bread, but to whom Rev. Triebner refused the consecrated cup and rejected her; an event which was spread far and wide in America, and caused many sinful comments, and likewise scoffing enmity and bitterness among relatives. Her crime was said to be playing cards. But it was wrongfully reported, and satisfactorily proved that she had not been guilty of it. In the evening message upon message was received from Pastor Rabenhorst's plantation, viz: *a)* fire had destroyed in one of the fields the necessary winter food of the cattle; *b)* a negro was seriously hurt by a fall in cutting down trees; *c)* a negress was sick with colic; *d)* a calf was found dead and almost a miniature of Job's messages. It is troublesome, expensive, and but little profitable to keep house with negroes, and withal one's life is insecure.

December 1. I spent the day in visiting.

Dec. 2. Pastor Rabenhorst journied to Savannah, to preach the next Sunday, God willing. I was conveyed two miles, to a young Saltzburger (who keeps school at Zion's church), to baptize his two infant sons, who were born last night by his wife. This man had buried the day before his negress, for whom he paid £40 sterling, and who was poisoned, it is said, by other negroes. A hard case and great loss for a beginner.

Dec. 3. I was conveyed three miles to baptize the infant son of the wife of J. D. R., who was born last night.

Dec. 4th Sunday, second Advent. Early a friend conveyed me and Mrs. Rabenhorst to Zion's church, where I preached from the Gospel of the day, Text Luke 21. We dined at Mr. Remsecker's. In the afternoon I preached again, and catechised the youth and children from the verses for second Advent, which they had learned and readily answered. It rained violently this afternoon. We arrived safely at home in the evening. In the evening I received a packet of letters forwarded to me from Savanna by Rev. Rabenhorst: *a)* one from Mr. K., of Charleston, dated Nov. 26th, a. c.; *b)* two from Philadelphia, from Pastor Kuntze and Henry Mühlenberg, Jun., brought by Capt. Bunner to Savannah. Pastor Kuntze states, among other things, that our dear friend, the wife of Mr. Keppele, Sen., fell asleep in the Lord on the third of November of this year, having well prepared herself for her departure. The deceased was, for thirty-two years past, a continual benefactress to me and mine. On my arrival in this country, they were yet beginners in housekeeping, received me for a time into their family and cared for me, and ever continued bosom friends. When we left Philadelphia, on the

27th of last August, she accompanied us with her dear children on shipboard, gave us many comforts for our voyage, and took an affectionate leave. On the *second* of November last, whilst we were at Savannah, when my wife arose in the morning she told me she had an agreeable and impressive dream, viz.: she had rode with Mrs. Keppele in an exceedingly pleasant and handsome country, and Mrs. Keppele was dressed like a bride in her wedding garments, and was very splendid, lovely and affectionately friendly, &c. My wife was very much impressed by the dream, and thought perhaps her mother, the widow Weiser, was dead. We may presume, however, that before her death Mrs. Keppele thought of my poor, sick wife, and we are in some measure taught by such examples, that a correspondence must exist between bosom friends, however far they may be separated from each other bodily. It was a great comfort to us, that Pastor Kuntze visited our sick friend faithfully and prepared her for her departure by means of the word and the Spirit and prayer. O what a great blessing if a faithful servant of Christ be at hand to assist us in trouble and death with the means of grace! It being said that Captain Bunner will return this week to Philadelphia, and the intercourse by vessels between here and Philadelphia ceasing during the winter, I commenced, therefore, writing to-night.

Dec. 5. Felt somewhat asthmatical from yesterday's rain and getting wet. Continued writing as much as I was able till late at night, and enclosed in the packet, 1) a letter to our dear friend, Mr. Keppele, Sen., dated Dec. 4th; 2) a letter from my daughter to her sister, Mrs. Margaret Kuntze, &c.; 3) a letter from Pastor Rabenhorst to Pastor Kuntze; 4) two and a half sheets of extracts from my journal. I found an opportunity to send it to-morrow, God willing, to Savannah to Capt. Bunner. To-day at 1 P. M., Rev. Rabenhorst arrived safely with my daughter from Savannah.

Dec. 6. Pastor Rabenhorst rode to Goshen, preached and catechised. I was indisposed and read several examples in the Last hours of Count Henkel, dec.; also received a visit from Mrs. Kr. who took my daughter with her.

Dec. 7. Rode with Pastor Rabenhorst to Zion's church, and heard him with pleasure and profit preach and catechise from the article of free will, according to the foundation of Theology of the deceased Frëylinghausen.

Dec. 8. I wrote and was indisposed through fright, my poor wife having been so sick last night that I did not expect her to survive. In the afternoon I rode a few miles with Pas-

tor Rabenhorst to visit a sick man, whom I formerly baptized in Providence, when he was twelve years old. Last year the Indians put him and his wife and six children to flight, and he sought refuge here, and it is a special benefit for his soul, for Pastor Rabenhorst labors faithfully for his salvation.

Dec. 9. Wrote nearly a whole day a plan for a congregational constitution — laborious work. A visit from Esquire Treutlen and Parson Triebner. My wife had another but less violent attack of sickness to-day.

Dec. 10. Went with Pastor Rabenhorst to Zion; attended preparatory and confessional services, which Pastor Rabenhorst conducted very edifyingly, closely and impressively from Ambrosius Wirts' confession and communion book, viz.: examination of the third commandment. The form of Confession in the written Liturgy is very well arranged.

Dec. 11th, the third Sunday in Advent. Pastor Rabenhorst conveyed me, and Mrs. Rabenhorst conveyed my wife to the town of Ebenezer. We alighted at Parson Triebner's, where I left my sick wife, she being unable on account of indisposition to attend divine worship, and we went to the Jerusalem church. There was no snow, but a sharp, penetrating cold with a northwest wind. The cold is very piercing here, and readily causes pleurisy, as is natural. Parson Triebner delivered the morning sermon before a numerous congregation, from Rev. 3: 20. "Behold I stand before the door and knock," &c. and described the advent of Christ into the heart, &c. After the sermon, pastor Rabenhorst consecrated the elements, and upwards of eighty persons received the Lord's Supper, among whom we three ministers were the first. We dined at parson Triebner's, and in the afternoon went to church again, where Rev. Rabenhorst catechised the numerous youth in an awakening and edifying manner, and also gave us old persons suitable lessons. I remained with my wife at Rev. Triebner's.

Dec. 12. I gave Mr. Triebner the plan for a church and congregational order, which I had composed with much labor, after examining and comparing the existing circumstances here, in order to promote peace and reunion, according to my instructions. But he had already written a more enlarged one, as he dwells much upon his Reverence Senior Urlsperger having instructed him, some years before my arrival here, to bring every thing into better order; I would have rejoiced had he accomplished this, as it would have saved me a fatiguing journey. He had many objections also against my plan: 1) because I thought the older minister should preside in the church council, and the younger should be present only in case of

necessity; 2) because I placed both churches upon an equal footing, as was customary from the beginning. He thought the Jerusalem's church in the town should have precedence, and be, called the parent and principal church; 3) because the present church officers, elected by a majority of votes of the congregation, are to remain in office till the second day of Easter, as I expressly contended in the last meeting for weighty reasons, &c. &c.

I took his plan and written remarks on my sketch with me, as I do not wish to be overhasty, but to prove all things and select the best. Having found here in the library, which is in the case of Mr. Triebner, the whole of the printed narratives of Ebenezer, and not having had the pleasure to read the last parts or numbers, I embraced the opportunity and read several quarto numbers during the day and night, and found to my gratification that my plan conforms very well with the first arrangement of the deceased ministers; for I do not wish to propose anything new that was not introduced by the first and very estimable preachers, with the nature, advice and approbation of the Reverend Fathers.

Towards evening I conversed privately with parson Triebner, and sought in love and meekness to convince him of some faults and errors of hastiness, namely: 1) That he did not help to suppress the false murmurings in the congregation—as though pastor Rabenhorst had cheated the congregation in the minister's glebe, &c., and had obtained in an arbitrary manner, the superintendence of the mill establishment; 2) that he had assailed pastor Rabenhorst and the eleven men, too hastily and violently, when he was informed that they had complained to the Rev. Fathers; 3) that he had acted too hastily when he wanted to build a house in Bethany, with the help of the members of the congregation, for a young man of hurtful or offensive character, and told those members who would not assist at the unnecessary building, that they should not participate in the Lord's Supper—the end showing only too clearly how injurious it was, that he appointed the young man schoolmaster, and built him a house, &c.; 4) that he acted unwisely when, at the last meeting of the congregation, it was required of him to acknowledge that he had erred and regretted it; but he refusing to do so, the now ruling vestry, therefore, refused him the pulpit, and he served his adherents thereupon in a house—which process gave much offence; 5) that before this circumstance, he refused the consecrated cup to the wife of a justice of the peace in the congregation, and this too, before the whole congregation, and

after she had received the consecrated bread from Rev. Rabenhorst; and all this on account of a false accusation, not only unproved, but also recalled by the accusers themselves. Mr. Triebner knew how to purge and justify himself of the above points, so that I had no other resource left but to appeal to original documents and verbal evidences. Meanwhile, I am seized with fear and terror, for it appears as though the object desired would not be attained by my presence.

Dec. 13th. I was troubled with severe headache, continued nevertheless to read in the aforesaid Ebenezer narratives, and collating them with other original documents, to make the following excerpts: 1) Mr. Rabenhorst was accused by Mr. Triebner and his party, of being unrenewed and unconverted, false in doctrine, and unrighteous in life. Arguments to prove it: a) he was not called to Ebenezer, and not sent with the consent of the venerable society *de promov. cogn. Chr.* b) he obtained the minister's plantation by fraud; he once preached that Christ alone was the good shepherd and proprietor, and the ministers were only servants and hirelings, which perhaps he may have read in the explanation of the pericopy of the late Dr. Baumgarten; 2) Mr. Rabenhorst quarreled already with the first ministers.

On the contrary, I find in the printed true narratives of Ebenezer, in the hands of the christian public, and in trustworthy original documents, the following facts: 1) one of the most solemn acts of ordination and a call, &c., in the first part of the American Ackerwerk Gottes, page 163 to 174, also page 146, 147, 149. "Finally, I implore in my name, and in that of the congregation, that Mr. Rabenhorst may remain among us. We cannot do without him." Likewise, Introduction on the second and third page. In the second part of the American Ackerwerk Gottes, page 263, 270, 271; page 272, 273; page 278, 279; page 296, 297. "We stand before the Lord as one in covenant;" page 298, 299; page 301, 302; page 329, 330; page 335. "Since his arrival God has convinced him, through his instruction, through the language of your Reverences, and through the letters received by me from you and the worthy court chaplain, that for the present he belongeth nowhere else but to Ebenezer, and to be the third minister of our congregation."

"I must acknowledge with shame and humiliation, that when I first read, in a letter, of a third minister for Ebenezer, and afterwards saw him, I could not conceive why a third minister should be necessary in our not large, although somewhat scattered congregation. But after he had been awhile

with us, and commenced laboring among adults and children, and we became acquainted with his excellent gifts of nature and grace, and through the rich grace of the Holy Ghost, we became one in heart and soul with him in christianity, office and brotherly intercourse, &c." page 369. "We all three are united as one before the Lord, and seek only through the right use of the means of salvation, publicly and privately, to save ourselves and those in and out of the congregation, who are committed to our charge." page 372, 482, 483; page 484, 485; page 488, 489. "With the minister's plantation, it is like with the mines in Pennsylvania, where the pound is converted into the shilling, &c." Page 500 is very remarkable.—Page 507, of the small congregation in Gosen. American Ackerwerk Gottes from Jan. 1 to May 31, 1759. In the Introduction on the first page: The Ebenezer congregation has parish collegiates, &c. Introduction on the third page: Of the harmony of the three ministers. In the beginning of the third part, page 3: Harmony of the 3 ministers—also page 4, 10. Minister's conference blessed. Page 15: Of the superintendent of the minister's plantation. Page 26, 27: The testimony of the late Rev. Boltzius, in behalf of Rev. Rabenhorst. Page 33: Excellent testimony of the unity in spirit with Mr. Rabenhorst. Page 35: The most estimable Senior Urlsperger, in his most affecting and paternal farewell letter, calls all the three ministers his most beloved brothers and sons, &c. Page 36: There exists among them the bond of peace, of brotherly love and collegial friendship, &c. Page 38, 42, 43, 45: Of the blessed labor of pastor Boltzius in Savannah. Page 48, 50, 57: Pastor Boltzius' continuation of the diary. Page 60: Hitherto nothing could be accomplished among the old negroes in regard to the christian religion; such will be the case in regard to the temporal advantages expected from a plantation. Page 65: Testimony of the harmony among the ministers. Page 72: Of the minister's plantation. Page 72: The testimony of John Flörl concerning ministers. Further in the fourth part of the "American Ackerwerk Gottes." See the preface on the fourth page, the account of the yet living Senior Urlsperger. "The goodness of God having permitted so much to be collected for the necessary support of a third minister in Ebenezer, as was sufficient to establish a fund for this purpose; it was resolved to secure that fund in Ebenezer itself, and forsooth in a new plantation. This caused some trouble in the beginning, [it should be read: much trouble and despondency:] as matters did not succeed with this plantation as at first expected, for probable reasons. But our kind

Lord finally granted, that, *after this third minister's plantation had been subject to many vicissitudes*, the fund was saved and the third minister is supported from it, [*it should read: is supported partly but not entirely]. For which the name of the Lord be praised, and also invoked graciously to extend his hand over it likewise in future!"

In the fourth part, page 5, Rev. Boltzius writes thus respecting the minister's Plantation: "In my answer to Mr. Laminit I enclosed to your Reverence the *obligation* of my colleague, Rev. Rabenhorst, for the minister's Plantation, and sent it in my packet lately; I trust it will be satisfactory to you and our benefactors—*and the capital is perfectly secured, thank God!* who also in this has 'done exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think.'" Also page 7, May 31, 1764.: "Having learned that the obligation of Rev. Rabenhorst for the minister's plantation has not arrived, although twice sent, I have had the necessary papers copied immediately, and sent the first copy Dec. 1, a. p. with the first vessel that sailed, with an answer to our aforesaid worthy friend, Mr. Laminit—and hope Divine Providence, into whose hands I have, in faith and prayer, given these papers so important and for your gratification so necessary, will in due time deliver them safely into your hands, and thereby fully satisfy your parental feelings, especially as it is now manifest that the fund so kindly and laboriously collected for the support of Mr. Rabenhorst, is now perfectly secure, and that now our Father, or his successor also parentally caring for Ebenezer, can be entirely without concern on account of it. It is very clear since the *purchase* of this plantation, that there is a great difference between *an owner* [like Mr. Rabenhorst] and an *administrator* of such establishments as page 8, and the same is evident also in the mill concern that has been sold. Mr. Rabenhorst possesses good business habits, moreover is very active, and his prudent and industrious wife is a very faithful and successful helpmate, so that the fruits of their prudence and industry in improving the plantation are every where visible, in all kinds of field produce, in negroes and cattle."

Likewise page 8, a remark which could not be very well used, because the new Jerusalem's church has fallen under the jurisdiction of the High Church of England: "During the past year the Deacons of the congregation (who are annually elected by the congregation, like the *vestrymen* in the English church, and *sworn*), are striving to save something every year of what the members of the congregation contribute voluntarily through the year for the support of churches and

schools, the salary of the plantation schoolmaster, and the liquidation of other necessary expenses in the congregation, &c. Likewise page 198. A. D. 1760—page 216., page 221., page 234. 235. Harmony of the ministers. p. 237. p. 256.

Dec. 13. Continued reading the Ebenezer narratives. In the afternoon we visited together the widow Lemke, parson Triebner's mother-in-law, and her adult daughter living with her, and with whom the only surviving maiden daughter of the late Rev. Boltzius resides. We dwelt with pleasure upon the time when I was on a visit here thirty-two years ago.

Dec. 14. Rev. Triebner conveyed my wife home to pastor Rabenhorst's in the chaise, five miles, and procured a horse for me in the town, so that I could accompany them.

Dec. 15. Last night my poor wife was very sick again. Rev. Dr. Zubly lent a book to pastor Rabenhorst, entitled: Thoughts on the value of feeling in Christianity, by Rev. Spalding, in Berlin, printed in Leipzig 1773, which we commenced reading together, and we rejoiced that he ascribes the whole weight in the gracious work of our conversion to the Holy Word and the Holy Ghost coöperating therewith, and shows that we must not so readily ascribe our mystic feelings and mixed sensations to an extraordinary and immediate operation, independent of the word of God and the Spirit connected therewith, on the contrary that we must first learn to know nature and grace better, and distinguish between them. It would be desirable that his diffuse style were more terse, and the matter illustrated and proved with similes and strong Scripture passages. The elucidation of such important things is very useful to us ministers, as we are surrounded by sects or persons, who ascribe their sensual feelings and mixed sensations to extraordinary and immediate operations of grace and evidences of conversions, independent of, over and above the adequate truths revealed in the word of God for our salvation, and the Holy Spirit connected therewith. Thank God that such heroes exist, who, like Luther, strive to decide practical truths more and more clearly according to the infallible word of God, the fountain of knowledge (principio cognoscendi), and to afford more opportunity for reflection, so that we may prove all things and hold fast to that which is good.

Dec. 16. Answered letters for Charleston, and spent the rest of the day in reading and necessary writing.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The History of the United States of America, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress. By Richard Hildreth. In three Volumes. Vol. II. John Adams and Jefferson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

WE have received the second volume of this valuable and interesting work. It embraces, as the title imports, the presidential terms of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The character of the latter does not gain upon our favor, as more and more light is thrown upon it through the researches of historians. The period of our history to which this volume is devoted, was one of momentous importance, and the narrative has a deep and absorbing interest. Like its predecessors, this volume is characterized by great candor, and by a single eye to the honest purpose of recording facts and events with strict and impartial veracity. The style is unambitious of display, but simple, manly, nervous and lucid. The work has strong claims upon public favor.

THE PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION; *or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War of Independence. By* BENSON S. LOSSING. *With several hundred Engravings on Wood, by Dossing and Barritt, chiefly from original Sketches by the Author. In two Volumes. Vol. I.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

THE first volume (Royal 8vo., 576 pages) of this splendid work is before us. The title sufficiently indicates its character. To the general histories of the Revolution it forms a fitting and elegant complement, presenting multiplied details, and numerous anecdotes, all deeply interesting, but too minute for the purposes of the general historian. The engravings consist of likenesses of distinguished characters, British and American; of maps, draughts and views of battlefields, memorable places, houses, and scenes, fac-similes, monuments, &c. &c., and are executed with great taste and skill: paper and letter-press and binding are beautiful, and the whole work is one with which no patriotic American who can afford to purchase it, should fail to enrich his library.

THE NILE BOAT: *or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt, By* W. H. Bartlett, *Author of "Forty Days in the Desert."* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THIS is another of the elegant 8vo. volumes that have recently proceeded from the prolific press of the Harpers. The author makes no pretensions to profound learning. The historical and archaeological lore introduced is derived from the labors of others; his aim is to exhibit the picturesque aspects

of that wondrous land which lies on both banks of the Nile, and to give lively impressions of actual sights. The style is easy and graceful, and the narrative rich in instructive, interesting and entertaining details of varied character: graphic descriptions, piquant anecdotes, sober and amusing, abound. A historical introduction from the pen of Samuel Sharpe is prefixed: the infidel speculations respecting the oft-alleged immense antiquity of Egypt are scarcely touched; and throughout, a great deal of valuable and interesting information is conveyed, none the less acceptable that it is illustrated by a great variety of interesting objects, views and scenes. The whole volume is got up in a style of superior elegance.

THE LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. *By* Abraham Mills, A. M., *Author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres etc. etc. etc. In two volumes.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

IT is not a little gratifying that a work of this kind, and on so comprehensive a plan, should appear in this country, from an American writer. We have seen beautiful volumes of selections from the British poets, published in England, but we know of but one work more extensive and satisfactory than this from the British press. The author has here prepared for publication a series of forty-six lectures on English Literature, which, having been first delivered twenty years ago, he has since annually repeated, with additions and corrections. The work opens with the first dawn of literature in Britain, and brings it down to Edmund Burke and the Letters of Junius. He presents a brief biographical sketch of each author, and then, after giving a critical estimate of his literary character and merits, of his genius and the moral influence of his writings, he gives from these select specimens, more or less copious, as the relative importance of each demands. We have often wished for precisely such a work as this, and accordingly we are exceedingly gratified at its appearance. It is not a showy work: it is neither obscure from excessive profundity, nor spicy with elaborate smartness, nor blazing with flashing coruscations of brilliant wit: historical accuracy and fulness, discriminating judgment, just appreciation, and correct criticism, exhibited in a simple and lucid style, are its prominent characteristics: it is therefore just what those require, who seek for information, unburdened by interminable subjective lucubrations, and abortive attempts at fine writing. The number of authors named, discussed and elucidated from their own works, in these two stout volumes, is four hundred and forty-six. To those who wish to acquire a general acquaintance with the literature of Great Britain and Ireland, and who are here enabled in a good measuro to gratify their desire at a trifling expense, this publication will be invaluable. It will be a delightful companion at many a winter's fireside. We anticipate the highest enjoyment from its oft-renewed perusal, and gloat over its hoarded treasures, like the miser over his gold.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH, Late Rector of Watton, Herts. *By the* REV. T. R. BIRKS, M. A., *Rector of Keldshall, Herts. With an Introduction by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. In two Volumes.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

THE praise of Edward Bickersteth is in all evangelical churches. From our youth his name and his writings have been familiar to us; and we have ever regarded him with reverence, as a man distinguished for earnest piety and consistent godliness, and as a model of a Christian pastor. Hence this simple and loving memoir of his life, his religious development, his pastoral career, his labors for the good of mankind, enriched with copious selections from his correspondence, possesses for us a deep and lasting interest. The work has been prepared by his son-in-law, whose wife afforded him most valuable aid. It is a plain, faithful, affectionate tribute to a good man's cherished memory :— rich in the deepest, holiest experiences of Christian life, it will be widely read among those who love the Lord and his cause and people, and be fruitful of good in the hearts, the homes and the daily practice of earnest disciples of the Redeemer.

FOREST LIFE AND FOREST TREES: *comprising Winter Camp-life among the Loggers, and Wild-wood adventure. With Descriptions of Lumbering Operations on the various Rivers of Maine and New Brunswick. By* John S. Springer. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

THE title of this work is itself sufficient to commend it to the attention of our readers. With a good deal of valuable information respecting forest-trees, as also concerning individual giant-trees, it presents an animated picture of the toils, the perils and the pleasures of the stirring scenes and the varied adventures of thrilling interest, incident to the life of the logger and lumberers of Maine, and forms a very pleasant and entertaining volume.

TRAVELS AND ADVENTURRES IN MEXICO: *in the course of Journeys of upward of 2000 miles, performed on foot. Giving an Account of the Manners and Customs of the People, and the agricultural and mineral Resources of that Country. By* WILLIAM W. CARPENTER, late of the U. S. Army. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

THIS is a simple, straight forward narrative of adventures encountered, hardships endured, and journeys performed, while a prisoner, and in making his escape, by a private in the U. S. Army during the Mexican campaign. He was taken, together with 22 others, by the Mexicans, at Ramos, immediately after the commencement of the campaign; and his account of Mexico, its inhabitants, customs &c., of the brutal treatment of himself and comrades by their captors, of his attempts to escape, his final success, his weary journeyings, his manifold dangers and sufferings, in effecting his return to his countrymen and to his native land, is well told, and very interesting: it presents a good deal of useful knowledge respecting Mexico and its natural resources, and will afford ample entertainment to "the lovers of adventures and incidents."

RULE AND MISRULE OF THE BRITISH IN AMERICA. *By the Author of "Sam Slick the Clock-maker," "The Letter Bag," "Attaché," "Old Judge," &c.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a work of serious history and sober discussion, by one who has been heretofore known exclusively as a comic writer, upon the mismanagement, by the British, of her American colonies. It is written with a good deal of ability, and evinces considerable ingenuity in the statement and application of principles: it will attract some attention, excite interest in various quarters, and may be read with profit by all: but viewing, as it does, the history, the affairs and institutions of this country entirely from the British standpoint, so that it conclusions with regard to them are not very favorable, it will scarcely be very much admired by any but those who have a preference for the political institutions of Europe.

A MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. *With numerous Engravings. By* Charles Anthon, LL. D. *Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, Rector of the Grammar-school, etc. etc.* NEW YORK: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff St. 1851.

WE are glad to see a continuous work on the subject of Roman Antiquities, from the never resting pen of Dr. Anthon. Those who teach the classic languages, and therefore also give instruction in Roman Antiquities, will find this an excellent and invaluable class-book. The text is amply and admirably illustrated by engravings; and such are its fulness and accuracy, that it cannot but supersede, in our educational institutions, the works on the same subject hitherto in use.

THE ELEMENTS OF ALGEBRA, DESIGNED FOR BEGINNERS. *By* Elias Loomis, M. A. *Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of the City of New York, Author of a "Course of Mathematics," "Recent Progress of Astronomy," etc. etc.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1851.

WE have repeatedly acknowledged the superior excellence of the text-books of Prof. Loomis, in his department of science. The one now before us is in no wise inferior to any of its predecessors. It is so plain, simple and lucid in its statements and definitions, so ample and clear in its explanations, and in the unfolding of algebraic operations, that with its aid the most stolid cannot help but learn, and become interested in this beautiful method of working out problems. It is cordially recommended to teachers as the best elementary work on this subject that we have yet seen.

THE HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE. *By* Alphonse de Lamartine, *Author of "The History of the Girondists." Vol. I.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

THE first volume of this work is before us. It will doubtless be read with deep interest by those who admire the sententious, brilliant, sometimes florid style of Lamartine. Aiming at strict impartiality, he yet displays a profound

and generous sympathy with the varied fortunes of his country: striving to chasten his fervid emotions by a calm and severe judgment, he yet enters, often, into lofty speculations, paints characters and events with the bold hand of a master-artist, and indulges in the eloquent out-pourings of a truly poetic spirit. The work is splendidly written, and will be much admired.

PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF MRS. MARGARET MAITLAND, OF SUNNYSIDE. *Written by herself. One Volume.* Sunbeams and Shadows, and Buds and Blossoms; *or Leaves from Aunt Minnie's Portfolio. By* George A. Hulse. HOME IS HOME. *A Domestic Tale.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company. 200 Broadway. 1851.

THE above three works of fiction have been sent to us, and deserve a brief notice. The one first named (by Mrs. Rathbone) we have read, and found it not only unexceptionable, but truly admirable in its character, pervaded, from first to last, by an elevated spirit of genuine piety, instinct with warm religious feeling, and calculated, by its firm and consistent vindication, in principle and practice, of the Christian profession, to exert a most favorable influence on young minds and hearts. We have been told that the other two resemble it in these features—indeed we have gone through the second with sufficient attention to convince ourselves of this; and as it is impossible to prevent our young people from reading works of fiction, we rejoice that our age produces not a few so excellent in their tendency as these.

"THE DUTY OF CHRISTIANS IN REFERENCE TO LEGAL PROSECUTIONS." I. COR. 6: 6, 7. By *Rev. G. A. Lintner, D. D.* Sermon DLII in "*The American National Preacher.*" Aug. 1851.

WE have received a copy of this discourse, and have read it with great satisfaction: we recognize in it the distinctive features of our friend the author's character; earnestness, decision, strength. Principles are clearly stated, without circumlocution or needless speculation: duties are inculcated and urged with great freedom and directness, and enforced, not by a useless multiplication of arguments, but by happy appeals to experience and fact, and, above all, by the unquestionable authority of Scripture. The sermon is directed against a great evil, and calculated to do much good: it ought to be circulated.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN CALVIN, THE GREAT REFORMER. *Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D. D. Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin. By* Henry Stebbing, D. D., F. R. S. Author of "*History of the Church and Reformation*" in Lardner's Cyclopaedia; "*History of the Church of Christ from the Diet of Augsburg;*" "*Lives of the Italian Poets,*" *etc. In two Volumes. Vol. II.* New York: *Robert Carter & Brothers, No.* 285 *Broadway.* 1851.

THE second volume of this elaborate and important work has at last been received. The author has collected a vast amount of materials, and has evidently had access to writings and documents, which had never before been

duly improved for the purpose of producing a full, complete and accurate memoir of the great Swiss Reformer, such as this may, in the main, be regarded to be. Dr. Henry is very earnest in his efforts to vindicate Calvin's fame against the aspersions so often cast upon it, and to place his character and conduct, relative to sundry important affairs with which he was closely and influentially connected, in a favorable light; and while we honor him for these efforts, we are by no means disposed to question their, at least partial, success. No darker cloud ever overshadowed Calvin's reputation than that which rose from the funeral pyre of Servetus. But our author brings forth a variety of evidence, not only to show that the spirit of the age was far more responsible for this affair than Calvin, but that the Reformer's connection with the whole transaction was really widely different from what it has been usually represented, and that a great deal of undeserved censure has has been heaped upon him. In matters of this kind, a great deal depends upon how much of the documentary evidence extant is brought forward, and how much kept out of sight. It may be that there is among us a good deal of prejudice against Calvin; and if so, we should be grateful to the author who helps us to get rid of a mistaken estimate of one, whose greatness as a scholar, a theologian and a Reformer, and whose earnest, firm and vigorous Christian character, no true Protestant would think of calling in question. To be just to ourselves, it is neither wise nor right to be unjust toward others. And if in any thing we have heretofore done Calvin injustice, we shall be glad to have our opinions corrected. The memoir before us differs widely, on many points of Calvin's life and character, from the views presented in Dyer's work and in others. We have not the means of ascertaining, whether or not the materials commanded by Dr. Henry have, in every instance, been used with strict fairness; but that accessible documents, which throw a somewhat different light on Calvin's proceedings on divers occasions, are not here exhibited, is evident. Still we do not doubt that the stern Reformer is fairly entitled, in sundry particulars, to a far more lenient judgment than has been so generally pronounced upon him. We object, however, to the manner in which the author brings in Luther, and labors to prove that, had he been in Calvin's place, he would have adopted the same measures as the latter against Servetus. This we venture positively to deny. It is useless in any way to compare the two men: they can only be contrasted.

The general value and importance of the work before us are unquestionably great: it is exceedingly copious, and deeply interesting. It is only on isolated points that the author feels called upon to assume the attitude of apologist; and while men may here, in various respects, differ from him, the abundance of valuable and interesting information which he communicates in these two large volumes, will be gratefully received and duly appreciated by the Christian public in general.

PERKINS' SERIES.—*The Practical Arithmetic: designed for such Institutions as require a greater Number of Examples than are given in the Elementary Arithmetic. By* George R. Perkins, A. M. *Principal and Professor of Mathematics in New York State Normal School, Author of "Elementary Arithmetic," "Higher Arithmetic," "Elements of Algebra," etc. etc.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company. 200 Broadway. 1851.

MR. Perkins' classbocks in Arithmetic are universally acknowledged to be of such superior excellence, that they require no commendation from us. The design of the present work is indicated by the title. Being a sort of supplement to the "Elementary Arithmetic," it is similar to the latter, but rather more elevated, in its character. It is so practical, so completely adapted to the wants of the learner, and in all respects so admirable a school book, that it needs only to be known to be approved, and introduced in preference to all others.

ARNOLD'S FIRST LATIN BOOK; *remodelled and rewritten, and adapted to the Ollendorff Method of Instruction. By* Albert Harkness, *Senior Master in the Providence High School.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. 1851.

WE have already most favorably noticed Arnold's class-book in Greek. To these the work before us is perhaps even superior. Whether the method here adopted works well with large classes, we have had no opportunity of judging; but from its striking success, when employed with smaller classes, we infer that, under skilful and judicious teachers, it cannot fail to accomplish the most satisfactory results, when practiced on a large scale. For its excellent arrangement of elements, its clear statement of principles, its full exhibition of rules, and their copious illustration and application by means of admirable exercises, and for its general adaptedness to fit the young tyro for the understanding and appreciation of higher classical reading, the present work is deserving of the highest praise. We cordially commend it to the candid examination of academic tehchers.

STUDIES OF ANIMALS, *with Instructions for the Lead-Pencil and Crayon. In five Parts. By* F. N. Otis. NEW YORK: D. Appleton Company, 200 Broadway. 1851.

HAVING ourselves in former years been long engaged in givtng instruction in drawing and painting, we are prepared fully to appreciate the great excellence of these five books of copies, designed to teach the first principles and practice of animal and landscape-drawing. They are truly admirable in their plan and execution, and would, if we were still engaged in teaching this elegant accomplishment, be precisely the thing which we so often desired. To principals of academies, male and fe-

male, this beautiful work cannot fail to be in the highest degree acceptable.

The numbers of Mayhew's London Labor and London Poor continue to appear in succession, and to present an undiminished amount of important, interesting and startling information.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine is also regularly received, and is, if any change there be, steadily improving. The number for October has two new features in the "Editor's Drawer," and the "Editor's Easy Chair"—under which heads we find a variety of pleasant gossip on literary, social and other matters, seasoned with many a spicy anecdote. The number for November is very rich, and that for December is one of the best and most interesting of all. The memoir of Napoleon, by Abbott, is perfectly fascinating.

Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the regal succession of Great Britain. *By* Agnes Strickland, *Author of the "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. II.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. No. 82 Cliff St. 1851.

The second volume of this work has been received: it brings to its conclusion the Life of Mary of Lorraine, second queen of James V., and contains also the life of the lady Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox. These volumes not only exhibit the pomp and circumstance of royalty, but make us acquainted with the troubles and vexations, anxieties and calamities, which are peculiarly the portion of kings and queens, and expose the intrigues, manoeuvres and cabals, which, on the one hand, so often beset them, and which, on the other, they are so prone to employ for the furtherance of their ends. The engaging style in which these volumes are written, the copious detail in which they present the lives of the Scottish queens, the variety of antiquarian historic lore which they bring to light, invest them with a deep interest, and give them a permanent value.

The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World; *from Marathon to Waterloo. By* E. S. Creasy, M. A. *Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London, Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.*

"Those few battles, of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world, in all its subsequent scenes."

Hallam.

New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

The idea of presenting a detailed account of those great battles, which had a decisive and momentous influence on the affairs of our world, and of exhibiting the causes which led to them, the circumstances under which they occurred, and the results which followed, was a happy one.

The subject strikes us at once as interesting and important; and the only question to be determined, is, whether the author has done it justice. As he spared no pains to obtain all accessible information, we can only bear witness that he exhibits all the essential qualities of an able historian: he has used his materials with judgment and impartiality,—he displays much graphic skill,—his views of events and their consequences are acute, comprehensive and just, and his style is luminous, forcible and dignified.—In his account of Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga he manifests a fair and generous appreciation of the importance, and the vast results, of our revolution, and of the character, career, prospects and destiny of our great republic. The work is most ably and interestingly written.

A CLASS-BOOK OF CHEMISTRY, *in which the Principles of the Science are familiarly explained and applied to the Arts, Agriculture, Physiology, Dietetics, Ventilation, and the most important Phenomena of Nature.* Designed for the use of Academies and Schools, and for popular Reading. By *Edward L. Youmans*, Author of "*A new Chart of Chemistry.*" NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. 1852.

THIS is an admirable school-book, and no less valuable as a manual for those who wish to inform themselves. It possesses divers features of great practical moment, which render it decidedly preferable to all other class-books for this important and interesting study, that we have seen. We cordially recommend it to teachers, and to all who desire to obtain a general and profitable knowledge of the science of Chemistry.

LEGENDS OF THE FLOWERS. *By* Susan Pindar, Author of "*Fireside Fairies*," "*Midsummer Fays*," *etc.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company, No. 200 Broadwsy. 1852.

THIS is another of Miss Pindar's delightful volumes for young girls, designed not only to amuse and interest, but to teach them, by a most engaging method, lessons which cannot be too early inculcated, that their gentle and happy influence may encompass them ere the freshness of life's morning has passed away, and guide and bless them amid the scenes and duties of maturer years. The externals of the volume are very beautiful: it will be very acceptable to those who are looking, at the present gift-season, for books to present to their little folk.

LOUIS' SCHOOL DAYS, A Story for Boys. By *E. J. May*. NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. 1852.

OF this book the author says in his Preface: "The following pages claim no interest on the score of authenticity. They are no fiction *founded on facts*. They profess to be nothing but fiction, used as a vehicle for illustrating certain broad and fundamental truths in our holy

religion." It is a very beautiful volume. We have looked it over carefully, and are prepared to recommend it, as in a high degree calculated to influence boys for good: to instil right principles, to inculcate and enforce important duties, and to illustrate the beauty and blessedness of early piety; of patient, firm, consistent continuance in prayer and well-doing.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D. *In three Volumes. Vol. III.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1851.

"Long looked for come at last." It affords us great pleasure to be able to announce to our readers, that the third volume of this most valuable and deeply interesting biography has at last appeared; and even still greater pleasure to inform them, that, in consequence of the Editor's finding it impossible to adhere to his original plan of completing his work in three volumes, we are to be favored with a fourth. The long delay of the publication of the present volume was occasioned by the Editor's severe illness. To those who have ever heard of Dr. Chalmers—and what Christian reader has not—we need not recommend the work. In our estimation the interest deepens as the memoir advances.

MOBY-DICK; OR, THE WHALE. *By* Herman Melville; *Author of "Typee," "Omoo," "Redburn," "Mardi," "White-Jacket."* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. LONDON: Richard Bentley. 1851.

WE have barely run our eye over parts of this book. It is evidently written with much power, abounding in incident, adventure, and scenes of great dramatic effect. We cannot otherwise vouch for its character.

Excerpta P. Ovidii Nasonis Carminibus.—Philadelphia. Blanchard & Lea, 1851.

This volume of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series, is edited by *M. Isler*, who dates his preface at *Hamburg*. Both his name and place of abode mark him as a German, but he writes in such excellent English that he might have been born on the west of the North Sea. This however, may be the work of a good translator. Be that as it may, we are greatly indebted to him for this edition of one of the most fascinating of Latin poets. Having sometime since expressed our views of the importance of Ovid as a school-book, we need not here resume the subject. To those who object to the use of this author in schools, on the ground of various objectionable passages, scattered with a hand rather too liberal in such things, through most of his works, this edition will, we presume, be acceptable. The selections are made with a great deal of care, and present a large body of just such matter as the school-boy needs—interesting narratives, a large body of mythological lore, of

which Ovid is the great storehouse in latin, a faultless latin style, and exemplifications of Hexameter and Pentameter verse that might awaken the very soul of dullness to a love of study in this direction.

We have no hesitation in recommending this book to our classical schools, as the very thing that they need to put into the hands of boys, before they undertake to grapple with the higher mysteries of Virgil and Horace.

Hand-books of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. By Dionysius Lardner, D. C. L., &c. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1851.

This work, which is before us, we have examined with considerable care, and can give it our unqualified approbation. The reputation which the author has already acquired by his numerous scientific investigations, renders it unnecessary for us to say much in its praise.

The work is written in a popular and simple style, and arranged in three parts. The first embraces *Mechanics:* The second *Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics,* and *Sound:* The third *Optics.* The whole is illustrated with over four hundred wood cuts, and gives a very full and valuable work upon the subjects of which it treats, fully brought up to the advanced state of the science at the present day. It is well adapted either for the general reader, or as a text book in schools.

This volume constitutes the first course of the author's Hand-books of Natural Philosophy. The second course, which will shortly appear, will embrace *Heat, Electricity, Magnetism* and *Astronomy,* which, if equal to the first, will give us, in all, a very full and complete course in this department of Natural Science.

The works of Horace, with English Notes. By D. L. Lincoln, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton and Co., pp. 575.

We have before spoken of the result of Prof. Lincoln's editorial labors, but we have seen nothing from his accurate and critical pen, that reflects so much credit upon him, as the work now on our table. It is superior to any edition of this charming classic, published in this country, and cannot fail to meet with a favorable reception where its merits are known. The notes have been prepared with much discrimination, and are well adapted to the purpose intended. Practical knowledge of the wants of the people has enabled the editor to judge with correctness as to the amount and kind of assistance actually required to elucidate the text; just enough to aid the learner over difficulties, which might discourage him, but not enough to supersede exertion. The volume is correctly and beautifully printed, and is deserving of the reputation of the house which has rendered so much service to the cause of classical learning by its valuable publications. In this connexion, we are happy to say that the multiplication of books designed to increase an interest

in the study of the classics, is an encouraging indication. Within the last few years editions of the standard writers of Greece and Rome have appeared from the American press, which have done honor to the scholarship of our land, and been received with great favor in other lands. We feel satisfied that after all the new methods of education, that have been proposed, shall have been tried, we shall discover that nothing is so salutary or effective in disciplining, refining and elevating the mind, as these frequently neglected and greatly abused classical studies.

A School Dictionary of the Latin Language. *By* Dr. J. H. Kaltschmidt. *In two parts. I. Latin English (pp.* 478*). II. English-Latin (pp.* 365*).* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1851.

These two volumes form an important addition to Schmitz and Zumpt's very valuable "*Classical Series*," to which we have already directed public attention. It is rather a remarkable phenomenon to find an "*English* Dictionary" of the Latin Language prepared by authors so manifestly *German* in their character as Messrs. *Kaltschmidt* and *Schmitz*. But Dr. Kaltschmidt has for some time been favorably known to the English student of German by his "Dictionary of the German and English," and Dr. Schmitz has become completely naturalized as an Englishman, not only by his "Classical Series," but much more by his position as a teacher in an English school at Edinburg, where he, no doubt, speaks the language of Shakspeare much more purely than many of his Caledonian cotemporaries. But Dr. Kaltschmidt appears almost the very impersonation of the spirit of Lexicography. We do not know how many Dictionaries he has already prepared and published. In 1834 his great "*Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*," (a quarto of 1116 double columns) made its appearance — one of the most satisfactory works in that department that we are acquainted with. And since that he has published German Dictionaries of the Latin, French and English, and now these of the Latin and English, and English and Latin, which are before us. This is a new development in our literary history. No longer satisfied with importing German books, we now import the authors themselves!

As far as we have examined these Dictionaries, we are prepared to speak favorably of them. The are intended simply as elementary works, for school use, and will, we believe, answer this purpose better than any works now accessible to our youthful students. Something, however, in these volumes we could wish to see improved. Thus, the definitions might be more philosophically arranged upon the principles which *Freund* has so well pointed out and exemplified in his Lexicon and its abridgement. We also occasionally miss a meaning that ought to be given, e. g. under "a," *ab Sequanis et Helvetiis* (Caesar) "on the side of." We should also prefer to have the declension and ordinary mode of Englishing classical proper names.

ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: *on the plan of the Author's Compendium of English Literature, and Supplementary to it. Designed for Colleges and advanced classes in Schools as well as for private reading.* *By* Charles C. Cleveland. PHILADELPHIA: E. C. & J. Biddle. 1851. pp. 746.

A few years ago Professor Cleveland published a Compendium of English Literature arranged in a chronological order, from Sir John Mandeville to William Cowper, to show the progress of the English language, with biographical sketches of the authors, selections from their works, with notes, explanatory, illustrative and designed to direct the reader to the best editions of the writers, to the various criticisms upon them, and to other books upon kindred subjects which might be read with profit. The work met with unprecedented favor, and was not only recommended by some of the best minds in the country, but was extensively introduced into our Seminaries of learning. Encouraged by the success which attended his former efforts, the Editor was induced to undertake the preparation of the present work, which embraces the most preminent authors, dead and living, who have flourished since the beginning of the current century. We are confident that any one who examines the Editor's labors, will be pleased with them, and will unite with us in the opinion that he has rendered very great service by the publication. It is not only an excellent text-book for the higher classes in schools and for Junior classes in colleges, but it is an interesting work for private reading and exceedingly useful for reference. There are not only condensed sketches of Macauley, Jeffrey, Alison, Arnold, Chalmers, Hall, Scott, Wilson, Tupper, Wordsworth, Mackintosh, and other prominent writers of Great Britain during the nineteenth century, whose pages we have so often perused with so much interest, with all the marked points in their life and a list of all the productions they have given to the world, but extracts are furnished from their works so as to give the reader some idea of their writings. The plan, we believe, is original. The work is exceedingly well executed. The biographical notices are discriminating and beautifully written; the selections are judicious and eminently fitted to introduce the student to the most finished compositions in the English language. We regard the work, in connection with the Compendium, as a most valuable auxiliary in the study of the literature of Great Britain, and take pleasure in directing the favorable attention of the public to the merits of the publication.

THE ILIAD OF HOMER, with Notes for the use of Schools and Colleges. *By* J. J. OWEN, D. D. *Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, in the Free Academy of the City of New York.* Leavitt & Company. 1851. pp. 740.

Professor Owen has added the Iliad of Homer to his excellent series of Greek classics, and we find in this work the same care and learning, the same accuracy and elegance, and the same fulness and variety of annotation which mark his previous labors. He richly deserves the thanks of the public for the service he has rendered classical learning by furnishing increased facil-

ities for the study of this great epic. We have examined the volume with great satisfaction, and regard it as one of the best edited books, that has ever fallen under our notice. Although we have, on several occasions, spoken of the great value of Dr. Owen's works and the success of his editorial labors, yet we have seen nothing from his careful and critical pen so able and so worthy of his well earned reputation as the volume before us.

Copious illustrations are given on every point, that pertains to the archaeology of the poem, and the notes are based on the exegetical wants of the pupil, with a reference to the grammatical study of the language. They are judicious, brief yet sufficiently copious, suggestive and always appropriate, just what notes should be, not designed to cripple the mental energies of the student or to take the labor of preparing for recitation out of his hand, but to aid him where he would otherwise be discouraged, and to excite him to habits of accuracy and investigation. Practical knowledge has enabled the Editor to furnish the kind of assistance actually required by the wants of the learner, and facilitate his progress in study.

The external appearance of the work is beautiful. The bold, clear type makes it very attractive to the eye. The book is an ornament to the American press, and reflects great honor upon the house whence it emanated.

Owen's edition of Homer, we are sure, will give a new impulse to the study of this charming poem, and will greatly increase the enjoyment and the profit with which its pages will be read by the student.

THE TYPOLOGY OF SCRIPTURE, *or the Doctrine of Types investigated in its Principles, and applied to the Explanation of the Earlier Revelation of God, considered as preparatory Exhibitions of the leading Truths of the Gospel. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Two volumes in one.* Philadelphia: Daniels & Smith, No. 36 North 6th St. 1852.

A good book on Types was, all must admit, a desideratum in our theological literature. Not one existed, it may fearlessly be said, that was not exceedingly defective. Those acquainted with German theology knew that considerable advances had been made in the interpretation of the Symbols and Types of the Old Testament economy. Bähr has acquired celebrity by what he has done in this department, and all succeeding writers take account of his labors. The author of the work before us has undertaken his task, well qualified by his knowledge of German as well as English theology to do it justice, and we accord to his work high, though not unbounded praise. He has produced an admirable work, one far in advance of every other in the English language. The publishers have done well in the selection, and we hope that they will be amply remunerated.

THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, Historically, Doctrinally and Practically Delineated in several Occasional Discourses: *By* S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D., *Prof. of Chr. Theol., in the Theol. Sem. of the Gen. Synod, Gettysburg, Pa.* SPRINGFIELD: Published by Harbaugh & Butler. 1851.

A collection of Sermons and Essays on Historical and Doctrinal subjects, pertaining to the Lutheran Church in the United States, from the pen of the

Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker. They were delivered on different occasions, and some of them appeared in the pages of the Ev. Review. They contain much valuable matter, clearly presented, and may be considered an interesting exposition of the views of the author, and particularly of his ecclesiastical standpoint.

Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche, herausgegeben von Dr. A. G. Rudelbach und Dr. H. E. F. Guerike. Drittes Quartalheft. 1851.

F. O. Zuschlag, "Ἀριθμὸς χίς" An Exegetical Essay on Rev. 13: 18.

A. Althaus, the Lutheran Church Constitution, presented in connection from the Symbols of the Lutheran Church.

K. A. F. Bonsack, on the Millenium.

R. Rudel, The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. (A practical, exegetical exercise.)

Guericke, for America. In self defence.

Viertes Quartalheft. 1851.

A. G. Rudelbach, Church and State and Religious Freedom. Historical retrospect and prospect with its application to the present condition of the Church.

G. A. G., The relation of the altered to the unaltered Confession of Augsburg.

Voss, Satanology. A Theological Essay.

F. Delitzsch, Contribution to the Criticism of the Pastoral Epistles.

Münchmeyer, Something additional on the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard.

F. Delitzsch, K. Hesselberg, an Obituary.

ERRATA.

Page 204,	Line 8th	from	below:	after "his," supply: not.
205,	20	"	"	for "know," read: notice.
207,	3	"	above:	after "opinions," supply: of heretics.
209,	15		above:	before "grosser," supply: the.
219,	22		below:	after "which," supply: the.
227,	18		below:	for "is this," read: this is.
228,	14		above:	before "any," supply: say.
228,	14		above:	insert "mean" after to.
245,	15		above:	for "into this respect," read: in &c.
245,	6		below:	for "affect," read: effect.
246,	14		above:	before "things," supply: the.
249,	5		below:	read: literal for "liberal."
39,	3		below:	"Romish" should be included in brackets, the design of the author was by this to express the sense, not to give a literal translation.

Other important errors the reader will please correct for himself.

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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XII.

APRIL, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

Dr. Martin Luther der Deutsche Reformator. In bildlichen Darstellungen von Gustav König. In geschichtlichen Umrissen von Heinrich Gelzer. Hamburg: Rudolf Besser. Gotha: Justus Perthes. 1851. [*Dr. Martin Luther the German Reformer. In pictorial representations, and historical sketches.*] *4to. price* $4 00. *Impressions on Chinese paper* $5 60. *Folio, first impression* $8 00, *unbound.*

By Rev. C. Porterfield Krauth, Winchester, Va.

THIS is what we call a charming book—a book with a great subject or happy mode of treatment, well carried out and combining the fascination of good pictures, good descriptions, and elegant typography. It is an offering of flowers and fruit on the altar of the greatest memory, which the heart of modern Christianity enshrines. It is the whole history of Luther told in pictures, and descriptions of those pictures, followed by a connected sketch of the Reformation as it centred in him.

The work contains forty-eight engravings, divided with reference to the leading events of his life, or the great features of his character, into seven parts.

The FIRST division embraces the years of his *childhood*—and not uncharacteristically of the German origin of the book presents us as a first picture Martin Luther (such we must here call him by anticipation) commencing his distinction, where

that of most men ends — "his birth, 11 o'clock at night, November 10th, 1483"—the very night, by the bye, of the very same month, and about the same hour at which the very humble servant of all readers of the Evangelical Review, who prepares this notice, has put pen to paper. Speaking of Luther's birth, Carlyle says: "In the whole world, that day, there was not a more entirely unimportant looking pair of people, than this miner and his wife. And yet what were all Emperors, Popes, and Potentates, in comparison? There was born here, once more, a Mighty Man; whose light was to flame as the beacon over long centuries and epochs of the world; the whole world and its history was waiting for this man. It is strange, it is great. It leads us back to another Birth-hour, in a still meaner environment, eighteen hundred years ago,—of which it is fit that we say nothing, that we think only in silence; for what words are there! The Age of Miracles past? The age of Miracles is forever here!"[1]

In the second picture Master Martin is brought to school, to a terrible looking schoolmaster, with a bundle of rods in his hand, and with a boy, whom you can almost hear sobbing, crouching at the back of his chair.

In the third, wandering with his little comrades, he comes, singing, to the door of Madame Cotta in Eisenach, (1498).— In a little niche below, his gentle protectress brings him his lute, to win him for a while from his books.

The SECOND division leads us over his *youth*, in seven illustrations.

In the first, Luther is seen in the Library of the University of Erfurt, gazing eagerly for the first time, on the whole Bible —his hand unconsciously relaxing on a folio Aristotle, as he reads (1501).

Next, the Providence is smiting, with the word. His friend Alexis, as they journey, falls dead at his side, by a thunderstroke. Then follows the step of a fearful heart — with sad face, and the moon in her first quarter, beaming on him like that faith in his heart which was yet so far from the full, with his heathen poets beneath his arm, he takes the hand of the monk who welcomes him to the cloister of the Augustinian Eremites, (1505).

Next the monk receives the solemn consecration to the priesthood, and now with the tonsure, the cowl and the rosary, barefooted, with the scourge by his side, he agonizes, with

[1] On Heroes and Hero-Worship — or Six Lectures by Thomas Carlyle.— New York, 1849. p. 114.

macerated body and bleeding heart, at the foot of the crucifix. We turn a leaf — he lies in his cell, like one dead — he has swooned over the Bible, which he now never permits to leave his hand. The door has been burst open, and his friends bring lutes, that they may revive him by the influence of the only power which yet bound him to the world of sense. Now a ray of light shoots in: the Spirit chafing in the body has brought him hard by the valley of death — but an old brother in the Cloister, by one word of faith gave him power to rise from his bed of sickness, and clasp his comforter round the neck. With this touching scene, ends this part.

In the THIRD period, we have illustrations of Luther's career at the *University* of Wittenberg.

As a Baccalaureate he is holding philosophical and theological prelections, (1508). Then we have him preaching in the Cloister before Staupitz, and the other brethren of his order, as a preliminary to appearing in the Castle and city church.

Luther's journey to Rome (1510) is shown in four pictures grouped on one page. In the first he is starting eagerly on his journey to the "holy city"—in the second, at first view of that home of martyrs hallowed by their blood, and not less by the presence of the vicar of Christ and vicegerent of God, he falls upon his knees, in solemn awe and exultation; in the centre he is gazing on the proud and godless Pope Julius, riding with pampered cardinals in his train, — and in the last, he looks back, and waves over that city, the hand whose bolts will yet sink it to that realm—over which, its own inhabitants told him, if there was a hell, Rome was certainly built.[1] "To conceive of Luther's emotions on entering Rome, we must remember that he was a child of the north who loved privation and fasting — who was of a meditative nature, and had vowed to the cross of Christ an austere worship. His Christianity was of a severe and rigid character. When he prayed it was on the stone; the altar before which he knelt was almost invariably of wood; his church was time-worn, and the chasuble of its ministers of coarse wool. Imagine, then, this monk — this poor Martin, who walked twelve hundred miles, with nothing to support him but coarse bread; think of him suddenly transported to the midst of a city of wonders, of pleasure, of music, and of pagan antiquity. What must have been his feelings: he who had never heard any greater sound than was made by the falling water of the convent fountain—

[1] "So hab ich selbs zu Rom gehört sagen: ist eine Hölle, so ist Rom darauf gebaut."

who knew no recreation beyond that of his lute, when prayers were over, and who knew no ceremony more imposing than the induction of an Augustinian monk — how must he have been astonished, even scandalized! He had fancied to himself an austere religion—its brow encircled with care, its ministers lying on the hard ground, sating their thirst at heavenly founts, dressed as were the Apostles, and treading on stony paths with the Everlasting Gospel in their hands. In place of this he saw cardinals borne in litters, or on horseback, or in carriages, their attire blazing with jewels, their faces shaded by canopies, or the plumes of the peacock, and marking their route by clouds of dust so dense as completely to veil and hide their attendants. His dreams reverted to those days, when the chief of the Apostles, a pilgrim like himself, had only a staff to support his weakness. The poor scholar, who, in his childhood had endured so much, and who often pillowed his head on the cold ground, now passes before palaces of marble, alabaster columns, gigantic granite obelisks, sparkling fountains, villas adorned with gardens, cascades and grottoes! Does he wish to pray? He enters a church, which appears to him a little world; where diamonds glitter on the altar, gold upon the ceiling, marble in the columns and mosaic in the chapels. In his own country, the rustic temples are ornamented by votive flowers laid by some pious hand upon the altar. Is he thirsty? Instead of one of those springs that flow through the wooden pipes of Wittenberg, he sees fountains of white marble, as large as German houses. Is he fatigued with walking? He finds on his road, instead of a modest wooden seat, some antique, just dug up, on which he may rest. Does he look for a holy image? He sees nothing but the fantasies of paganism, old deities—still giving employment to thousands of sculptors. They are the gods of Demosthenes, and of Praxiteles; the festivals and processions of Delos; the excitement of the forum; in a word pagan folly: but of the foolishness of the Cross, which St. Paul extols, he appears no where to see either memorial or representation."[1]

These are the concessions, and this the apology of a Roman Catholic historian, and we permit them to pass together.

After his return we see Luther with high solemnities created Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, Carlstadt as Dean of the Theological Faculty, officiating at his promotion, (1512). This era closes, busy in dictating letters, and performing the functions of 'a Vicar General of the Augustinian Order,' with which

[1] Audin's Life of Luther.

he had been entrusted by Staupitz, (1516). By this office he was fitted for that part which he took in giving form to the church, when it ere long began to renew its youth like the eagle's.

We come now to the Reformation itself (1517), the warning flash, the storm, and the purified heaven that followed it.—This period is embraced in sixteen principal engravings, with seven subsidiary ones on a smaller scale.

The first of these grouped pictures presents four scenes.—Below, Luther is refusing, as the Confessor of his people, to give them absolution, whilst they exultingly display their indulgences; in the centre Luther, nails to the door of the church tower the immortal theses--on the left, Tetzel sells indulgences, and commits Luther's writing to the flames, and on the right, the Wittenberg students are handling his own anti-theses in the same unceremonious way. The smoke from both fires rises to a centre above the whole, and like the wan image in a dream—the swan whose white wings were waving before Huss' dying eyes, is lifting herself unscathed from the flames.—Now Luther bends before Cajetan, and then at night, "without shoe or stocking, spur or sword," flies on horseback, through a portal of Augsburg. The picture that follows is one of great beauty, rich in portraits. It represents the dispute at Leipsic between Luther and Eck, (1519). In the Hall of the Pleissenburg the two great chieftains face each other—the one bold, cogent, overwhelming—the other sly, full of lubricity, sophistical and watchful; the one Hercules, the other the Hydra. By Luther's side sits Melanchthon, with the deep lines of thought upon his youthful face; at their feet Carlstadt, with a book in each hand, with knit brow searches for something which his treacherous memory has not been able to retain. In the centre of the court Duke George of Saxony listens earnestly to the dispute, till at Luther's words, that "some Articles even of Huss and the Bohemians accorded with the Gospel," he involuntarily exclaimed: "the man is mad." At his feet sits the court-fool, gazing with a puzzled and earnest air at Dr. Eck, as though he dreaded remotely that he had in him a dangerous competitor for his own office. Next we have Luther burning the papal bull (1520), then his reception at Worms, (1521). These are followed by a double picture: above, Luther is preparing by prayer to appear before the Emperor, and the Diet; his lattice opens out upon the towers of the city, and the calm stars[1] are shining upon him; his lute rests

[1] "In the garden at Wittenberg one evening at sunset, a little bird has perched for the night: That little bird, says Luther, above it are the stars and

by his side, his brow is turned to heaven and his hands clasped fervently; below, he approaches the entrance to the Diet—the knight Frundsberg lays a friendly hand upon his shoulder, and speaks a cheering word. In the angles of the ornamental border appear statues of those two heroes who declared themselves ready with word and sword, if need were, to defend at Worms, their "holy friend, the unconquerable Theologian and Evangelist": Hutten rests upon the harp and lifts the sword in his right hand; his brow is crowned with the poets laurel; the brave Sickingen, lifts the shield upon his arm, and holds in his right hand the Marshal's staff. Luther has entered the hall—stands before the mighty—and is represented at the moment when he throws his whole soul into that "good confession," surpassed in moral grandeur but by one, in the whole history of the race. "The Diet of Worms, Luther's appearance there on the 17th of April, 1521, may be considered as the greatest scene in modern European History; the point, indeed, from which the whole subsequent history of civilization takes its rise. —— The world's pomp and power sits there, on this hand: on that, stands up for God's truth, one man, the poor miner Hans Luther's son. Our petition—the petition of the whole world to him was: 'Free us; it rests with thee; desert us not.' Luther did not desert us. It is, as we say, the greatest moment in the Modern History of Men—English Puritanism, England and its Parliaments, Americas, and vast work these two centuries; French Revolution, Europe and its work every where at present: the germ of it all lay there: had Luther in that moment done other, it had all been otherwise."[1] Next follows his arrest on the way, (1521).—Sitting in the dress of a knight, his cap hanging on the head of the chair, his sword resting at its side, in a quiet chamber of the Thuringian castle, we now see him at work on his translation of the Bible. But his active spirit prompts him to return to his former duties at any risk; with his book resting on the pommel of his saddle he rides away from the Wartburg; meets the Swiss students at the hostelry of the Black Bear in Jena, who can talk about nothing but Luther, and is recognized by them with astonishment, when at Wittenberg they meet him in the circle of his friends.

A new stadium is now reached in this era. The danger greater than all outward dangers, that which arises within great

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deep Heaven of worlds; yet it has folded its little wings; gone trustfully to rest there as in its home."—CARLYLE.

[1] Carlyle Heroes and Hero-Worship. p 121.

moral movements, now begins to display itself. From applying the internal remedies well calculated to eradicate the cause of disease, men begin to operate upon the surface; instead of curing the leprosy they commence scraping off its scales. The war against images in the churches commenced; 'cut, burn, break, annihilate,' was the cry, and the contest was rapidly changing, from a conflict with errors in the human heart, to an easy and useless attack on paint and stone.

A harder struggle, than any to which he had yet been called, demands Luther's energy. He must defend the living truth from the false issues into which its friends may carry it. Luther arrests the storm against images. The artist places him in the centre of a band of iconoclasts in the temple. His hand and voice arrest a man who is about climbing a ladder to destroy the ornaments of the church. Near him a youth holding a chasuble is pausing to hear; on the floor a peasant suspends the tearing of a missal; in the middle of a page, an older man, with a heap of sacred vestments beneath him and a broken crosier under his foot, half relaxes his hold on the viaticum box, and looks scowlingly around. On the extreme right of the picture, there is a fine contrast between the fanatical countenance of a man who has just lifted a heavy hammer against the statue of a saint, and the placid face which he is about to destroy. Carlstadt, with his foot propped upon the upper part of a devout old bishop in stone, looks on Luther with an expression of impotent wrath.

The next picture leads us to a calmer scene. Luther is in his quiet room. His translation of the Bible is growing beneath his hand. By his side, rendering invaluable aid, is Melanchthon: "Still," said Luther, "in age, form, and mien, a youth: but in mind a MAN."

This was the time of their first love, when they were perfectly of one spirit, and full of admiration, each of the other's wondrous gifts; when Melanchthon knew no glory on earth beyond that of looking upon Luther as his father, and Luther's chief joy was to see and extol Melanchthon, (1523–24).

Next, as if the artist would lead us through alternate scenes of sunshine and tempest, we have Luther preaching in Seeburg against the Peasant war, (1525); a noble picture crowded with varied life. Then from revelry, arson, and rapine, we are led into a private chapel in the house of the Registrar of Wittenberg. The jurist, Apel, and the great painter Cranach, stand on either side; Bugenhagen blesses the plighted troth of Luther and Catherine, who kneel before him, she with her long hair flowing over her shoulders, and the marriage wreath

on her brow, her face meekly and thoughtfully bent downward; he holding her right hand in his, his left pressing on his heart, and his eyes turned to heaven. (June 13th, 1525).

From sunshine to storm—Luther's conference with Zwingle on the question of the Sacrament, (Oct. 1–4, 1529). Luther had redeemed the Gospel doctrine of the Supper from the gross materialism and scholastic refinings of Rome, it was now his work to maintain it against the error which violent reaction had produced, a hyperspiritualizing, which was driven to so violent a resort as confounding the benefits of our Redeemer's flesh with the feebleness of our own.

It was to save the living body of Christ himself from disseverance, to rescue the Reformation from a tendency toward Sect, which an easy perversion of some of its principles might cause, that Luther struggled.

As the Protestant world has receded from the great sacramental principles which Luther maintained at Marburg, just in that proportion has it been torn with internal dissention—and just in proportion to its return to them, has there risen a more earnest striving towards a consummation of the Saviour's prayer: that all his people might be one. No man in Luther's time, no man since, so harmoniously blended, so kept in their due proportion all the elements of a real Reformation. "Luther's character," says Bengel, "was truly great. All his brother Reformers together will not make a Luther. His death was an important epocha; for nothing, since it took place, has ever been *really* added to the Reformation itself."

The artist closes this period fitly, with the delivery of the Augsburg Confession (1530), that great providential act by which God, having brought to maturity the leading doctrines of the Gospel, gave them currency in the whole world. Thirteen years had passed since the truth, like a whisper in a secret place, had been uttered at Wittenberg, now it was to ring like a trumpet before the Emperor and his whole realm. "In sighs and prayers," writes Luther from Coburg, "I am by your side. If we fall, Christ falls with us—if He fall, rather will I fall with him than stand with the Emperor — but we need not fear, for Christ overcometh the world."

In the engraving, the artist has ranged the Evangelical party to the right, the Romish to the left of the spectator, contrary to the historical fact he has introduced Melanchthon who stands most prominently, with folded arms and care-worn face. Below him, the Elector John the Constant, clasps his hands in silent invocation; behind whom stands George, Margrave of Brandenburg, and by his side sits Philip, Landgrave of Hesse,

bracing himself on his sword. In the centre sits Charles, his Spanish origin showing itself in his features. Back of his seat is embroidered the double-headed, crowned eagle of the Empire. A crown with triple divisions, the central one of which is surmounted by a small cross, rests on his head — the sceptre is in his hand. The ermine, crosiers, mitres, cowl, and cardinal's hat mark the party to his right. Before him the Chancellor Baier reads the Confession. Around the picture are thrown connected Gothic ornaments; in the upper arch of which Luther is prostrate in prayer. At its base an angel holds in either hand the coat of arms of Luther and Melanchthon, with an intertwining band, on which are traced the words from Luther's favorite Psalm: "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." From the highest point, not without significance, rises the Cross, and here this part appropriately ends.

The church thus fairly brought to a full self consciousness, the FIFTH part, presents us, in four characteristic pictures, the *results.*

In the first, Luther with all his co-laborers, Christian and Jewish around him, labors on that *translation* of which even a Jesuit historian speaks thus: "Luther's translation of the Bible is a noble monument of literature, a vast enterprise which seemed to require more than the life of man; but which Luther accomplished in a few years. The poetic soul finds in this translation evidences of genius, and expressions as natural, beautiful and melodious as in the original languages. Luther's translation sometimes renders the primitive phrase, with touching simplicity, invests itself with sublimity and magnificence, and receives all the modifications which he wishes to impart to it. It is simple in the recital of the patriarch, glowing in the predictions of the prophets, familiar in the Gospels, and colloquial in the Epistles. The imagery of the original is rendered with undeviating fidelity; the translation occasionally approaches the text. We must not then be astonished at the enthusiasm which Saxony felt at the appearance of Luther's version. Both Catholics and Protestants regarded it an honor done to their ancient idiom."[1]

In the picture, Luther stands between Bugenhagen and Melanchthon; Jonas, Forstensius, Creuziger, and the Rabbins are engaged in the effort to solve some difficulty that has risen.

The second result is shown in a scene in a school-room, in which the *Catechism* has just been introduced. Luther sits

[1] Audin's Luther. Chapt. XXIV.

in the midst of the children teaching them the first Article of the Creed. Jonas is distributing the book among them, and in the back ground a number of teachers listen that they may learn to carry out this new feature in their calling.

The third result is shown in the *pulpit*. Luther had given the Bible for all eyes, all times, and all places; he had laid the foundation, principles, at the foundation of human thought, by introducing the Catechism into the schools; now he recreates the service of the church.

In the engraving the artist has grouped, happily, all that is associated with the Evangelical service. Luther, in the pulpit, is preaching to nobles and subjects, with all the fervor of his soul. The font and altar illumined by a flood of sunbeams, recall the Sacraments; the organ reminds us of the place which the Reformation gave to sacred music, and the alms-box, its appeals to sacred pity.

The fourth picture represents the administration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds; Luther extends the cup to the Elector John Frederick, whilst Bugenhagen distributes the bread.

The SIXTH general division shows us Luther in *private life*. First we have two pictures illustrating his relations to his princes. In one he is represented reading from the Bible to his devoted friend, the Elector John the Constant; in the other, on the sick-bed, he is visited and comforted by the Elector John Frederick, (1537).

Secondly, we have him in his relation to his personal friends. In the first picture Luther is sitting for his likeness, to Lucas Cranach, in the next he is rousing Melanchthon almost from the torpor of death, by the prayer of faith; the third, illustrating the introduction of the German church music, conducts us into Luther's "Chantry in the House." With his children and friends around him, he is giving voice to the first Evangelical hymns. The little choir is led by Walter, Master of the Electoral Chapel; on the left stands the chanter, on the right, Mathesius.

Thirdly, we see him in his family. The first picture shows him in the enjoyment of all that imparts a charm to summer—with his household and his most familiar friends about him. It is a charming scene of innocent festivity which the artist here brings before the eye. Under a trellis mantled with vines loaded with rich clusters of grapes, the party is assembled, at sunset. Luther holds out his hands to his youngest child, who, by the aid of his mother, is tottering towards his father with a bunch of grapes weighing down his little hands. The oldest

boy mounted on a light ladder, hands down the grapes, which Madeleine receives in her apron. The third boy is bringing to his father a cluster remarkable for its size; the second son is playing with a dog. The ground is covered with melons.— One of Luther's friends plays upon the flute, another sketches a basket of beautiful fruit; two of them sit beneath the arbor, and two others wander in the garden in friendly converse.— Through an arch in the wall the river is seen winding quietly along, under the last rays of the declining sun. What a change from the time of scourging before the crucifix!

As a counterpart to this scene, we next have Luther at Christmas in the family circle. This is a picture that touches the heart. The Christmas tree blazes in all its glory in the centre; the tapers imparting a new ravishment to those inconceivable fruits, trumpets, horses, cakes and doll-babies, which only Christmas trees can bear. On Luther's lap kneels his youngest child, clasping him round the neck. Its little night cap and slip and bare feet show that it has been taken from its bed to see the wonderful sight. On Luther's shoulder, and clasping his hand in hers, leans Catherine, with the light of love, which can beam only from the eye of a devoted wife and mother, shining upon him. The oldest boy, under Melanchthon's direction, is aiming at an apple on the tree, with a crossbow — recalling to our mind that charming letter which his father wrote him from Coburg, when he was only four years old, in which among the glories of that mystical garden, meant for all good boys, among apples and pears, and ponies with golden bits and silver saddles, crossbows of silver were not forgotten.

At the table "Muhme Lehne" is showing a book of pictures to the second boy; the third boy clasps his father's knee with one hand, in which, however, he manages to hold a string also by which he has been drawing along a knight in full armor, on horseback, and with the other hand holds up a hobby horse. Madeleine is holding up, in extacy, the little angel which always stands apeak of all orthodox Christmas trees. Her doll by her side is forgotten — the full light from the tree is on her happy face — on which, however, there is an air of thought, something more of heaven than is wont to be upon the face of a child.

As we think upon the obvious meaning of the artist in her attitude and occupation, the heart grows, not wholly unprepared for the next and last of these family scenes. Luther kneels by the coffin of this same lovely daughter. The struggle is over; a holy serenity illumines his face. He has given

her back, with no rebellious murmur, to her God. To those who have contemplated the character of Luther only in his public life, it might appear strange to assert that there never was a heart more susceptible than his to all that is tender in human emotion, or melting in human sympathies. The man who, whilst he was shaking to its foundation the mightiest dominion the world ever saw, remained unshaken, was in his social and domestic life a perfect example of gentleness.—"Perhaps no man of so humble, peaceable disposition ever filled the world with contention. We cannot but see that he would have loved privacy, quiet diligence in the shade; that it was against his will he ever became a notoriety."—"They err greatly who imagine that this man's courage was ferocity—no accusation could be more unjust. A most gentle heart withal, full of pity and love, as indeed the truly valiant heart ever is. I know few things more touching than those soft breathings of affection, soft as a child's or a mother's, in this great wild heart of Luther. Luther to a slight observer might have seemed a timid, weak man; modesty, affectionate shrinking tenderness the chief distinction of him. It is a noble valor which is roused in a heart like this, once stirred up into defiance; all kindled into a heavenly blaze."[1] How open his heart was to those influences which sanctify whilst they sadden, he showed on the death of Elizabeth, his second child, in infancy: "My little daughter is dead. I am surprised how sick at heart she has left me; a woman's heart, so shaken am I. I could not have believed that a father's soul would have been so tender toward his child."—"I can teach you what it is to be a father, especially a father of one of that sex which far more than sons has the power of awakening our most tender emotions." Yet more touching was that event to which our artist has consecrated this picture. Madeleine, his third child, and second daughter, died in September 1542, in the fourteenth year of her age—four years before her father. "Luther bore this blow with wonderful firmness. As his daughter lay very ill, he exclaimed, as he raised his eyes to heaven, 'I love her much, but, O my God! if it be thy will to take her hence, I would give her up to thee without one selfish murmur.' One day she suffered violent pain: he approached her bed, and taking hold of her small thin hands, pressed them again and again to his lips. 'My dearest child, my own sweet and good Madeleine, I know you would gladly stay with your father here; but in heaven there is a better Father waiting for you.

[1] Carlyle's Heroes and Hero-Worship. p 125.

You will be equally ready to go to your Father in heaven, will you not?' 'O yes, dear father,' answered the dying child, 'let the will of God be done.' 'Dear little girl,' he contined, 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.' He walked to and fro in agitation, and said, 'Ah yes! I have loved this dear child too much. If the flesh is so strong what becomes of the spirit?' Turning to a friend who had come to visit him: 'See,' said he, 'God has not given such good gifts these thousand years to any bishop as He has to me. We may glorify ourselves in the gifts of God. Alas! I feel humbled that I cannot rejoice now as I ought to do, nor render sufficient thanks to God. I try to lift up my heart from time to time to our Lord in some little hymn, and to feel as I ought to do.'—'Well, whether we live or die, in either case, we are the Lord's.'

The night before Madeleine's death, her mother had a dream, in which she saw two fair youths beautifully attired, who came as if they wished to take Madeleine away with them, and conduct her to be married. When Melanchthon came the next morning and asked the lady how it was with her daughter, she related her dream, at which he seemed frightened, and remarked to others, 'that the young men were two holy angels, sent to carry the maiden to the true nuptials of a heavenly kingdom.' She died that same day. When the last agony came on, and the countenance of the young girl was clouded with the dark hues of approaching death, her father threw himself on his knees by her bedside, and with clasped hands, weeping bitterly, prayed to God that he would spare her. Her consciousness ceased, and resting in her father's arms she breathed her last. Catherine, her mother, was in a recess of the room, unable, from excess of grief, to look upon the death bed of her child. Luther softly laid the head of his beloved one upon the pillow, and repeatedly exclaimed: 'Poor child, thou hast found a Father in heaven. O my God! let thy will be done.' Melanchthon then observed that the love of parents for their children, was an image of the divine love impressed on the hearts of men. God loves mankind no less than parents do their children.'

On the following day she was interred. When they placed her on the bier, her father exclaimed, 'My poor, dear little Madeleine, you are at rest now.' The workman had made the coffin somewhat too small. 'Thy couch here,' said Luther, 'is narrow; but oh! how beautiful is that on which thou restest above!' Then looking long and fixedly at her, he said, 'Yes, dear child, thou shalt rise again, shalt shine as the stars, yes, like the sun. . . I am joyful in spirit; but oh, how sad

in the flesh! It is a strange feeling, this, to know she is so certainly at rest, that she is happy, and yet to be so sad.'—When the body was being lowered into the grave, 'Farewell,' he exclaimed, 'Farewell, thou lovely star, we shall meet again.'

The people in great crowds attended the funeral, showing the deepest sympathy with his sorrow. When the bearers came to his house and expressed their sorrow, he replied, 'Ah, grieve no more for her, I have given to heaven another angel. Oh! that we may each experience such a death: such a death I would willingly die this moment.' 'True,' said a bystander, to whom Luther replied, "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood. But there may be joy in the heart, whilst there is sorrow in the countenance. It is the flesh that weeps and is afflicted.' At the grave the language of condolence was offered. 'We know how you suffer.'—'Thanks for your sympathy,' said he, 'but I am not sad—my dear angel is in heaven.'

Whilst some laborers were singing at the grave the words 'Lord remember not our sins of old,'—he was heard to sigh: 'No, gracious Lord; nor our sins of to-day, nor of times to come.'

When the grave-digger threw the earth on the coffin, 'Fix your eyes,' said Luther, 'on the resurrection of the flesh; heaven is my daughter's portion—body and soul—all is the arrangement of God in his providence. Why should we repine? Is it not His will that is accomplished? We are the children of eternity. I have begotten a child for heaven.'

On returning from the burial, he said, amongst other things, 'The fate of our children, and above all, of girls, is ever a cause of uneasiness. I do not fear so much for boys; they can find a living any where, provided they know how to work. But it is different with girls; they, poor things, must search for employment, staff in hand. A boy can enter the schools, and attain eminence, but a girl cannot do much to advance herself; and is easily led away by bad example, and is lost. Therefore, without regret, I give up this dear one to our Lord.'

This affliction struck Luther to the heart. He looked upon it as an admonition of heaven: it was another thunderbolt. The first had taken from him the friend of his youth, Alexis: the second snatched from him an idolized child, the joy of his old age. From this period, all his letters are tinged with melancholy: the raven wing of death was ever flapping in his ear. On receiving a letter from the Elector, who wished him many years of long life, he shook his head mournfully, and in reply to his friend wrote: 'The pitcher has gone too

often to the well; it will break at last.' One day, while preaching, he drew tears from his audience, by announcing to them his approaching death. "The world is tired of me," said he, "and I am tired of the world; soon shall we be divorced—the traveler will soon quit his lodging."

Soon after her death, he wrote to a friend: "Report has, no doubt, informed you of the transplanting of my daughter to the kingdom of Christ; and although my wife and I ought only to think of offering up joyful thanks to the Almighty for her happy end, by which she has been delivered from all the snares of the world; nevertheless, the force of natural affection is so great, that I cannot forbear indulging in tears, sighs, and groans; say rather my heart dies within me. I feel engraven on my inmost soul, her features, words, and actions; all that she was to me, in life and health, and on her sick bed —my dear, my dutiful child. The death of Christ himself (and oh! what are all deaths in comparison?) cannot tear her away from my thoughts, as it should. She was, as you know, so sweet, so amiable, so full of tenderness."

"When the coffin had been covered with earth, a small tombstone was placed over it, on which was the name of the child, her age, the day of her death, and a text of Scripture. Sometime after, when Luther could apply himself to labor, he composed a Latin inscription, which was carved upon a monumental slab: and which breathes a spirit of subdued melancholy, and resignation, to God's will:

"Dormio cum Sanctis hic Magdalena, Lutheri
Filia, et hoc strato tecta quiesco meo;
Filia mortis eram, peccati semine nata,
Sanguine sed vivo Christe redempta tuo."

[I Magdeleine the daughter of Luther, sleep here with the saints, and covered rest on this my couch. I was a child of death, born of sinful seed, but redeemed, O Christ, by thy blood, I live.]

"We looked," says Audin, the Romish historian, who, animated by a strange enthusiasm for the great opposer of his church, followed his footsteps as a pilgrim,—"we looked for this tomb in the cemetery at Wittenberg, but could not find it." The mild, regular features, the gentle eyes, the broad forehead, the flowing hair, and womanly repose, which the picture[1] of this child presents, are all in keeping with the im-

[1] This portrait is given in Juncker's interesting work on the medals &c. of the Reformation.

age which her father's grief has impressed upon the heart; and though the searcher looks in vain for the stone which marks her lowly resting place, her memory shall dwell sweetly in the heart of the world, with that of her more than ilustrious father, to the end of time.

The next two pictures illustrate Luther's strength of character while in personal jeopardy. The first represents Luther and Kohlhase — the second, Luther among the dying and the dead, during the plague. The last three pictures present the closing scenes of his life — his journey to Mansfeld, his death and burial.

In addition to the descriptive matter that accompanies each picture, we have "Historical Sketches" by Gelzer. First we have an introduction, and then four sketches. The first sketch presents the preparation and ground-work of the Reformation — the Reformation before Luther, and the great work which took place in him before he came forth to the world. The second sketch embraces the contest with Rome; the third, "Reformation and Revolution;" the last, the Reformer and his work.

The whole work is worthy of a reissue in this country, and will form a real gift book of the Reformation. There was one picture promised us, which we would fain have had, but which is not given. It is one which connects itself with the Providence of God watching over the ashes of his servant, whose body He had protected in life. Luther had been "taken from the evil to come." The year after his death Wittenberg was filled with the troops of Charles V., many of whom were full of intense hate to the great Reformer. One of the soldiers gave Luther's effigies in the Castle-church two stabs with his dagger. The Spaniards earnestly solicited their Emperor to destroy the tomb, and dig up and burn the remains of Luther, as this second Huss could not now be burned alive. To this diabolical proposition the Emperor sternly replied: "My work with Luther is done, he has now another judge, whose sphere I may not invade. I war with the living, not with the dead." And when he found that the effort was not dropped, to bring about this sacrelegious deed, he gave orders that any violation of Luther's tomb should be followed by the death of the offender.[1] This same Charles died a Lutheran on the great central doctrine of justification by faith. May we not hope that after the warfare of life, they have reached a common consummation?

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[1] Bayle's Dictionary, (H. H.). Juncker's Guldene und Silberne Ehren-Gedächtniss Lutheri. Franckf. und Leipz. 1706. p. 281.

It is a hopeful thing that the German heart, through all religious and civil convulsions, has remained true to the memory of Luther. Romanists have emulated Protestants in his praise; Rationalists have seemed to venerate him whilst they were laboring to undo his work.

After three centuries of birth-throes, Germany feels that she has given to the world no second Luther. The womb of Time bears such fruit but once in thousands of years.

"In such reverence do I hold Luther," says Lessing, "that I rejoice in having been able to find some defects in him; for I have, in fact, been in imminent danger of making him an object of idolatrous veneration. The proofs, that in some things he was like other men, are to me as precious as the most dazzling of his virtues." "What a shame," says Hamann (1759), "to our times, that the spirit of this man, who founded our church, so lies beneath the ashes. What a power of eloquence, what a spirit of interpretation, what a prophet!"—"We are not able to place ourselves even up to the point from which he started."

"He created the German language," says Heine. "He was not only the greatest, but the most German man of our history. In his character all the faults and all the virtues of the Germans are combined on the largest scale. Then he had qualities which are very seldom found united, which we are accustomed to regard as irreconcilable antagonisms. He was, at the same time, a dreamy mystic and a practical man of action. His thoughts had not only wings, but hands. He spoke and he acted. He was not only the tongue but the sword of his time. When he had plagued himself all day long with his doctrinal distinctions, in the evening he took his flute and gazed at the stars, dissolved in melody and devotion. He could be soft as a tender maiden. Sometimes he was wild as the storm that uproots the oak, and then again, he was gentle as the zephyr that dallies with the violet. He was full of the most awful reverence and of self-sacrifice in honor of the Holy Spirit. He could merge himself entire in pure spirituality. And yet he was well acquainted with the glories of this world, and knew how to prize them. He was a complete man, I would say an absolute man, one in whom matter and spirit were not divided. To call him a spiritualist, therefore, would be as great an error as to call him a sensualist. How shall I express it? He had something original, incomprehensible, miraculous, such as we find in all providential men—something invincible, spirit-possessed."

"A fiery and daring spirit," Menzel calls him. "A hero in the garb of a monk."

But the most interesting testimony is that borne by Frederick Schlegel; interesting not only because of the greatness of its source, but because based on a thorough knowledge of the person of whom he speaks, because uttered by a devoted and conscientious Romanist, and accompanied by such remarks as to show, that deep as is his admiration of Luther, he has, in no respect, been blinded by it. We will give extracts from his three great works on "the History of Literature," on "Modern History," and on the "Philosophy of History."

"I have already explained in what way the poetry and art of the middle age were lost, during the controversies of the sixteenth, and how our language itself became corrupted.—There was one instrument by which the influx of barbarism was opposed, and one treasure which made up for what had been lost—I mean the German translation of the Bible. It is well known to you, that all true philologists regard this as the standard and model of classical expression in the German language; and that not only Klopstock, but many other writers of the first rank, have fashioned their style, and selected their phrases according to the rules of this version. It is worthy of notice, that in no other modern language have so many Biblical words and phrases come into the use of common life as in ours. I perfectly agree with those writers, who consider this circumstance as a fortunate one; and I believe that from it has been derived not a little of that power, life, and simplicity, by which, I think, the best German writers are distinguished from all other moderns. The Catholic, as well as the modern Protestant scholar, has many things to find fault with in this translation; but these, after all, regard only individual passages. In these later times, we have witnessed an attempt to render a new and *rational* translation of the Bible an instrument of propagating the doctrines of the illuminati; and we have seen this too much even in the hands of Catholics themselves. But the instant this folly had blown over, we returned, with increased affection, to the excellent old version of Luther. He, indeed, has not the whole merit of producing it. We owe to him, nevertheless, the highest gratitude for placing in our hands this most noble and manly model of German expression. Even in his own writings he displays a most original eloquence, surpassed by few names that occur in the whole history of literature. He had, indeed, all those qualities which fit a man to be a revolutionary orator. This revolutionary eloquence is manifest, not only in his half-political and business writings, such

as the Address to the Nobility of the German Nation, but in all the works which he has left behind him. In almost the whole of them, we perceive the marks of mighty internal conflict. Two worlds appear to be contending for the mastery over the mighty soul of this man, so favored by God and nature. Throughout all his writings there prevails a struggle between light and darkness, faith and passion, God and himself. The choice which he made — the use to which he devoted his majestic genius—these are subjects upon which it is even now quite impossible for me to speak, so as to please you all. As to the intellectual power and greatness of Luther, abstracted from all consideration of the uses to which he applied them, I think there are few, even of his own disciples, who appreciate him highly enough. His coadjutors were mostly mere scholars, indolent and enlightened men of the common order. It was upon him and his soul that the fate of Europe depended. He was the man of his age and nation."[1]

Let us hear another expression of the opinion of this great man. "That the Reformation did not at its very commencement become a revolution of this kind, we are chiefly indebted to Luther, (a revolution in which war and the flames of popular passion took their own destructive course). He it was who thus gave permanency to the Reformation. Had not Luther opposed with all his power the dangerous errors into which some of his adherents at the very first fell; had these fanatical doctrines of universal equality, and of the abolition of all temporal authority as a thing superfluous in the new state of things, obtained the upper hand; had the so called Reformation of faith and of the church become wholly and entirely a political and national revolution; in that case, the first shock of civil war would have been incontestably more terrific and more universal; but it would, probably, when the storm had blown over, have subsided of itself, and a return to the old order of things would have ensued. The princes in particular were indebted to Luther for having contributed so vigorously to stifle the flames of rebellion; and he must thereby have gained consideration even among those who disapproved of his doctrines and proceedings. His personal character in general was excellently adapted to consolidate and perpetuate his party.— The great energy, which gave him such a decided preponderance over all who coöperated with him, preserved as much unity as was at all possible in such a state of moral ferment. With whatever passionate violence Luther may have expressed

[1] Lectures on the History of Literature. New York. 1841. p. 348–350.

himself, he nevertheless, in his principles and modes of thinking, preserved in many points the precise medium that was necessary to keep his party together as a distinct party. Had he at the first beginning gone further, had he sanctioned the fanaticism adverted to above, the whole affair would then have fallen sooner to the ground. The very circumstance, that he did not at first secede from the ancient faith more than he did, procured him so many and such important adherents, and gave such strength to his party. He was undeniably gifted with great qualities — Luther's eloquence made him a man of the people; his principles, however, despite his passionate expression of them, remained, nevertheless, in essentials, both with regard to political subjects and to matters of faith, within certain limits; and joined to that circumstance, the very obstinacy which his friends complained of, consolidated and united the new party and gave it permanent strength."[1]

With some extracts from the "Philosophy of History," by the same distinguished author, we shall close these illustrations.

"In the first place, as regards the Reformation, it is evident of itself, that a man who accomplished so mighty a revolution in the human mind, and in his age, could have been endowed with no ordinary powers of intellect, and no common strength of character. Even his writings display an astonishing boldness and energy of thought and language, united with a spirit of impetuous, passionate and convulsive enthusiasm. The opinion, as to the use which was made of these high powers of genius, must, of course, vary with the religious principles of each individual; but the extent of these intellectual endowments themselves, and the strength and perseverance of character with which they were united, must be universally admitted. Many who did not afterwards adhere to the new opinions, still thought, at the commencement of the Reformation, that Luther was the real man for his age, who had received a high vocation to accomplish the great work of regeneration, the strong necessity of which was then universally felt. If at this great distance of time, we pick out of the writings of this individual many very harsh expressions, nay, particular words which are not only coarse but absolutely gross, nothing of any moment can be proved or determined by such selections. Indeed the age in general, not only in Germany, but in other very highly civilized countries, was characterized by a certain coarseness in manners and language, and by a total absence of

[1] Lectures on Modern History. London. 1849. p. 169.

all excessive polish and over-refinement of character. But this coarseness would have been productive of no very destructive effects; for intelligent men well knew that the wounds of old abuses lay deep, and were ulcerated in their very roots; and no one, therefore, was shocked if the knife destined to amputate abuses, cut somewhat deep. It was by the conduct of Luther and the influence which he thereby acquired, that the Reformation was promoted and consolidated. Without this, Protestantism would have sunk into the lawless anarchy which marked the proceedings of the Hussites, and to which the war of the peasants rapidly tended; and it would inevitably have been suppressed, like all the earlier popular commotions,—for under the latter form, Protestantism may be said to have sprung up several centuries before. None of the other heads and leaders of the new religious party had the power, or were in a situation to uphold the Protestant religion; its present existence is solely and entirely the work and the deed of one man, unique in his way, and who holds unquestionably a conspicuous place in the history of the world. Much was staked on the soul of that man, and this was in every respect a mighty and critical moment in the annals of mankind and the march of time."

It will, perhaps, not be wholly a thankless work to add here some of the attestations of distinguished men of every shade of opinion, and in the most varied positions, which demonstrate how profound and many-sided was that character which left so great an impress on them all.

"Martin Luther," says Dr. Bancroft, "a man of the most powerful mind and intrepid character, who persisted resolutely in his defence of Christian liberty and Christian truth; and by the blessing of God he triumphed over all opposition. His name is identified in every country with the reformed religion, and will be venerated andesteemed in every subsequent age, by all who prize religious freedom, and set a value on religious privileges."[1]

This is the language of a Congregational Unitarian, in New England. Let us hear from a high church English Bishop, eminent for all that intellect can confer, a testimony no less strong: "Martin Luther's life," says Bishop Atterbury, "was a continued warfare. He was engaged against the united forces of the Papal world, and he stood the shock of them bravely, both with courage and success. He was a man certainly

[1] Sermons on Doctrines &c. which Christians have made the subject of controversy. By Aaron Bancroft, D. D. Worcester, 1822. Serm. XI.

of high endowments of mind, and great virtues. He had a vast understanding, which raised him to a pitch of learning unknown to the age in which he lived. His knowledge in Scripture was admirable, his elocution manly, and his way of reasoning, with all the subtility that the plain truths he delivered would bear. His thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution to go through with them, and the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken, or surprised. His life was holy, and when he had leisure for retirement, severe. His virtues were active chiefly, and social, and not those lazy sullen ones of the cloister. He had no ambition, but in the service of God; for other things, neither his enjoyments nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. If, among this crowd of virtues, a failing crept in, we must remember that an apostle himself had not been irreproachable; if in the body of his doctrine, a flaw is to be seen, yet the greatest lights of the Church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the language of the prophet, and say, "How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of him who bringeth glad tidings."[1]

Bayle, prince of sceptics, has devoted an article of his great Dictionary to a defence of Luther's character from the falsehoods which have been published concerning him. His slanderers, Bayle says, have had no regard to probability or the rules of their own art. "His greatest enemies cannot deny but that he had eminent qualities, and history affords nothing more surprising than what he has done: for a simple Monk to be able to give Popery so rude a shock, that there needed but such another entirely to overthrow the Romish Church, is what we cannot sufficiently admire."[2]

Archbishop Tennison, of the Church of England, says: "Luther was indeed a man of warm temper, and uncourtly language: but (besides that he had his education among those who so vehemently reviled him) it may be considered, whether in passing through so very rough a sea, it was not next to impossible for him not to beat the insulting waves till they foamed again. Erasmus tells us, 'That he perceived, the better any

[1] Atterbury's vindication of Luther (1687). Burnet in his History of his own times regards this vindication as one of the most able defences of the Protestant religion. Atterbury on his trial, appealed to this book to exculpate himself from the charge of a secret leaning to Popery.

[2] Bayle's Histor. and Critic. Dictionary. Translated by Maizeaux. London. 1736. Vol. III. p. 934. 937.

man was, the more he relished the writings of Luther;'[1] that his very enemies allowed him to be a man of good life; that he seemed to him to have in his breast certain eminent Evangelical sparks; that it was plain that some condemned things in Luther's writings, which in Augustine and Bernard passed for pious and orthodox."[2]

Bishop Kidder, in the same interesting collection from which we have just quoted, alludes to the "Confessions of Adversaries," which Bellarmine had presented as the thirteenth mark of the church. This weapon he turns against the great Romish author: "As for Martin Luther, whatever the Romanists say of him now, yet certain it is that Erasmus, who I hope will pass with Cardinal Bellarmine for a Catholic, who lived in his time, gives a better account of him. In his letter to the Cardinal of York, speaking of Luther, he says:[3] 'His life is approved by all men; and this is no slight ground of prejudice in his favor, that such was the integrity of his morals, that his enemies could find nothing to reproach him with.' Again, in a letter to Melanchthon:[4] 'All men among us approve the life of Luther.'"[5]

Even Bossuet the terrible eagle of Meaux, is obliged, at the beginning of his ferocious assault on Protestantism, to concede something in regard to Luther's gifts: "In the time of Luther, the most violent rupture, and greatest apostacy occurred, which had perhaps ever been seen in Christendom. The two parties, who have called themselves reformed, have alike recognized him as the author of this new Reformation. It is not alone his followers, the Lutherans, who have lavished upon him the highest praises. Calvin frequently admires his virtues, his magnanimity, his constancy, the incomparable industry which he displayed against the Pope. He is the trumpet, or rather he is the thunder — he is the lightning which has roused the world from its lethargy: it was not so much Luther that spoke as God whose lightnings burst from his lips.

And it is true, he had a strength of genius, a vehemence in his discourses, a living and impetuous eloquence which entranced and ravished the people."[6]

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[1] Erasm. Epist. ad Albert. Episc. &c. pp. 584, 585.

[2] Bellarmine's Notes of the Church examined and refuted. London. 1840. p. 251.

[3] Erasm. Ep. Lib. XI. Ep. 1.

[4] Ep. Lib. VII. Ep. 43.

[5] Bellarmine's Notes Examined &c. p. 312.

[6] Œuvres de Bossuet. (Histoire des Variations.) Paris. Didot Frères. 1847. Vol. IV. p. 9.

The judgment of Bower in regard to Luther, is, on the whole, the most discriminating which had appeared in the English language up to his time. "In the personal character of Luther, we discern many qualities calculated to enable him to discharge with success the important duty to which he was called. A constitutional ardor for devotion, a boundless thirst of knowledge, and a fearless zeal in communicating it, were prominent characteristics of this extraordinary man. An unwearied perseverance in theological research, led him to detect errors, and to relinquish step by step, many of his early opinions. In all situations Luther is the same, pursuing indefatigably the knowledge of the word of God, and never scrupling to avow his past mistakes, whenever the Confession could facilitate the inquiries or confirm the faith of others. It was in vain that the head of the church and the chief of the German empire combined to threaten and proscribe him — he braved with equal courage the very lance of either power, and continued to denounce, with an unsparing hand, the prevalence of corruption. In no single instance did he seek to turn to his personal advantage, his distinctions and the influence attached to them. How few individuals would have possessed Luther's power without making it subservient to the acquisition of rank or honors? All these were disdained by him, and his mind remained wholly occupied with the diffusion of religious truth. Even literary fame had no attractions for him. The improvement of the condition of his fellow creatures was the object, which with him superseded every other consideration. No temptation of ambition could remove him, in his days of celebrity, from his favorite University of Wittenberg. While his doctrine spread far and wide, and wealthy cities would have been proud to receive him, Luther clung to the spot where he discharged the duty of a teacher, and to the associates whom he had known in his season of humility. The freedom of his language in treating of the conduct of the great, arose partly from his constitutional ardor, and partly from an habitual impression of the all-powerful claims of truth. The lofty attitude, so often assumed by him, is not therefore to be attributed to pride or vanity. In treating of the Scriptures, he considered himself as acting in the presence of God, whose majesty and glory were so infinitely exalted above all created beings, as to reduce to one and the same level the artificial distinctions of worldly institutions. Under this conviction, the prince or king, who ventured to oppose what Luther considered the word of God, seemed to him no more exempted from severe epithets than the humblest of his adversaries. However we may cen-

sure the length to which his freedom was carried, the boldness of his conduct was, on the whole, productive of much good. An independent and manly tone in regard not only to religion but to civil liberty, literature, the arts and sciences, was created and disseminated by his example. Few writers discover greater knowledge of the world, or a happier talent in analysing and illustrating the shades of character. It is equally remarkable that no man could display more forcibly the tranquil consolations of religion. Few men entered with more ardor into the innocent pleasures of society. His frankness of disposition was apparent at the first interview, and his communicative turn, joined to the richness of his stores, rendered his conversation remarkably interesting. In treating of humorous subjects, he discovered as much vivacity and playfulness as if he had been a man unaccustomed to serious research." His conjugal and paternal affection, his love of music, his power of throwing a charm around the topics of religion, his fearlessness in danger, and his extraordinary powers as a preacher, are dwelt upon by Bower, whose sketch is one well worthy of being read.[1]

In a similar strain proceeds the language of the Rev. James Brewster, who, in speaking of Luther's character as a musician and composer, mentions that "the great Handel acknowledged, that he had derived singular advantage from studying the compositions of the great Saxon Reformer."[2]

Buddeus gives us a particular account of the principal writings of Luther, and points out his great services in all the departments of theology and practical Christianity. Among the foremost of these, he places his revival of catechising and his invaluable contributions to it; he points out how much he did for moral theology, and the great obligations under which he laid the church, by his translation of the Bible. We will give his estimate of Luther in the department of Polemic Theology: "Here, beyond controversy, the highest praise is due to our sainted Luther, who first, when all was lost, all in despair lifted up the standard of better hopes. Nor could one better fitted for sustaining the cause of truth have been found. Acuteness of judgment and fertility of thought were both his; these gave to him arguments of might, overwhelming eloquence which swept every thing before it like a torrent. His was an intrepid soul, which neither power, danger nor threats could turn from

[1] The Life of Luther &c., by Alexander Bower. Philadelphia. 1824.

[2] Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Vol. XII. Philadelphia, 1832. Art. Luther.

the right. The truth indeed fought for him; but no less did he fight for the truth, so that no mortal could have done more to defend it, and place it beyond the reach of its foes. You are forced every where to confess the accurate disputer, the exquisite Theologian, the earnest defender of the truth. His own writings leave no room for doubt that he argued from profound conviction of the truth, and that he was wholly free from the crime of men who employ a line of defence, not because they regard it as true, but because it suits their purpose. The abundance of arguments well adapted to their purpose, the copiousness and power of his language, alike arrest the attention. He so demonstrates the truth, as to leave the errorist no subterfuge; such is the firmness of his grasp, that he seizes the assent of the reader, hurries him, forces him to his conclusion. He asks no favors, makes no effort to propitiate; he compels by the weight of proof, triumphs by demonstration of the truth, and forces the unwilling to do homage to sound doctrine. When we look at the effrontery and obstinacy of his opponents, and their cruel purposes, we feel that in comparison with theirs, the severest language of Luther appears mild."[1]

Calvin, who was far from being a hearty praiser, yet speaks thus of him, in a letter to Bullinger: "Recall these things to your mind: how great a man Luther is, and in what great endowments he excels, with what fortitude of mind and constancy, with what excellent address, and efficacy of doctrine he has hitherto labored and watched to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, and propagate the doctrine of salvation. I often say, if he should call me a devil, I hold him in such honor, that I would acknowledge him an illustrious servant of God."[2]

Again, Calvin says of him: "We sincerely testify that we regard him as a noble apostle of Christ, by whose labor and ministry the purity of the Gospel has been restored in our times."[3] Again — "If any one will carefully consider what was the state of things at the period when Luther arose, he will see that he had to contend with almost all the difficulties which were encountered by the Apostles. In one respect, indeed, his condition was worse and harder than theirs. There was no kingdom, no principality, against which they had to declare war; whereas Luther could not go forth, except by

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[1] Buddei Isagoge Historico-theologica. Lipsiae, 1730. pp. 1031. 1040.

[2] J. Calvini Epistolae et Responsae. Genev. 1576. Fol. p. 383. Life of John Calvin, by Beza, translated by Sibson. Philada., 1836. p. 86.

[3] Life and Times of John Calvin, translated from the German of Paul Henry, D. D., by H. Stebbing, D. D. New York, 1851. p. 18.

the ruin and destruction of that empire which was not only the most powerful of all, but regarded all the rest as obnoxious to itself."

We cannot forbear quoting a few more sentences from Carlyle. "As a participant and dispenser of divine influences, he shows himself among human affairs a true connecting medium and visible Messenger between Heaven and Earth; perhaps the most inspired of all teachers since the first apostles of his faith; and thus not a poet only, but a Prophet and God-ordained Priest, which is the highest form of that dignity, and of all dignity."[1]

"I will call this Luther a true Great Man; great in intellect, in courage, affection, and integrity; one of our most loveable and precious men. Great, not as a hewn obelisk; but as an Alpine mountain,—so simple, honest, spontaneous, not setting up to be great at all; there for quite another purpose than being great! Ah yes, unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens; yet in the cleft of its fountains, green beautiful valleys with flowers! A right Spiritual Hero and Prophet; once more, a true Son of Nature and Fact, for whom these centuries, and many that are to come yet, will be thankful to Heaven."[2]

Martin Chemnitz, that most precious man of the second generation of the great divines of our church, like all who spoke of Luther, immediately after his own time, breathes the spirit of profound reverence toward him. After the death of Melanchthon, Chemnitz was indubitably the greatest living theologian. "What Quintilian said of Cicero: 'Ille sciat se in literis multum profecisse, cui Cicero plurimum placebit,' I apply to Luther. A man may tell how far he has advanced in theology, by the degree to which he is pleased by Luther's writings."[3]

Claude, in his famous "Defence of the Reformation," which is still richly worth perusal, has vindicated the character of Luther in a very judicious manner: "We discover," he says, "a great many excellent things in him, an heroical courage, a great love for the truth, an ardent zeal for the glory of God, a great trust in his providence, extraordinary learning in a dark age, a profound respect for the holy Scripture, an indefatigable spirit, and a great many other high qualities."[4]

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[1] Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, by Thomas Carlyle. Philada., 1850. p. 224.

[2] Heroes and Hero Worship. p. 127.

[3] Locorum Theolog. M. Chemnitii. Pars Tertia. 1623. Witebergae. p. 41.

[4] A Defence of the Reformation, translated from the French of Monsieur Cl[a]ude &c. London. 1815. Vol. I. p. 289.

All who are familiar with the writings of S. T. Coleridge, know how deep was his reverence for Luther. To this his son, Henry Nelson Coleridge, makes numerous allusions in the defence of his father's religious opinions, which forms part of his Introduction to the "*Biographia Literaria.*" "He saw," says his son, "the very mind of St. Paul in the teaching of Luther, on the Law and Justification by faith." "My father's affectionate respect for Luther is enough to alienate him from the High Anglican party." "He thought the mind of Luther more akin to St. Paul's than that of any other Christian teacher." "It is an insult," says Henry Nelson Coleridge, speaking in his own person, "to the apostolic man's (Luther's) memory, to defend him from the charge of Antinomianism. He knocked down with his little finger more Antinomianism than his accusers with both hands. If his doctrine is the jaw-bone of an ass, he must have been a very Sampson, for he turned numbers with this instrument from the evil of their lives; and the same instrument, in the hands of mere pigmies in comparison with him, has wrought more amendment of life among the poor, than the most eloquent and erudite preachers of works and rites have to boast, by their *preaching*." Coleridge is here answering some of the aspersions cast by High Church writers on Luther. Referring to one of them, who had called the Commentary on Galatians "silly," he says, "Shakspeare has been called silly by Puritans, Milton worse than silly by Prelatists and Papists, Wordsworth was long called silly by Bonaparteans; what will not the odium theologicum or politicum find worthless and silly? To me, perhaps from my silliness, his Commentary appears the very Iliad of justification by faith alone; all the fine and striking things that have been said upon the subject, are taken from it; and if the author preached a novel doctrine, or presented a novel development of Scripture in this work, as Mr. Newman avers, I think he deserves great credit for his originality. The Commentary contains, or rather is, a most spirited siege of Babylon, and the friends of Rome like it as well as the French like Wellington and the battle of Waterloo." "My father called Luther, in parts, the most evangelical writer he knew, after the apostles and apostolic men." This he said in view of his "depth of insight into the heart of man and into the ideas of the Bible, the fervor and reality of his religious feelings, the manliness and tenderness of his spirit, the vehement eloquence with which he assails the Romish practical fallacies and abuses." "It is for these things that staunch "Catholics" hate; for these things that my father

loved and honored Luther's name."—"How would Christendom have fared without a Luther? What would Rome have done and dared but for the Ocean of the Reformed that *rounds* her? Luther lives yet—not so beneficially in the Lutheran church as out of it—an antagonist spirit to Rome, and a purifying and preserving spirit in Christendom at large."[1]

"Luther possessed a temper and acquirements which peculiarly fitted him for the character of a reformer. Without the fastidious nicety of refined taste and elegance, he was endowed with singular acuteness and logical dexterity, possessed profound and varied erudition; and his rude, though fervid eloquence, intermixed with the coarsest wit and the keenest raillery, was of that species which is best adapted to affect and influence a popular assembly. His Latin, though it did not rise to the purity of Erasmus, and his other learned contemporaries, was yet copious, free and forcible, and he was perfectly master of his native tongue, and wrote it with such purity, that his works are still esteemed as models of style by the German critics. He was animated with an undaunted spirit, which raised him above all apprehension of danger, and possessed a perseverance which nothing could fatigue. He was at once haughty and condescending, jovial, affable, and candid in public; studious, sober, and self-denying in private; and he was endowed with that happy and intuitive sagacity which enabled him to suit his conduct and manners to the exigency of the moment, to lessen or avert danger by timely flexibility, or to bear down all obstacles by firmness and impetuosity. His merciless invectives and contemptuous irony, were proper weapons to repel the virulence and scurrility of his adversaries, and even the fire and arrogance of his temper, though blemishes in a refined age, were far from being detrimental in a controversy which roused all the passions of the human breast, and required the strongest exertions of fortitude and courage. Such were the principles and conduct of this extraordinary man, when the enormous abuses arising from the sale of indulgences attracted his notice, and involved him in that memorable controversy with the church of Rome, for which he seems to have been trained and adapted by his temper, studies, occupation and habits of life." This is the language of William Coxe, in his History of the House of Austria.[2]

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[1] Biographia Literaria, by S. T. Coleridge. Edited by Henry Nelson Coleridge. New York, 1848.

[2] Hist. of House of Austria, from the foundation of the Monarchy by Rudolph of Hapsburg, to the death of Leopold the Second: 1218 to 1792. Third Edit. In 3 vols. London, Bohn. 1847. Vol. I. p. 383.

Dr. Cox (of London), after characterizing the Reformation says: "Amongst the instruments of this remarkable change, the name of Martin Luther stands preëminent. He was not indeed the *first* or the *only* advocate of this righteous cause, but he was, in many respects, the *greatest*.—Luther possessed a vigorous and fearless soul. He was qualified to take the lead, and to head opposition in a servile age. His mind was incessantly active; his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge and in the propagation of what he knew, inextinguishable; and in the holy war which he undertook, having buckled on the armor, he was impatient for the conflict and assured of the victory. Never scarcely did the hand of God form a fitter instrument to do a greater work."[1]

The writings of D'Aubigne, though they display an intense and contracted sectarian spirit, contain some just and beautiful tributes to the character of Luther. "Luther proved, through divine grace, the living influence of Christianity, as no preceding Doctor, perhaps had ever felt it before. The Reformation sprang living from his own heart, where God himself had placed it."[2] "Some advised the Evangelical princes to meet Charles, sword in hand. But this was mere worldly counsel, and the great Reformer Luther, whom so many are pleased to represent as a man of violent temper, succeeded in silencing these rash counsellors."[3] "If in the history of the world there be an individual we love more than another, it is he. Calvin we venerate more, but Luther we love more. Besides, Lutheranism is of itself dear and precious in our eyes, and with reason. In Reform there are principles of which we should be afraid, were it not for the counterbalance of Lutheranism. . . . Luther and Lutheranism do not possess, even in Germany, even in Wittenberg, friends and admirers more ardent than we."[4]

Even the Article of the "Dictionnaire Historique," intensely Romish as it is, confesses the libellous character of many of the charges which were, for a long time, current among Papists, in reference to Luther. Especially does it mention that favorite one, that the Dispute about Indulgences arose from the jealousy of the Augustinians and Dominicans, and con-

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[1] The Life of Philip Melanchthon, comprising an account of the most important transactions of the Reformation, by F. A. Cox, D. D., LL. D. 1st American from 2nd London Edit. Boston, 1835. O for a Life of Melanchthon worthy of its theme!

[2] D'Aubigne's Voice of the Church. [3] Do. Confession of the Name of Christ. [4] Do. "Luther and Calvin; or the true Spirit of the Reformed Church." All three of these tracts are in "D'Aubigne and his Writings," with a sketch &c. by Dr. Baird. New York, 1846.

fesses that it is wholly without foundation. It goes so far as to concede that the old story of Luther's being begotten of an Incubus, is not probable. It concedes to him, "a powerful imagination, resting on intellect and nurtured by study, which made him eloquent by nature, and insured him the concurrence of all who heard the thunders of his declamation."[1]

D'Israeli speaks with considerable severity of Luther's violence, but he has the candor to compare with it some products of the spirit to which he opposed himself. "Martin Luther was not destitute of genius, of learning, or of eloquence; but his violence disfigured his works with invectives and singularities of abuse. — It was fortunate for the cause of the Reformation, that the violence of Luther was softened, in a considerable degree, at times by the meek Melancthon: he often poured honey on the sting inflicted by the angry bee. Luther was no respecter of kings — he addresses Henry VIIIth in the following style: 'It is hard to say, if folly can be more foolish, or stupidity more stupid, than is the head of Henry. He has not attacked me with the heart of a king but with the impudence of a knave. This rotten worm of the earth having blasphemed the majesty of my king, I have a just right to bespatter his English majesty with his own dirt. . . This Henry has lied.' He was repaid with capital and interest by an anonymous reply, said to have been written by Sir Thomas More, who concludes by leaving Luther in language not necessary to translate: 'Cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus cacantem cacatumque.' Such were the vigorous elegancies of a controversy on the 'Seven Sacraments.' Long after, the Court of Rome had not lost the taste of these 'bitter herbs;' for in the bull of the Canonization of Ignatius Loyola, in August 1623, Luther is called *monstrum teterrimum, et detestabilis pestis.*"

"Calvin was *less tolerable*, for he had no Melancthon! His adversaries are never others than knaves, lunatics, drunkards, and assassins! Sometimes they are characterized by the familiar appelatives of bulls, asses, cats and hogs! By him Catholic and Lutheran are alike hated. Yet, after having given vent to this virulent humor, he frequently boasts of his mildness. When he reads over his writings, he tells us, that he is astonished at his forbearance; but this, he adds, is the duty of every Christian! at the same time he generally finishes a period with — 'Do you hear, you dog? Do you hear, madman?'"[2]

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[1] Nouv. Diction. Historique. Caen, 1783. Tom. V. p. 382.

[2] Curiosities of Literature by J. D'Israeli. London: Moxon. 1841. p. 82.

"Amidst all that Luther has written," says Doederlein, "I know nothing more precious than his sermons and his letters. From both of these we can at least learn to know the man in his entire greatness, and in accordance with his genuine character, which superstition and malice, and the partizan licentiousness both of friends and foes has disfigured; from both beams forth the most open honesty, the firmness of a courage which never quailed, fearlessness of judgment, and that spirit which knew so perfectly its aim, which preserved its serenity amid all calamities, and changes allotted by Providence, and knew how to use to good purpose sport and earnest. His letters especially bear the impress of the most artless simplicity and of the most naive vivacity, and, apart from their contributions to history, and the attractiveness of their contents, are entertaining, rich in instruction, and worthy of descending to posterity, in view of the very mode in which they show that immortal man speaking, especially with his friends."[1]

Dupin concedes that Luther's errors, as he styles them, obliged the Romanists to study Theology upon right principles; and confesses that his version of the Bible was "elegante"—even while he brings the charge that it was "peu litterale and peu exacte."[2]

Speaking of Luther's reply to Henry VIII., the author of the Article in the "Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," says: "It must be observed, however, that the coarse vituperations which shock the reader in Luther's controversial works, were not peculiar to him, being commonly used by scholars and divines of the middle ages in their disputations. The invectives of Valla, Filelfo, Poggio, and other distinguished scholars, against each other are notorious, and this bad taste continued in practice long after Luther, down to the seventeenth century, and traces of it are found in writers of the eighteenth, even in some of the works of the polished and courtly Voltaire." The writer might have added 'down to the nineteenth,' for who cannot recall specimens of theological warfare in our own day, vastly more offensive to all right feeling than any thing written by Luther. The same writer goes on to say: "Luther ranks high among German writers for the vigor of his style, and the development which he imparted to his vernacular language. Schroeck, Melanchthon and others, have written biographies of Luther,

[1] D. Joh. Christoph Doederlein Auserlesene Theologische Bibliothek. Review of "Schützes Luther's Briefe." Erst. Band. Leipzig, 1780. p. 631.

[2] Method of Studying Divinity. London, 1720. p. 27. Dissertation Preliminaire &c. Paris, 1699. Vol. I. p. 726.

and Michelet has extracted a kind of autobiography from his works. From these passages the character of Luther is clearly deduced, for there was no calculation, reserve or hypocrisy about him. He was frank and vehement, and often intemperate. But he was earnest in his vehemence; he really felt the importance of the topics he was discussing; and whether he was right or wrong in his peculiar opinions, he was a sincere and zealous believer in the Christian Revelation. Luther considered religion as the most important business of man, and because he considered it as such, he wished to ascend to its very source, unalloyed by human authority. He contended for the right of every man to consult the great book of the Christian law. The principles of free inquiry, which he introduced, led to further results, and gradually established that liberty of conscience which now exists in the Protestant States of Europe. But Luther himself, whilst he appealed to the Scriptures against human authority, did not for a moment admit of any doubts concerning the truth of Revelation.——Those who judge of Luther's disposition merely from his controversial style and manner, greatly mistake his character. He was a warm-hearted German, kind and generous; he abused and villified his antagonists the more in proportion as they were powerful, but he could feel for the unhappy, and he even tendered some consolation to his bitterest enemy, Tetzel, when, forsaken by his employers, and upbraided as the cause of all the mischief, he was in the agonies of death and despair. *Luther gave that impulse towards spiritual philosophy, that thirst for information, that logical exercise of the mind, which have made the Germans the most generally instructed and the most intellectual people in Europe.* Luther was convinced of the necessity of education as auxiliary to religion and morality, and he pleaded unceasingly for the education of the laboring classes, broadly telling princes and rulers how dangerous as well as unjust it was to keep their subjects in ignorance and degradation. He was no courtly flatterer, he spoke in favor of the poor, the humble and the oppressed, and against the high and mighty, even of his own party, who were guilty of cupidity and oppression. Luther's doctrine was altogether in favor of civil liberty, and in Germany it tended to support constitutional rights against the encroachments of the imperial power.

Luther's moral courage, his undaunted firmness, his strong conviction, and the great revolution which he effected in society, place him in the first rank of historical characters.—The form of the monk of Wittenberg, emerging from the

receding gloom of the middle ages, appears towering above the sovereigns and warriors, statesmen and divines of the sixteenth century, who were his contemporaries, his antagonists, or his disciples."[1]

The Article in the "Encyclopaedia Americana," has many just remarks on Luther, which we would quote at large, were it not that the book is in the hands of most ministers, or ought to be, as it is a valuable work in a small library, and cheap enough to be within the reach of all. But one remark which it makes is so true and striking, that we quote it. "As long as Luther lived he was for peace; and he succeeded in maintaining it; he regarded it as impious to seek to establish the cause of God by force; *and, in fact, during thirty years of his life, the principles of the Reformation gained a firmer footing, and were more widely propagated, by his unshaken faith and unwearied endeavor, than by all the wars, and treaties and councils since.*"[2]

Reese's Cyclopaedia, rich beyond all works of its class in Biography, has an admirable article on Luther: "who introduced, not into Germany only, but into the world, a new and most important era, and whose name can never be forgotten, while anything of principle remains that is deserving of remembrance."[3]

The relations of *Erasmus* and Luther form an interesting chapter in the history of the Reformation. With all the caution of Erasmus, and the difference of spirit and principle in the two men, he could not help feeling a profound though uneasy reverence for Luther. In writing to Cardinal Wolsey, in 1518, when Luther's name was just rising, he says: "As to Luther, he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his except two or three pages. — His life and conversation is universally commended; and it is no small prejudice in his favor, that his morals are unblameable, and that Calumny itself can fasten no reproach on him. If I had really been at leisure to peruse his writings, I am not so conceited of my own abilities, as to pass a judgment upon the performances of so considerable a Divine. I was once against Luther purely for fear lest he should bring an odium upon literature, which is too much suspected of evil already. Ger-

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[1] Vol. XIII. p. 206, 207. (London, 1839, Fol.)

[2] Vol. VIII. p. 153. Philadelphia, 1848. The Article "Reformation," in this work is one of the best in it. It is the Article "Luther," however, from which we quote.

[3] American Edition. Philadelphia. Vol. XXII. Art. Luther.

many hath produced some promising youths, who have eloquence and learning, and of whom she will one day, in my opinion, have reason to boast, no less than England can now boast of her sons."[1] In a letter to Melanchthon (1519), he says: "All the world is agreed amongst us in commending his moral character. He hath given us good advice on certain points; and God grant that his success may be equal to the liberty which he hath taken."[2] In reply to a letter from Luther himself, Erasmus calls him his dearest brother in Christ, speaks of the excitement his works had produced at Louvain, and that he had advised the Divines of that University to answer them instead of railing against them. Though he had told them that he had not read those works, yet he owns that he had perused part of his Commentaries upon the Psalms, that he liked them much, and hoped they might be very serviceable. "There is a Prior of a Monastery at Antwerp, a true Christian, who loves you extremely, and was, as he relates, formerly a disciple of yours. He is almost the only one that preacheth Jesus Christ, whilst others preach human fables, and seek after lucre. The Lord Jesus grant you, from day to day, an increase of his Spirit, for his glory and for the public good."[3]

In an elegant letter to the Elector of Mentz, (1519) he had the courage to apologize openly enough for Luther"; declines taking sides, but lashes the monks, and plainly justifies the beginnings of the Reformation.[4] In the same year, he wrote a letter to Frederic of Saxony, highly favorable to Luther.[5] As the storm advanced, however, Erasmus grew more timid and sensitive to the reproaches which the enemies of Luther directed against all who showed any moderation or candor in regard to him. When the thunder of the Vatican rolled over Luther's head, Erasmus thought all was ruined, and in a very oracular manner, told his friends, that all the disaster came of not following his advice, to be mild, conciliating and cautious, to be every thing, in short, which all men now see, would have left the church and the world precisely where they were. Erasmus spent the rest of his life, in the miserable condition of every man who is striving to compound between his convictions and his fears, too acute to miss the truth, and too selfish to confess it. He did not take open grounds against the Evangelical doctrines; even the apologetic letter he wrote the Pope, showed that he was not very cordially on the Romish side.

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[1] Quoted by Jortin, "Life of Erasmus." London, 1728. 4to. p. 129.

[2] Do. p. 156. [3] Do. p. 166. [4] Do. p. 202.

[5] Seckendorf Historia Lutheranismi. L. I. p. 96.

He declined the task of refuting Luther, for which his second reason was that "it is a work above my abilities," and the fourth that he is not willing to endure the resentment it would occasion. "By the little of Luther's writings which I have rather run over than examined, I thought that I could discern in him natural talents, and a genius very proper to explain the holy Scriptures according to the manner of the fathers, and to kindle those sparks of Evangelical doctrine, from which common custom, and the doctrines of the schools upon speculations most subtil than useful, had departed too far. I heard men of great merit, equally respectable for learning and piety, congratulate themselves for having been acquainted with his books. I saw that the more unblameable their behaviour was, and the more approaching to Evangelical purity, the less they were irritated against him. His moral character was recommended even by some who could not endure his doctrine. As to the spirit with which he was animated, and of which God alone can judge with certainty, I chose rather, as it became me, to think too favorably than too hardly of it. And, to say the plain truth, the Christian world hath been long weary of those teachers, who insist too rigidly upon trifling inventions and human constitutions, and begins to thirst after the pure and living water drawn from the sources of the Evangelists and Apostles. For this undertaking Luther seemed to me fitted by nature, and inflamed with an active zeal to prosecute it. Thus it is that I have favored Luther; I have favored the good which I saw, or imagined that I saw in him."[1] In the same tone is his letter to the Archbishop of Mentz (1520). In it, he shows his prevailing spirit of temporizing, which reaped its fit reward in the hatred of the Romish and the contempt of the Protestant party. "Let others affect martyrdom; for my part, I hold myself unworthy of that honor." "Luther," said Erasmus to the Elector Frederic, (1520)[2] "hath

[1] Letter to Campegius, 1520, quoted in Jortin's Life. p. 232.

[2] "When Charles V. had just been made Emperor, and was at Cologn, the Elector Frederick, who was also there, sent to Erasmus, desiring that he would come to his lodings. Erasmus accordingly waited on him. It was in December, and they conversed at the fire-side. Erasmus preferred using Latin instead of Dutch, and the Elector answered him, through Spalatine. When Erasmus was desired freely to give his opinion concerning Luther, he stood with lips compressed, musing in silence for a long time; whilst Frederic, as was his wont in earnest discourse, fixed his eyes upon him in an intense gaze. At last he broke the silence with the words we have quoted. The Elector smiled when they were uttered, and in after time, not long before his death, recalled them. Erasmus afterwards begged Spalatine to return the manuscript of the axioms, lest it might be used to his hurt. Seckendorf. Jortin.

committed two unpardonable crimes; he hath touched the Pope upon the crown, and the monks upon the belly." He then added, in a serious manner, that the doctrine of Luther was unexceptionable. He solicited the Ministers of the Emperor to favor the cause of Luther, and to persuade him not to begin the exercise of his Imperial Dignity with an act of violence. To Frederic he presented the following Axioms for his consideration: 'That only two Universities had pretended to condemn Luther'; 'That Luther made very reasonable demands, by offering to dispute publicly once more: That being a man void of ambition, he was the less to be suspected of heresy.' The Pope's agents, finding Erasmus so obstinately bent to defend Luther, endeavored to win him over by the offer of Abbeys, or Bishopricks: but he answered them,[1] "Luther is a man of too great abilities for me to encounter; and I learn more from one page of his, than from all the works of Thomas Aquinas." The Lutherans acknowledged their obligations to Erasmus for these favors, by a picture, in which Luther and Hutten were represented carrying the Ark of God, and Erasmus, like another David, dancing before them with all his might.[2]

That Erasmus went thus far, is wonderful; that he would have gone much farther, if he had simply acted out his convictions, is certain. "But if Luther," he says, (1521) "had written every thing in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of the truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I should imitate St. Peter."[3] "I follow the decisions of the Pope and Emperor when they are right, which is acting religiously; I submit to them when they are wrong, which is acting prudently: and I think that it is lawful for good men to behave themselves thus, when there is no hope of obtaining any more."[4] "There is a certain innocent, time-serving and pious craft."[5] Lamartine says: No great man is cunning. This was a truth to which Erasmus does not seem to have attained. On the train of circumstances which led to the controversy between Erasmus and Luther, on free will, it is no place here to dwell. Erasmus wrote to prove the freedom of the will, though his very doing so, he confesses, was a proof that his own will was not free.—

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[1] Melchior Adami. Vita Lutheri.

[2] Critique de l' Apol, d' Erasme, quoted by Jortin. p. 242. Seckendorf gives the same facts in still ampler detail.

[3] Letter to Pace, quoted in Jortin, p. 273. [4] Jortin, p. 274.

[5] Erasmus, quoted by Jortin.

Through Luther he struck at the Reformation itself. "Luther replied, and had unquestionably the best of the argument."[1] "I count this," says Vaughan, speaking of Luther's reply, "a truly estimable, magnificent and illustrious treatise." "Luther did not rejoin to Erasmus' two-fold reply: he well knew that Erasmus was fighting for victory, not for truth, and he had better things to do than to write books merely to repeat unanswered arguments."[2]

The History of the Reformation, which Guericke presents in his admirable Compend, is in keeping with his strong, consistent Lutheran position, and though it does not contain any distinct, elaborate analysis of Luther's character, presents so just a view of his career and his qualities, as to relieve the wonder that,

"Douglas dead, his name hath won the field."[3]

The Twelfth Lecture of Guizot,[4] is devoted to the Reformation. In a note at the close of the chapter, the remark of Robertson is quoted, that "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the Reformed church, in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments, which were denounced by the church of Rome, upon such as called in question any article of their creed." Upon this passage of Robertson, Smythe[5] remarks, that "Luther might have been favorably distinguished from Calvin and others. There are passages in his writings, with regard to the interference of the magistrate in religious concerns, that do him honor; but he was favorably situated, and lived not to see the temporal sword at his command. He was never tried." Nor these closing words of Smythe are in utter and reckless defiance of the facts in the case. More than any man in the sixteenth century, Luther *had* the temporal sword at his command. He was tried. He was a shield to his enemies, both in person and doctrine, when the penalties of the

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[1] Rees' Cyclopaedia. Art. Erasmus.

[2] Martin Luther on the Bondage of the Will. Translated by E. T. Vaughan. London: 1823. Preface XLIX. Vaughan gives a sketch of Luther's Life, and a view of his character, a mere abridgement of Dean Milner's continuation of his brother's Church History.

[3] Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte von H. E. F. Guericke. 7te Aufl.—Berlin: 1849. IIId vol. 1–216.

[4] General History of Civilization in Europe, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. 3d American from the second English Edition, with occasional notes, by C. S. Henry, D.D. New York, 1846. p. 248–268.

[5] Lectures on Modern History. Am. Ed. p. 292.

law were hanging over them. Single handed he protested against resort to violence. He averted war when the great Protestant princes were eager for it. He had a great loving heart, as full of affection and forbearance for man, even when straying, as it was full of hatred to error in all its forms.

In that immortal work of John Gerhard (theologorum princeps, tertius à Luthero & Chemnitio orbis Evangelici Atlantis), the 'Confessio Catholica,' in which the concessions of Romish writers are employed in defence of the truth,[1] he answers in full all the calumnies directed against the life, and the attacks on the doctrines of Luther. He shows that Luther was actuated by no blind fury against the Church of Rome, but distinguished in it the precious from the vile, that he was an instrument of God endowed with extraordinary qualities for an extraordinay work. In showing this, he cites at large the opinions of Mellerstadt, Staupitz, the Emperor Maximilian, Von Hutton, Erasmus, Frederick, Elector of Saxony, Langius, Fisher[2] (Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge), who afterwards wrote against Luther, Mosellanus, Cellarius, Ulner, Podusca, Phaenicius, Schirner, Rosdialovinus, Margaret Arch Duchess of Austria, Emser, Kigelin, Masius and Severus.[3] These persons were all in the Church of Rome at the time that these favorable testimonies were given. Portion by portion is taken up by Gerhard, and disposed of with most eminent judgment, sustained by incredible learning, and we are sure that we are not exaggerating, when we say, that all these works produced on the Romish Controversy, up to the present hour, have not as much value to the Lutheran theologian, as Gerhard's Confessio and Chemnitz' Examen.

"It may be said," is the remark of Hagenbach, "that Dr. Martin Luther became emphatically *the* reformer of the German church, and thus the reformer of a great part of the universal church, by his eminent personal character and heroic career, by the publication of his theses, by sermons and expositions of Scripture, by disputations and bold controversial

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[1] "Doctrina Catholica et Evangelica, quam Ecclesiae Augustanæ Confessioni addictæ profitentur."— From the title of the "Confessio Cathol. Frankfurti et Lipsiæ, 1679." Folio.

[2] In a letter to Erasmus he commends Luther highly, and among other things speaks of him as "Scripturarum ad miraculum usque peritum."

[3] Preceptor of Ferdinand, author of the distich

"Japeti de gente prior majorve Luthero
Nemo fuit, nec habent secla futura parem."

Confessio Catholica, p. 58 seq.

writings, by numerous letters and circular Epistles, by advice and warning, by intercourse with persons of all classes of society, by pointed maxims and hymns, but especially by his translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the German language.[1] And mark how, on a point which more than any other has been a subject of false reproach, the truth at last is confessed by those who have a hereditary obligation to oppose it. "It is . . unjust . . to maintain that Luther's profound and dynamic interpretation of the sacrament, which on that very account was less perspicuous and intelligible, had its origin in nothing but partial stupidity or stubbornness. The opinion, which each of these reformers (Zuinglius and Luther) entertained concerning the sacraments, was most intimately connected with his whole religious tendency, which, in its turn, stood in connection with the different development of the churches which they respectively founded." So it is: David found some shelter among Philistines, when he was driven from the palace which was rightfully his, because an evil spirit possessed Saul; the great Hungarian chief fled from Christians to find refuge among Turks. It is not without parallel, then, that when Time, the great vindicator of truth, is laying one slander after another against Luther and our church in the grave, that the sacred cause of Christ, which both have so nobly defended, should be wounded, as Christ himself was, in the house of its friends. With the growth of a rationalizing spirit, grows a tendency to depreciate what is noblest in man. It tries to discredit the work of God every where, for Rationalism has no real confidence in man. It distrusts all men, because its advocates judge others by themselves. Cold and insolent, it endeavors to reduce all that is great in history, as nearly as possible, to its own level. Rationalism is self against God and history. "It would be a shame for our age," says Gabler,[2] "if we were not better Theologians than Luther." What an impudent wretch and infidel that Gabler was—he had no theology at all — *he* claim to be superior to our dear old Luther, who, with all his blunders, was an excellent, good-hearted Christian — tenacious of some of his Romish rags, but very respectable for his time?

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[1] Compendium of the History of Doctrines, by K. R. Hagenbach, Dr. and Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated by Carl W. Buch, Edinburgh, Clark. 1847. Vol. II. 156. Hagenbach's Work is deficient in accuracy. A little illustration lies just under our eye. "Nor did the authors of the Symbolical Books differ from Luther, on Transubstantiation." Very true, but half of Hagenbach's proof is a citation from the Smalcald Articles, i. e. he proves that Luther did not differ from Luther.

[2] Neuestes Theol. Journal, VIII, 589.

Such is the thunder with which our patristic oracles in America, ("fathers"— on the principle that "The *child* is father to the *man*,") meet such assertions when made by a good-for-nothing fellow like Gabler. And then the author of the system of American English, in which the nominative case does *not* govern the verb, and the Discoverer of the American Anatomy in which the heart is placed on the right side; the man who has exploded the Copernican system, on the ground that Astronomy having advanced, all old ideas on the subject are overthrown; the man who inspects the doctrinal platforms of Almanacs; the layman, ambitious of immortalizing himself in theological controversy, who takes the ground that pumpkins are as good as symbols, and a great deal cheaper — all these erudite and well deserving individuals quietly pocket Gabler's compliment, (which he, poor fellow, meant for himself,) on the mathematical ground that, 19 : 16 : : a man born in 19th century : a man who died in 16th.

But let us ask one serious question which arises from our contemplation of the character of Luther. If Christian virtue has its root in Christian doctrine; if Luther knew well what he believed, is it asking too much of men to implore them to be silent in regard to his faults and the supposed faults of his system, till they exhibit, at least, some portion of his devoted piety, and some real acquaintance with his writings? And will they pardon us for the suggestion, that the substance of the latter is not wholly exhausted in "Buck's Theological Dictionary," nay, will they not forgive our temerity, if we humbly suggest, that a thorough acquaintance with his works, formed by direct study, would be useful, not only to those who wish to understand him, but to those who propose to libel him. Take his sentences out of connection, stick together what was never united in his mind, apply to one subject what he asserted of another, confound the writings of the various parts of his life, innocently mistake some error of an opponent which he is overthrowing for an assertion of his own, and you can soon show, that it is no idle boast that "*we*" are better theologians than Luther. Is there, we would put as a closing query, a copy of Luther's complete works, Latin and German, and of his letters, in the Library of our Theological Seminary at Gettysburg?

ARTICLE II.

THEORIES OF INSPIRATION.

"*Philosophy of Religion, by* J. D. MORELL, *Author of History of Modern Philosophy, &c. &c.*

"*Theopneusty, or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, by* S. L. R. GAUSSEN, *translated by* E. N. KIRK.

Hill's Divinity, and Knapp's Theology, chapters on Inspiration.

"*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit. By* S. T. COLERIDGE.

"*Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under present Difficulties,*" *by* A. C. TAIT, D. C. L. *Head Master of Rugby School, &c. London:* 1846.

Alexander on the Canon.

THIS subject, apart from its intrinsic interest, is one which at this time is specially deserving of attention. The objections to all inspiration *in name* are of a bolder character, and the objections to all inspiration *in reality* are more subtle than perhaps at any former era of Christianity. Deism driven from most of its old positions has, with a large class, become Atheism; and scoffs at an inspiration proceeding from a Being who never existed. Nor is it difficult to see how one class of mind has been led to take this position. In most of the former arguments upon this, and kindred subjects, between Christian and Deistical writers, there was the common basis and point of agreement in the fact of an Intelligent Author of Nature, infinite in perfection. It was deemed sufficient with the Christian writer to show, that his scheme was not inconsistent with the character of this Perfect Being; that by it this character was illustrated. If, moreover, it could be made manifest that the scheme of any infidel writer was not thus consistent; that its logical conclusion was atheistic, the argument was regarded as stopping safely at that point. It was admitted, on both sides, to be the reductio ad absurdum. The one never troubling himself to go beyond it. And the other, whether admitting the argument to be conclusive or not, never reasoning from this conclusion.

But this state of things could not continue. Assuming the common basis, of which we have spoken, the argument against the deist was irresistible. It could be demonstrated, upon his

own principles, that his position was an exceedingly uncomfortable one; that while it brought him under heavy obligation to the Author of his being, it contained neither a sufficiency of motive nor of strength to meet these obligations, nor in fact, for the performance of any duty; that in case of a slip, or deviation from this duty, there was no provision for its remedy; that, upon his own principles, he was most deeply interested in establishing, if possible, the truth of the Christian system. Moreover, it was clearly demonstrated, that every objection of any force against Christianity applied with equal force against himself; that if there be a God, operating and controlling in the world around us, the whole analogy of His known established mode of operation was in accordance with that which is asserted to be revealed. This line of argument was not only unanswerable, but which was more in its favor, it was simple, easily presented, and easily understood. The ordinarily educated mind easily took hold of it; and that which it opposed naturally became unpopular: the opposing principle, however, that is, the principle of irreligion, remaining. Deism, to this class, had been nothing more than a theological cloak to sensuality and irreligion, or practical atheism. As this cloak was stripped off, some other, unless the heart were changed, would be assumed. And if open Atheism or Pantheism, different names of the same thing, were the only one at hand, there would be no hesitation in taking it up. Such, in fact, was the alternative presented. The Atheism of the present day, instead of being wondered at, may rather be regarded as the natural result of the godless spirit of a former one; of the pressure of advancing Christianity upon that spirit. It shows desperation; and while, in one respect, a most awful manifestation of the wickedness of the human heart, in another it exhibits the triumph of an advancing kingdom of truth. This truth, in its onward progress stripping falsehood and irreligion of all their specious masks; causing the holders of this falsehood to call it by its real name; pressing the godless spirit to an accordant speculative theory: and thus, by an open manifestation of the real hatefulness of this spirit, preparing the way for its destruction.

But there is another class of writers and thinkers, having no sympathy with these; a class with which, at the present, we shall be more especially occupied. This latter class profess to abominate, and there is every reason to believe, sincerely, the spirit by which the former are actuated. If it may be said that their general course of thought and belief is also a product of the old fashioned Deism, it is a product in a different

direction from that which we have just been engaged in describing. It is an advance both in externals and in spirit to that of orthodox Christianity. The New Testament with these is a gospel; the Bible a revelation; its Author a Divine personage; its contents from God; its moral precepts are obligatory; and every one, it is admitted, should imitate the love and spotless life of its Divine Founder. Coupled with these views, is a tone of respect and of seriousness well befitting the great subject under discussion. A manifestation of regard for that which is pure, and good, and truthful, and demands most properly, both from friends and opponents, that this class should be heard and treated with respectful attention.

To this latter class, one of the writers, whose name is among those at the head of this article, may be regarded as belonging. The spirit, both of the work in which his religious system is developed, and of that containing his general views of the speculative philosophy of the nineteenth century, is one of respect to the great doctrines of revelation. While in the preface to the former of these works, he seems to be under the influence of some degree of irritation, yet little of this is to be seen in the body of the volume. Unlike many of his instructors of the Fatherland, he recognizes a personal God in the domain of the universe. Unlike some of his French teachers, he regards this God as the God of the Bible. In a certain sense, he regards this Bible as proceeding specially, from God, as given to our world by inspiration; as therefore deserving the respectful examination and study of each member of the human family.

But while the Bible is thus regarded as given by inspiration, we must not suppose that this word, inspiration, is employed in its ordinary meaning. The mode in which it is employed involves a mere theory; a theory, not altogether original with the author, and but too well known in Europe and this country. We propose to subject this theory to the test of examination; to see how far it corresponds with the reason of the thing, with the general drift of past church belief, and with the explicit statements of the inspired writers themselves, upon the subject in question. It will, of course, be understood that we are not examining these views simply as those of an individual. It would be worse than folly to waste the time necessary for such purpose, if the subject came up under that aspect. They are substantially the views of a class: the arguments advanced in their favor are those of a class. Upon this ground alone they deserve examination; and we merely employ the lan-

guage and name of the author, because by him, and in his language, the views of this class are clearly exhibited.

The peculiarity of this system may be said to consist in its subjection of the word, and of all religious truth, to the authority of the intuitional consciousness. As in a former age it was asserted, that the understanding was the only medium for the reception of Divine truth, and therefore qualified to reject all which it could not comprehend, so now this intuitional consciousness occupies the same lofty position: divine truth coming only through this avenue, that truth which does not thus come must be rejected as not Divine. So that while the name rationalism is abhorred, the offensive fact of it is retained.—That is, the human mind, whether we call it understanding, reason, intuitional consciousness, or Patristical opinion, being speculatively placed on the same level with the Divine word; and in point of fact and practice being exalted much higher than that word.

The theory, however, will be best stated in the author's own language. "All revelation," says he, "implies two conditions: namely, an intelligible object presented, and a given power of percipiency in the subject: and in popular language, when speaking of the manifestations of Christianity to the world, we appropriate the term revelation to the former of these conditions," the intelligible object, "and appropriate the word inspiration to the latter," "the given power of percipiency in the subject."

Here let the reader bear in mind two questions of great importance which we state at this point, as following properly upon the quotation just made, but which we shall discuss, further on. First, is the objective revelation always, and necessarily, even to the inspired man, perfectly intelligible, that is, perfectly understood? Is this power of percipiency common to the human race, but not called into exercise, or is it only imparted to inspired men?

But to proceed.—"According" says our author, "to this convenient distinction, we may say that revelation, in the Christian sense, indicates that act of Divine power by which God presents *the realities of the spiritual world*, immediately to the human mind; while inspiration denotes that especial influence wrought upon the faculties of the subject, by virtue of which he is able to grasp *these realities in their perfect fulness and integrity*, God made a revelation of Himself to the world by Jesus Christ; but it *was the inspiration of the Apostles which enabled them to perceive it.* Here, of course, the objective arrangement, and the subjective influences perfectly

blend to the production of the same result; so that, whether we speak of revelation or inspiration, we are in fact merely looking at two different sides of the same great act, of Divine beneficence and mercy, by which the truths of Christianity have been brought home to the human consciousness."

Here, again, by way of concentrating attention upon an ambiguous point, in this statement, upon which hang certain consequences of importance, we would ask the reader to analyze the sentences which we have put in italics. What does this phrase, "realities of the *spiritual* world," definitely mean? Does it comprehend or include, for instance, such realities of the *material* world as the Mosaic cosmogony, Daniel's prophecy of the four kingdoms, or Luke's narrative of the voyage of St. Paul? Again, we would ask, as before, is it necessary to the inspiration of the prophet or seer that he should be able "to grasp these realities in their perfect fulness and integrity"? May he not be an instrument in the hand of God unconsciously, as was Caiaphas, or against his own will and wish, as was Balaam? Again, what is the authority for saying that it was the *inspiration* of the Apostles which enabled them to perceive the revelation which God made of Himself by Jesus Christ? Was inspiration necessary for such perception? Cannot this revelation be seen without it? In other words, must a man be inspired before he becomes a Christian? Or to put the question in still another form, may there not be revelation to many to whom there is no inspiration? How the author would distinctly answer these questions, is uncertain; at the best but a matter of inference from what follows. We here merely call attention to them to show his indefiniteness.

"Revelation and inspiration, then, indicate one united process, the result of which process upon the human mind, is to produce a state of spiritual intuition, whose phenomena are so extraordinary that we at once separate the agency by which they are produced from any of the ordinary principles of human development. And yet this agency is applied in perfect consistency with the laws and operations of our spiritual nature. Inspiration does not imply any thing generically new in the actual process of the human mind; it does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess; it indicates rather the elevation of the religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision, to a degree of intensity peculiar to the individual thus highly favored of God. We must regard the whole process of inspiration, therefore, as being in no sense *mechanical*, but purely dynamical: involving not a novel and supernatural

faculty, but a faculty already enjoyed, elevated supernaturally to an extraordinary power and susceptibility; indicating, in fact, an inward nature, so perfectly harmonized to the Divine, so freed from the distorting influences of prejudice, passion, and sin, so simply recipient of the Divine idea, circumambient around it, so responsive in all its strings to the breath of heaven," — as we may suggest were the souls of Balaam and Caiaphas, upon two remarkable occasions — "that truth leaves an impress upon it which corresponds perfectly to its objective reality."

"The proper idea of inspiration," says he further on, and throwing more light upon the ambiguities, to which allusion has been made: "the proper idea of inspiration does not include either miraculous powers, verbal dictation or any distinct commission from God. It is a higher potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man, to some degree possesses. The supernatural element consists in the *extraordinary influences* employed to create these lofty intuitions, to bring the mind of the subject into perfect harmony with truth, and that too when under ordinary circumstances such a state could not possibly have been enjoyed. It is the importation of clear intuitions of moral and spiritual truth, to the mind by supernatural means."[1]

If we have been able to catch the substance of this, and the two preceding paragraphs, it may be stated thus:

1. Revelation is the presentation of truth to the mind.
2. Inspiration an influence upon the mind preparing it for the reception of this truth.
3. These two co-existent produce a state of spiritual intuition.
4. The agency, by which this state of spiritual intuition and its phenomena are produced, is extraordinary, yet is applied in perfect consistency with the laws, and operations of our spiritual nature, implies nothing "generically new in the actual processes of the human mind;" "does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess."
5. The truth, or fact revealed, is realized subjectively, by the inspired writer or speaker.

With the first three of these propositions we shall have but little concern. Bearing in mind the ambiguities connected with them in the system of our author, we may here leave them. With the substance of the fourth and fifth we shall be

[1] Morell's Philosophy of Religion, p. 148. American Edition.

mainly occupied, viz.: that inspiration is confined to the sphere of simple intuition. The spiritual consciousness corresponding to the truth revealed. Consequently, that every thing outside of that sphere is not, and cannot be regarded as inspired.

This scheme is proposed in view of difficulties which cluster around another which, by way of courtesy, is styled the *mechanical.* Leaving this the argument epithetic to have, its influence upon those who feel its power; and without dwelling upon the disingenuousness of classing the great majority of these, who disagree with the author, under this term, let us look at the claims of the scheme presented.

The great deficiency, and fault, and so far falsehood, of this theory we conceive to be this: that God, in the process of revealing truth from Himself to the world, by means of the human instrument, cannot employ or operate upon any other portion of man's nature than the pure reason, his moral or intuitional consciousness; that He cannot reveal any other truth than that which is moral or spiritual. There may be some portions of Scripture, to which this scheme will apply: as for instance, where David in 51st Psalm, and Daniel in his prayer for his people, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, put in language certain things which they had personally realized. But for the great mass of the Scripture it makes no provision. It in fact denies, and we see that the author accepting the inference, also denies inspiration in any intelligible sense to these portions. Without desiring, just now, to argue from consequences we may remark, that he who accepts this scheme must give up most of the Bible, to be regarded and treated like all other books. Every thing in the shape of a historical fact, many prophetic predictions, all descriptions of natural occurrences disappear from the ground of inspired truth. A residuum being left of spiritual realities; this, at the mercy of the "intuitional consciousness," or shall we say inspiration, of the reader, to be received or rejected. This inspiration of the reader, being in kind like that enjoyed by the author, or his preceptor M. Cousin, differing only as to its degree, from that of the original writer. "Blessed" says our author, "are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," that is, as his language seems to mean, for they shall be inspired. Here we have Romanism and Rationalism on their old and common ground: casting off the Supreme Authority of the word of God, and setting up that of man.

These consequences, however, to many would be rather pleasant than otherwise. It is, therefore, necessary to show that

the system itself, apart from all idea of these consequences, is false and unfounded. The objections, which we would urge against it, may be summed up as follows: First, it is unphilosophical, both in its getting up, and its application. It is insufficient, either to meet the facts of the case, or the wants of man. It is useless, removes no substantial difficulties already existing, and creates others that are greater. It is contradictory, not only with Scripture but with itself. It is, therefore, false, and must be rejected.

As, however, the arguments in its favor are preceded by an attack upon the usual idea, on this subject, it may not be amiss to glance at this attack, so far as it bears upon the advancement of the proposed theory, his objections may be briefly stated:

1. "Inspiration has been regarded as identical with the power of working miracles." Not always, and necessarily. It is itself a miracle, but does not confer always, on the prophet, miraculous power, in other respects. What elevation of subjective consciousness would have enabled Daniel to give the specialities of his vision, Ezekiel the dimensions of the future temple, or John the contents of the Apocalypse? While therefore, it may be freely admitted, that the gift of inspiration did not imply the power of working miracles, yet it would not follow from this admission that this gift itself was not a miraculous one, or that it consisted merely in the elevation of the intuitional consciousness.

2. Against verbal dictation; based upon various readings, recensions, personal style of writers. But these do not disprove an inspired original; do not prove that its first contents may not be ascertained. If there be any one thing, in fact, which proves the Bible to be inspired, as to its language, which proves that the church so received, and has since regarded it, it is in this the literal and jealous presentation of its integrity; the insignificant variations, to be obtained from collations and recensions of ancient manuscripts, and versions. Does any one believe that the theory of this writer, if held by Jews and Christians, would have kept the Sacred Scriptures thus uncorrupted?

3. Again, there is no positive evidence of "verbal dictation."

This we shall discuss more fully, further on. Supposing, but not granting the correctness of this assertion, we may say, that verbal dictation being the usual mode in which thought is conveyed to the human mind, with any degree of exactness

or certainty, it rests upon those who oppose it, to show that there is positive evidence, that in this particular case, the usual mode is not adopted. The ground is preoccupied, and the objector must not ask for proof in favor of the occupant, but must look about for his own positive proof to dislodge him. Of course, when we speak of inspiration extending to language, we do not mean that the words are necessarily repeated one after another as by a composer to an amanuensis, but simply such an influence upon the writer, as led him to employ certain words, and no others in uttering his message.

4. But "we have the most positive evidence that the commission of the Apostles did not extend to their very words." Aye! What is this most positive evidence? "Sometimes *they*" (our italics), "*taught* specific notions inconsistent with a pure spiritual Christianity; as did Peter when chid by Paul." So the indefinite and alarming "*they*" came down to a single case, and that not one of instruction, but of inconsistent action; action inconsistent with doctrine which we know that Peter held and taught; an error of practical judgment, into which many inspired men might fall, as to the propriety of his own course, under certain circumstances. If the author has stated this transaction correctly, it is as strong against an intuitional as a verbal inspiration. A good fact for bare faced infidelity, if established without limitation, but more for the cause in which it is enlisted.

5. "The supposition, of an inspiration extending to words would demand a twofold kind of inspiration." Not necessarily. But suppose it does. Would that be any more improbable than the admitted fact of distinct and different spiritual gifts enjoyed in the Apostolic age? Is it any more impossible that there should be two kinds of inspiration, than that one man should speak, and require another to interpret his language?

6. "We find a distinctive style maintained by each separate author." Suppose we do, where is the extravagancy of the supposition that the Holy Spirit, even while controlling the words, should do so within the limit of the inspired man's stock of language, and modes of expression?

7. This idea of verbal inspiration "tends to diminish our view of the moral and religious qualifications of the writers." This objection, coming from this quarter, is really most exquisite. But suppose such an effect be produced? may not it bring us to the truth? If it have the effect of leading us to look beyond the imperfect instrument to the Infallible source of the truth revealed; if we are led to look at this truth, as

from God, and not from Moses or Paul, such diminution of respect will do no harm. As a matter of fact, however, is such the opposite effect of the two schemes in question? Are those who sympathize with this writer, particularly remarkable for their respect or reverence toward the sacred writers?—Where can he point to one among those opposed to him, who would not shudder to use the language which he himself employs in this chapter?

8. "Even if we suppose the letter of Scripture to have been inspired, that *alone* could never have served as a revelation of Christianity." Who ever said that it would? But granting that there must be a moral influence upon the mind and heart of the reader, how does that prove, that the word of Scripture itself might not, by this same spirit, have been dictated, and employed as partly producing the desired moral change? With the other objections, we shall have occasion to be occupied as we go on, in the discussion of the points above mentioned. We may, however, briefly notice one other which will not come up, in that discussion, namely, that there is no "distinct ordination, or commission given to the different writers." The answer to this is obvious. "Though there is no distinct mention of a commission, to each and every writer, in the Old or New Testament, there is to some of them. And the fact that others were received and put on the same level with these; that they were spoken of by our Lord and His Apostles, as on the same footing, as equally sent from God, fully justifies us in treating them in the same way; constitutes a presumption, moreover, against which there is nothing to place on the other side, that such a commission in every case was given; that it was known to the writer; that it was recognized and acknowledged by his cotemporaries. That every such commission is not definitely recorded, is no proof that it was not given. However this may be, there are general statements in the New Testament, which cover every such deficiency. If each and every Old Testament writer is not inspired, and to be received as revealing the will of God, the mode in which our Lord refers to them is well calculated to lead, and has led the majority of His followers astray upon this subject. Nor is the difficulty at all removed but increased, when we examine like general statements by His chosen Apostles. We may now resume our examination of the claims of this proposed theory.

First of all, it is just the opposite of what it proposes to be par excellence, it is unphilosophical. There have been three modes suggested of getting an idea of that useful animal the

camel. One, the shortest, and which would answer all the purposes of the multitude, would be to visit the first menagerie or zoological collection that came in reach. The second, which would, perhaps, be necessary to the man of science, would be that of making an eastern tour, where the animal might be seen in all its varieties, at all ages, and as physically modified by the uses and abuses to which it is subjected. The third, which through a common abuse of language, may be designated as the philosophical, would be to retire from the influence of all things external, and with the eyes riveted επι ομφαλω to evolve the idea from the depths of the subjective consciousness. This last mode, having the immense logomachic advantage that the idea obtained can never be made clearly evident to any one else, or even if made thus evident can never, unless it agree with the subjective consciousness of others, be proved to be correct. Now, without asserting that the author has taken this last mode, he certainly has neglected the first two. To get a correct theory of inspiration, as of chemistry, or intellectual science, or of any thing else, we must get all the facts of the case. We may not, even then, be able to construct our theory. Or, even if we do, there may be much reasoning required to bring it into a consistent shape. But these facts must form its proper basis. In other words, if we would have a theory of inspiration to command the assent or respect of the church, we must examine the testimony and recorded experience of inspired men; of men who on all hands have been admitted to be thus inspired. Admitting the honesty and capability of the sacred writers, the plan of going to the sacred Scriptures themselves, for proof of their inspiration, both as to the quo and the quomodo, is that which is most philosophical. Who but an inspired man can give any account of this wonderful process; if, in fact, he could do it. Let inspiration as a simple fact be given for the mind to work upon, and there might be many other schemes, equally specious with the one in question, suggested as a possible explanation. But it would be only a possibility. A possibility at the mercy of every new fact, in connection with the same subject, brought to our knowledge. A possibility, in this particular instance, annihilated, in its very conception, by the previous existence of facts, with which it is utterly irreconcilable. It is the first business of true philosophy, as we have already insisted, to seek all information, from accredited sources, upon any given point, to be explained. Now this, upon the subject of inspiration, can only be gotten from inspired men, or from the source of Inspiration, speaking through these men — that

is, from the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures. This must be the basis. Every scheme must be squared by this. And to reverse the process, and square the Scriptures to any such scheme, as this author attempts to do, is as unphilosophical as it is irreverent and dangerous.

But we would object, further, that this scheme is insufficient. Insufficient to meet the wants of man; insufficient to meet the facts of the case to which we have been alluding. No man, fully aroused to the importance of the subject, could rest his interests for time and for eternity upon that kind of inspiration, which blundered in its logical statements, which was inconclusive in its reasonings, imperfect in its morality, mistaken in its history, and contradictory to the truths of science. "Surely," says the author, "they must have a feeble conception of what these wondrous narratives really are, who feel that any verbal differences can obscure a single ray of the Divine light which flashes from every page." All very pretty; but not exactly a true statement of the case. The differences are more than verbal. It is pretty well established, moreover, which of the two classes have, and exhibit most respect and reverence for these pages. We would say, surely they must be easily satisfied, who can rest their hopes for life or death upon statements, any one of which may be erroneous; who can believe in a whole, the parts of which are not merely verbally, but in matters of fact and reasoning illogical, discordant, and morally imperfect.[1] The advocates of inspiration, in the usual sense of that word, may not fear, upon this writer's own showing, a comparison with himself, or others like-minded, on the score either of good sense or reverence. The great mass of mankind, the poor for whom the Gospel was given, and we may say the intelligent, also, when not led astray by a false philosophy, need something more definite and authoritative. Unless we can say: "thus saith the Lord;" "these are the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth," we run great risk of

[1] "Mr. Macaulay," says a critic, in regard to the actors in the movement, 1688, "as he in the course of his narrative encounters an act of baseness, speaks of it as it deserves, and is not sparing of indignant and scornful epithets, to mark his sense of the meanness which he is compelled to describe: but it appears to us strange that his general estimate of the characters of the great drama bears no marks of the contemptuous undervaluing which is in individual instances exhibited. Epithets of respect and admiration are employed, when he speaks generally of the men by whom the revolution was effected. The result is a feeling of incongruity. It is like hearing a verdict of not guilty, after listening to an uninterrupted evidence of guilt." It is by some such process as this, that inspiration is obtained, by our author, out of the moral, historical, logical, and scientific blunders and mistakes, of the sacred writers.

destroying the confidence of the serious, and "of unchaining the tiger" of human society, that is, of destroying the little sense of responsibility which helps men to restrain the careless and irreligious.

But this scheme is insufficient in another respect. It does not provide an explanation for a large class of facts unquestionably connected with this subject. The author sometimes speaks of the whole Bible as if in some sense or other, it were inspired; then, again, of parts which according to his own scheme, cannot possibly be so. No explanation is given of the fact that all these portions have been reverenced and honored alike; that if his scheme be correct, the whole drift of Scriptural teaching is, at least, calculated to mislead, and has misled the church upon this point; that even inspired men seem to have thought, and spoken, and acted upon this supposition; that many of these books, not admitting his kind of inspiration, are in the canon, while such as the "sayings of the Son of Sirach," and the "Wisdom of Solomon," and the writings of Clement or Ignatius are excluded. Without just here developing the opposition of these facts to the scheme in question, we merely say that it makes no provision for their existence.

And this brings us to another objection, that is, the uselessness of the proposed scheme; its worthless character so far as regards its removal of any existing difficulties. That there are such difficulties we presume no serious man who has studied the subject will deny, that a knot is not untied by being cut. These difficulties instead of being removed, are rather, under the proposed scheme, increased. To make this evident let us glance at the reasons urged by the author himself in its favor. These reasons he asserts to be threefold. First, that it gives full consistency to the progressive character of Scripture morality; secondly, that it reconciles discrepancies; thirdly, that it explains the making up of the Canon. In noticing these reasons, we shall have as much to say in regard to the facts asserted, as of the argument based upon them. Many of these facts, if facts—militating as we conceive against all inspiration, were such as that which they are enlisted to support. Let us examine them, however, and the way in which they are employed.

In regard to the first of these points, the assistance rendered by the theory in question to the explanation of the progressive character of Scripture morality. Let the expression be noted. It is not the progressive morality of scriptural characters or personages, but the progressive morality of Scripture itself, which

under this theory is first asserted, and then, by the theory accounted for. The first of these facts, the progressive morality of scriptural personages, is generally admitted. And the explanation of such fact is simple and natural; that is, that light from on high was given as men were rendered capable of receiving it. In this way the contradiction is avoided, of making the Divine light of one age positive and opposing darkness in another. If, however, as this scheme asserts, the morals of Scripture characters were corrupt and imperfect; if the laws and positive precepts were so also, we ask, how can these facts be reconciled with this scheme of the elevated religious consciousness? What kind of religious life, "or what elevation of the religious consciousness," could be experienced during the moments in which a writer was giving forth an imperfect morality, or giving encouragement to a malignant disposition? How, for instance, could the inward nature of Moses, "be perfectly harmonized with the Divine;" "freed from the distorting influences of prejudice, passion, and sin;" "simply recipient of the Divine ideas circumambient around it;" responsive in all its strings to the breath of heaven;" "grasping the realities of the spiritual world in all their fulness and integrity:" how could the mind thus influenced give forth, "an impure and imperfect morality; at variance with Christian principles;" encourage "a fiercer spirit of warfare; the law of retaliation; indifference to deception?" &c. &c. These quotations will enable us to see, not merely how one part of this scheme agrees with another, but how little able it is to remove any of the real difficulties connected with this subject.

But the author well knew that those, by whom he is opposed, deny, to a man, the facts upon which his illogical conclusion is based. He knows, also, the distinction between morals described, and the morals of the describer; between a state of things legislated for, and the design of the legislator. While it may be readily admitted that there was "hardness of heart," that is, imperfection both in the inspired man and in his cotemporaries, yet it by no means follows that "the moral laws, conceptions, and principles which were given forth, by the Divine Spirit, through the human medium should necessarily partake of the same character. And it is somewhat remarkable, that no such precept, or law is explicitly mentioned. While the nations of Canaan were regarded in view of their abominable pollution as enemies of God, and therefore to be exterminated, yet it would be absolutely false, apart from this aspect of the case, to say, that "a fierce spirit of warfare was that of the Mosaic dispensation. That the rigid law of

equity, with its necessary sanctions, was perverted to the encouragement of a spirit of retaliation, is no proof that such perversion was designed. That there is any encouragement to deception in any of these precepts; or that "indifference to deception is characteristic" of scriptural morals, is more easily asserted than proved. "Slavery" is recognized and legislated for in the New as in the Old Testament. And it would be difficult to find any part of Scripture which does not proclaim eternal punishment to the wicked.

How much more consistent with the real facts of the case, are the views of those whom the author is opposing, with this very fact of the progressive moral character of the writers of Scripture. Progressive in this sense, that more light was given as men were able to bear it. The author professes to see this in the whole of the typical portions of the Mosaic dispensation. But how much more consistent and reasonable is the same idea, as applied to its preceptive and historical portion? How much less perplexing to look beyond the writer and his "elevated" or depressed religious consciousness, either to the precepts and facts themselves, which he is commissioned to deliver; to the manifested mind of that Spirit from whom they proceed? As to the assertion that the inspired writers were accredited by the Jewish nation, in view of the fact that they were the purest representations of their national and individual religious vitality, it may be asked, how is this made out, when we know that many of these writers, such as Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Hosea, directly opposed the prevailing current of national and individual religious or rather idolatrous vitality of their cotemporaries? And if we cannot expect to see "a higher religion, or more perfect morality than actually existed in those times," how is it that we really find it? Were the prophecies of Isaiah, or Micah, or the ten commandments in the wilderness, the outgrowth or the resultant representation of the prevailing Jewish religious vitality? The absurdity is too outrageous to be reasoned against. If there be any one thing which proves the highest inspiration of these writers, it is the fact just hinted: their immeasurable distance above their cotemporaries, and above themselves when they profess to give forth the Divine dictates. This, to use the language of another, is "putting that which is first last, and that which is last first." They first "seek a religious life," and then imagine that mankind came to devise a religion for themselves by means of that religious life. How are we to get this first religious life without the truth. It is by means of the spiritual life awakened within, that the believer rises to a "full compre-

hension or enjoyment of the truth which first awakened that life." The spiritual birth and life must be through this truth, "the word of God, that liveth and abideth forever." Not less clearly is the worthlessness of this theory exhibited from an examination of the second reason urged in its favor: "its reconciliation of minor discrepancies." We are told that the account of Creation in Genesis is by no means easily reconciled, *viewed as a scientific statement*, with the most palpable facts of Geology." But why present the subject under this aspect. What hint have we from the writer of Genesis, that his account of creation was intended as a scientific one? Is the correctness of the author's remark, "pretty generally acknowledged by all parties," or even by all Geologists, as an ignorant reader might be led, from his language, to suppose? Many Theological and Geological writers believe in a greater antiquity of our earth, than has previously been supposed. But this is a very different thing from believing or saying, that it is discordant with the statements of Genesis. Men may misinterpret a passage in Scripture as in any other book. But when such misinterpretation is made evident, it does not prove the passage itself to be wrong. So again as to the alleged discrepancies in statements of facts. Our ignorance is frequently the best explanation of such difficulties. Every year of accumulating knowledge of Eastern countries, &c., is an illustration of the truth of this remark. Is it not wiser, more philosophical, as well as more reverent, to wait for the explanation, than hastily and rashly proclaim that no such explanation is possible? This way of removing the difficulties seems very much like asserting a man to be deficient in moral or mental character, by way of proving his high capacity for giving his views, or his evidence upon the most profound and important questions.

Under this point we may notice an idea, which seems to be a favorite, as it is more than once insisted upon. "We have shown," says the author, after having asserted that St. Paul was illogical, and committed errors of reasoning, and reproving his opponents who were so irreverent (how amusing) as to deny it, "we have already shown, that to speak of logic, as such, being inspired, is a sheer absurdity." "If," says Dr. South, when arguing against an unlearned ministry, "if God does not stand in need of human wisdom, still less does He of human ignorance." If God inspire a man, in any sense of the word, we should suppose he would have as little need for his logical weakness as for his logical acumen; in other words, that

he might use the man's weakness and strength alike, to exhibit the truth in such a way, that none of that truth would, if understood, convey false notions. On the whole it would seem to be as easy to inspire a man to reason logically, as in any other way. In fact it may safely be doubted, upon this very theory, whether such a person could reason inconclusively. Let the intuitional consciousness "be perfectly harmonized with the Divine;" "the truth leaving an impress upon it which answers perfectly to its objective reality;" "grasping spiritual realities in their perfect fulness and integrity": and it might safely be doubted whether a mind, in this state, could reason illogically. Logic is linked truth, spiritual, as well as physical, or intellectual. Moral imperfection, prejudice, passion, sin, self-interest, are doubtless, after all, the main causes of vicious logic. While it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between man's moral and intellectual nature, yet these natures constantly affect and reaffect each other. No man can be morally rotten whose logic will not be equally unsound upon certain subjects. And, on the other hand, if men were perfectly free from all disturbing moral influences, we might anticipate that their reasoning, so far as it went, would be correct. Finiteness would of course interfere with the perfect correctness of the premises, but the logical process, we have every reason to believe, would be sound. "Religion, as a practical matter," says a masterly writer upon this subject: "religion, as a practical matter, is not addressed exclusively either to the logical understanding or the intuitions. Just as any one of them, or two combined, cannot make any man a faithful father or good son, a just sovereign or a righteous judge, so they are incapable of turning the sinner into a good Christian. The Christian religion addresses itself to the whole soul, providing evidence and facts for the understanding, and truth, which shines in its own light, to the reason; holding forth a perfect law and perfect righteousness to the moral faculty; excellence to gain the will, and loveliness to draw the affections; exhibiting these, now scattered and separate in individual persons, incidents and propositions, and again displaying them all in unity in the character of God and Christ. As each of these faculties is addressed, so each has its part to perform; the understanding apprehending the facts, examining the evidence, and defending the truth; the reason sanctioning and adopting the truth when presented; the conscience bringing the sinner to a knowledge of sin, and approving of the righteousness of Christ; the will accepting God as the perfect good; and the affections flowing forth towards God and all mankind, and enlivening the soul

as they flow. We deny that religion has its seat in the mere intuitions. It spreads itself over the soul, and every faculty and feeling has a work to perform. There is, therefore, truth presented to all and each of man's faculties, that all and each of these faculties may be rectified. It is this enlarged and comprehensive character of the Word of God which makes narrow minds complain of it."

Nor does the third recommendation of the author, in favor of his theory, manifest less clearly its uselessness; its worthlessness in the removal of those difficulties of which he makes mention. It explains, we are told, the formation of the Canon, and the facts connected with it. "The sum" says he, "of our certain knowledge of the Old Testament is, that the different books were collected some time after the Babylonish Captivity, accepted by the Jews as Divine, and read accordingly in their synagogues." "That Christ and His Apostles honored the Old Testament, is nothing to the purpose, so far as the nature of their inspiration is concerned. But never did they affirm the literal and special divinity of all the national records of the Jewish theocracy, as preserved and read in the synagogues of that day."

Supposing these statements to be correct — which in the proper place we shall show is not the fact — we ask, how do they remove any difficulties connected with the making up of the Canon? Why, in the case of the Old Testament, was it, that certain books were received, separated from all others, and jealously watched over? Other such books, during the making up of the Canon, and between that time and the advent of Christ, were in existence. Some of these too, upon the author's view of inspiration would have been admitted into the canon, and others really admitted would have been left out. Why was it not so? Would not the Jewish people, if acting under the idea which he affirms they did, have denied inspiration even in his bastardized sense of the word, to such books as those of Chronicles, or Judges, or Esther, while they would have awarded it to Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Solomon? Why, again, do our Lord and His Apostles recognize the propriety of this classification; and never quote as of Divine origin any other Jewish literature extant in their day? Instead of removing any difficulties, connected with the formation of the Canon, the greater difficulty is started, which overshadows them all, of how, under this scheme, is there or came there to be a Canon at all?

But as hinted above, the facts asserted by the author are not facts; they are so stated, that while containing a certain amount

of truth, they give altogether a false impression. That wise and comprehensive formula proposed to a witness in our courts of law, "the truth, nothing but the truth, the whole truth," cannot too frequently be insisted upon in all statements of the kind in question. The facts are not "all negative in regard to the Old Testament Canon." Whatever may be our ignorance of the books, or of any entire book of that canon, it does not follow that those who received them, and adjusted them as they stand, and separated them from all others, and reverenced them in contradistinction from all others, were in like ignorance. We know that these books were regarded as inspired, that is, penned under Divine inspiration, by the Jewish people. It is not true that we know nothing of these books, previous to their collection, some time after the Captivity. So long as the history runs back, we have in the books themselves, an account of the means taken for their preservation; for their being studied as the oracles of God. To say merely "that they were collected, and that they were received by the Jews, and read in their synagogues," is not saying all that we know. We know why they were thus collected, the grounds upon which they were received and so carefully watched over.

Not less irreconcilable with the facts of the case are the statements quoted above, in regard to the testimony of our Lord and His Apostles upon this subject. "That Christ and His Apostles honored the Old Testament, is nothing to the purpose, so far as the *nature* of their inspiration is concerned." Very true, it may be replied. The mere fact that they honored it, proves nothing either way. But the *manner* in which they honored it, is very much to the purpose—proves a great deal. When they deferred to its authority, and acquiesced in the prevailing views on the subject, and quoted no other book as on the same level, and condemned "the elevation of the Rabbinical consciousness," by which this "word of God" was thrust aside, their testimony is *very much* to the purpose, as showing what were their views both of the *fact* and of the *nature* of inspiration. "The Scripture cannot be broken," is the language of the Master, even in regard to a mere form of expression. "What is *written* in the law; how readest thou?" is His language at another time; "Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures." The whole drift of His teaching, and that of His Apostles, was in accordance with, and sustained, the current idea of the day, as to the *essential nature* of inspiration. And in one place, as just hinted, he rebukes sharply a certain class, who like our author and his Romish and Rationalistic friends, had turned away from the word of God to the elevated

religious consciousness of the nation, as contained in Rabbinical and church tradition.

But we may be told "that they never affirmed the literal and special divinity of all the national records of the Jewish theocracy, as preserved and read in the synagogues of that day." If this assertion were correct, and if there were any difficulty in replying to it, we should say, neither do they affirm, or even hint any thing like the author's theory. But do they not, in substance, make these affirmations, which he denies? When our Lord refers to Scripture in the manner of which we have spoken; when St. Paul speaks of *all* the Old Testament Scripture as given by inspiration of God; when we find St. Peter speak of the Prophets "who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" when we know what such phrases meant to the Jewish mind, and what every honest man must have meant, who employed them, we can see the amount of credit due to this statement. It is really remarkable, when we come to reflect upon it, that the New Testament should contain such passages as those which we just quoted: the belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament being universal, and there being no necessity for its being insisted upon. So far from making the revelation, dependent upon the clearness of the moral intuitions of the sacred writer, they make mention of prophecies which the prophets themselves did not fully understand; of others where the prophet was cherishing covetous desires in his heart; and of another who did not even know that he was uttering a prophecy.[1] In fact, we hear comparatively but little of the inspired writer, or his intuitions, but we are rather pointed to the written word; to all of it as inspired of God. The facts connected with the making up of the Canon, instead of squaring with the author's view, really create more and greater difficulties than previously existed.

And so also as to his statements in regard to the Canon of the New Testament. Does it follow because the Apostles had,

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[1] "And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O Lord, what shall be the end of these things? And He said, go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed to the time of the end." "Behold, I have received commandment to bless, and He hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it."—"This spake he not of himself; but being High Priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation." "Of which salvation the prophets, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you, have enquired and searched diligently; searching what, or what manner of time," into the thing and the time of its fulfilment, "εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν" "the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify."

Daniel xii: 8. 9. Numbers xxiii: 20. John xi: 51. 1 Pet. 1: 10. 11.

in the beginning of their ministry, inadequate conceptions &c. that when they afterwards penned a volume under the influence of the Holy Ghost, these errors should be reproduced? When they consulted together, as mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of Acts, and gave forth a certain conclusion as the result of their special inspiration, does it follow that no single one, if necessary, might not have been singly inspired to see the same conclusion? That Paul or Barnabas, left to their natural judgments, should, one of them, or both, err in their opinion of Mark; or that Peter, in like case, should act inconsistently with what he himself was daily teaching, is no proof that they should thus err, in their official capacity. And if it be asked, why this distinction, we reply, because they themselves make it. Because that while they speak of themselves, as individuals, in terms of the deepest humility, they magnify their office, as dispensers, in teaching and in writing, of the pure word of God. That while one of the Apostles declares all of the Old Testament books to be inspired, another classes the writings of this Apostle with those of the Old Testament; this one thus classed affirming for himself, and his compeers, (see 1 Thess. 2: 13.) authority of the same nature. And if it be further asked, how shall we know when they thus speak officially, and when as uninspired men, we say, take their recorded official writings as an instance of the one, their recorded individual errors as an instance of the other. Cherish, moreover, what this author insists upon, but which he does not manifest, namely, a spirit of reverence, and there will be but little cause of difficulty or perplexity.

So also as to the consistency of this scheme with the formation of the New Testament Canon. Why, we may ask, "as heresies and false doctrines" arose, and there was necessity of bringing apostolic doctrines to a definite statement, why this separation of the writings of the Apostles from all others? Why was the early Church so anxious to show where an exception to this rule occurred, as in the case of Mark and Luke, that the writers were under apostolic dictation or approval? Our author tells us to supply the place of their personal instruction. But why, upon his scheme, was *their* personal instruction so separated from all other, and put on the same level upon which Jews and Christians, alike, their Master and His chosen twelve, had placed the Old Testament? Would not the testimony of any pious cotemporary of our Lord, have been just as good; or of any honest hearer of the Apostles, say Clement or Polycarp? Why did not the church make selections from the undoubted Apostolical writings, as is prac-

tically done by this writer, on the authority of her intuitional consciousness? Did none of the rejected books contain apostolical doctrine? And when discussion arose, was it in regard to the character or contents of the book, or was it as to the simple fact, is it written or approved by an inspired man? It was not a mere work of selection and approval in which the church was engaged while making up the canon. It was mainly to ascertain whether certain documents were written by certain persons; their inspiration and authority following therefrom as a necessary consequence. In other words, it was the questions of genuineness, authenticity and integrity, not of inspiration upon which the early church was engaged.—That question was only mooted by such men as Celsus, Julian, or Porphyry. With Christians it had been settled by the promise of the Master, and the distinct avowals of His chosen followers." "The question often is asked," says Dr. Alexander, "when was the canon of the New Testament constituted, and by what authority? Many persons who write and speak on this subject appear to entertain a wrong impression in regard to it; as if the books of the N. Testament could not be of authority, until sanctioned by some ecclesiastical council, or by some publicly expressed opinion of the Fathers of the Church, and as if any portion depended upon their being collected in a single volume. But the truth is, that every one of these books was of authority, so far as known, from the moment of its publication; and its right to a place in the Canon is not derived from the sanction of any church or council, but from the fact that it was written by inspiration." And the appeal to testimony "then as now is not to prove that any council of Bishops or others gave sanction to the book, but to show that it is the genuine work of Matthew, or Paul, or John, or Peter, who we know were inspired." That other books were sometimes read in the early church is true. But this does not prove that they were, therefore, regarded as inspired. We know that such was not the case; that a clear distinction was made. The Church of England directs certain portions of the Apocrypha, and prayers and exhortations of human composition to be read in the congregation. Does it follow from this that she regards either the Apocrypha or the Prayer Book inspired?

We have thus seen the uselessness of this proposed plan for the removal of difficulties; its capability for creating them. It now remains that we notice more distinctly the last objection to it, that is, its opposition to the explicit testimony of the inspired writers. This point has been somewhat anticipated, but it may be well to look at it more distinctly. It contradicts

the inspired Volume, in its denial of the possibility or need of verbal inspiration; in affirming errors and mistakes in the inspired responses; in denying authority to some Scriptures which it admits to belong to others; in making these Scriptures nothing more than the result of the natural elevation of man's religious feelings. Under each of these we shall quote opposing statements.

"There is no evidence of *verbal* dictation having been granted."

"Thus *saith* the Lord:" "Son of man go and speak *my word* unto them." "Lo I have put *words* in thy mouth." The Spirit of the Lord was upon me and His *word was upon my tongue.*" "Holy men of God *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." "The mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken."

These are only a few instances. This language we admit can be explained away. And so can any other. But the process of explanation will go to prove, that any statement may be made to mean anything. In other words, that all certainty, in human language, is at an end. The reply to every such explanation is, how would any man, unhampered by a theory, understand these and similar passages? How have they been understood until within the last century? How were they understood by those who received them?

Again, "an imperfect morality is frequently embodied in the Old Testament Scriptures."

This refers, as will be seen by the context, not to the morality of Scripture personages or characters, but to the authorized and embodied morality of Scripture itself. The best answer to it, is to quote the ten commandments. The requirement of Moses in Deuteronomy 6: 4. 5., and in Leviticus 19: 18., and the interpretation as to the spirituality and the extent of the Old Testament morality, given by St. Paul in Romans 7: 7 and 12 verses;[1] and the fact that our Lord Himself quoted these passages from the Pentateuch as comprehensive of humen duty, will show the utter inconsistency of the author's idea with inspired teaching.

Once more," says the author, "we may refer to the discrepancies in reasoning," &c.

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[1] "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "The law is holy and just and good." "I had not known sin, except the *law* had said thou shalt not covet;" i. e. indulge wrong desires, for that is the comprehensive meaning of covet in this connection.

Without discussing the question whether man's reasoning powers cannot be affected supernaturally as well as those of perception and moral intuition, except simply to remark that to reason, as does the author, from the ordinary and uninspired process to that which is extraordinary and inspired, and then to assume that there is no difference, is to assume the whole question at issue, we may test this idea by Scripture itself, when speaking upon this point.

"Take no thought" says our Lord to the Apostles, when sending them forth, and in view of their being required, before human tribunals, to give an account of themselves and their teaching, "take no thought, how or what ("πῶς ἢ τί,") ye shall speak." "When He the Spirit of truth shall come, He shall guide you into all truth." It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us. "It is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost." "The Comforter, who is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things," that is, things not known, and which He had just said they were not then "able to bear," "and bring all things to your remembrance," that is, to enable them to remember and state correctly what they had seen Him do, and heard Him speak; "and He will show you things to come," that is, impart the power of prophetic foresight. "All Scripture is Θεοπνευστος." How such promises and such modes of expression, and the known sense in which they would be understood by Jewish hearers, can be reconciled with the honesty of the speakers, if they meant to teach liability to mistake in the inspired writings, it would be difficult to say. In regard to the logic of St. Paul, it would have been well for this writer to bear in mind an idea once expressed in regard to Plato: "Baffled in my attempts," says Coleridge, "to understand the ignorance of Plato, I conclude myself ignorant of his understanding."[1]

[1] The whole passage is remarkable, and well deserves to be quoted in this connection. Would that the writer of it, as well as some others, had always exhibited the same good sense and reverence, in their treatment of the difficult depths of the revealed will of the Infinite God which is here avowed, in regard to the finite and imperfect reasoning of the Grecian philosopher. "I have been perusing," says he, "with the best energies of my mind, the Timæus of Plato. Whatever I apprehend impresses me with a reverential sense of the author's genius; but there is a considerable portion of the work to which I can attach no consistent meaning. In other treatises of the same philosopher, intended for the average comprehension of men, I have been delighted with the masterly good sense, with the perspicuity of the language, and the aptness of the inductions. I recollect, likewise, that numerous passages in this author, which I thoroughly comprehend were formerly no less unintelligible than the passages now in question. It would, I am aware, be

Again, we may see the contradiction of this scheme to Scripture, in its extending inspiration to some portions of Scripture which it virtually denies to others. Inspired logic, we are told, is an absurdity. These scientific errors, discrepancies in statement of facts; indeed an inspiration which only consists of an elevation of the religious consciousness can include nothing but truth in its personal experience.

To all this, we say, in the language of the Master: "The Scripture cannot be broken;" with His Apostle: "all Scripture," not a portion of it, "is inspired;" that "in Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms," i. e. the whole Bible, the division current at that time among the Jews, Christ declares Himself to be witnessed of; that "in all the Scriptures" He expounded the things pertaining to Himself. And that, moreover, such an idea of their comparative value, as this scheme develops, was unknown, and unhinted, until within the last one or two centuries.

Last of all, the theory in question is not merely contradictory to Scripture, but it is contradictory in itself. This we have had occasion to show while discussing some of the author's reasons in its favor, further back, see p. . It would be utterly impossible for persons in the state of elevation of which he speaks, to give forth such a revelation as he asserts them to have done. His scheme and his facts are not only inconsistent, as a whole, with Scripture, but they are inconsistent with themselves, utterly irreconcilable.

We cannot dismiss this point, however, without one remark as to the animus of this author, exhibited in one most painful respect. And that is, in the giving to infidelity the benefit of every doubt, the credit of being on the right side in every doubtful question. This is a serious charge and we should prefer that the facts of the case would not justify our making it. But the author, if, as he asserts in his preface, "theology has ever been the serious business of his life," well knew that

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quite fashionable to dismiss them at once as Platonic jargon. But this I cannot do with satisfaction to my own mind, because I have sought in vain for causes adequate to the solution of the assumed inconsistency. I have no insight into the possibility of a man so eminently wise using words with such half meanings to himself, as must perforce pass into no meanings to his readers. When in addition to the motives thus suggested by my own reason, I bring into distinct remembrance the number and series of great men, who, after long and zealous study of these works, had joined in honoring the name of Plato with epithets that almost transcend humanity, I feel that a contemptuous verdict on my part might argue want of modesty, but would hardly be received, by the judicious, as evidence of superior penetration. Therefore, utterly baffled in all my attempts to understand the ignorance of Plato. I conclude myself ignorant of his understanding."—*Biographia, Chapt. XII.*

many things which he asserts as undoubted, are only so on one side; and that many difficulties which he asserts to be insuperable, have been met by hypotheses, which if not explaining them fully, have, at least, rescued them from the clutches of infidelity. Why, we may ask, is it that the opinion of the Christian geologists, Buckland, and Smith, and Miller, is set aside, and that of the sneering Lyell, et id omne genus, assumed as indisputable? A man, who was not a geologist himself, might at least have informed his readers, that there was as strong and high authority on this point against him as in his favor. Why, again, have we the old infidel story of the making up of the Canon; of the church deciding upon the merits of the books, without a single allusion, or the allowance of an iota of consideration to the denial of this fact, and the arguments upon which this denial is based? Why, again, assert with this same class the irreconcilable discrepancies, and blunders, and logical errors, and imperfect morality, without admitting that these assertions have been called in question; that in fact they have always constituted the chosen ground of the blasphemer and the scoffer, the point of opposition to the correct and sober-minded Christian? As has been remarked, this theory, in the manner of its proposal, is not so much a statement, or a defensive explanation, as an attack. An attack in which unbelief, in the old form is disavowed, but in which every fact upon which that unbelief was based, is reasserted as if indisputable; in which this unbelief has the benefit of every doubt and difficulty that is suggested.

We have thus far been engaged with only one of the volumes named at the head of our article. The others are well known. The work of Professor Gaussen, while in some respects rather Frenchy, if we may be allowed to coin a word, and occasionally extravagant in its tone, brings out, as we conceive, the great idea to be borne in mind while discussing this subject. That idea is the inspiration not so much of the writer or writers, as of the books themselves. The one of these facts, of course, involving the other, the merit of this author's view being that it looks distinctly at this fact, the inspiration of the book, and, what is equally necessary, it looks at this fact *in its due proportion.* These books are a revelation to us of the will of God. We do not need to be inspired to understand them. Nor do we know that the inspired man must necessarily understand the full substance of what he himself has stated. Without perplexing ourselves with the state of the writer, intellectual or moral, we may first ascertain, is there good evidence that his utterances are from God — are given

forth under Divine influence. We do not find our Lord, or His inspired Apostles quoting from this or that particular writer, or referring to the subjective state of these writers. They usually refer to the Scriptures, the ἱερα γραμματα; to the Holy Ghost as the author, every where consistent with Himself, in those sacred writings; and we find that they so speak as to include the whole, not a part or a particular class of subjects in these inspired writings. We may indeed occupy ourselves in noting the mental or moral idiosyncrasies of the writer; but these do not disprove his inspiration; do not disprove, but rather indicate that he is preserved from the statement of error. We can conceive of a person dictating to five different amanuenses; the hand writing ranging from the beauty and exactness of the copper-plate, to the most barbarous scrawl that rustic ever blotted, but stating verbally exactly the same thing. Again, we can conceive the same number of persons charged with an oral message; each delivering it in his own words; the phraseology varying from the dandyism of Chesterfield to the slang of Carlyle, yet each and all conveying the idea intended. In such cases, we look back of the messenger or amanuensis to the persons who dictate. The correctness of the message being no more interfered with, necessarily, by those variations in the terms of delivery, than it would be by the different gestures and expressions of feature of the different messengers. Personal agency is not destroyed by an extent of spiritual influence which ensures a correct statement. How Spirit essentially acts upon spirit; how the Spirit of God acts upon the spirit of man, in inspiration, or in regeneration, without destroying human agency, we may not be able to understand. But that He does thus act, in one of these processes, and that human agency and personal peculiarities are not destroyed by such action, every regenerate man is fully aware.

But while this admitted fact fully answers the objection, grounded upon diversity of style, against inspiration in the highest sense of the term, it is well to guard against the idea that the processes of inspiration and of spiritual renewal are identical. They not only seem to be unlike in degree, but in kind. The accounts which Isaiah and Daniel and some of the other prophets give of their calling, of the mode in which they were influenced, and charged with special messages on certain occasions, indicate something altogether of a different character. When, moreover, as has been hinted, we are told of one evil man being inspired to prophecy against his will, of another prophecying unconsciously, of the true prophets not under-

standing their own predictions, this conclusion is strengthened. Without using either of the terms harped upon by the writer, whose theory we first examined; without saying that either "dynamical" or "mechanical" is the proper word, for both are derived from the region of physics, we may say that this process of inspiration is sui generis. That it is no more implied in the power of working miracles on the one hand, than it is in the fact of spiritual regeneration on the other. Men wrought miracles who were not inspired. Men were regenerated by the Holy Ghost who were not inspired. Men were inspired who enjoyed neither of these blessings. Inspiration, it is true, was usually accompanied by these; but not necessarily, as we have had occasion to show. While we may not be able to say *in all respects* what inspiration is, we can, from these facts, say what it is not. And this is abundantly sufficient for the purpose of testing a wrong theory.

And here it may not be out of place to notice a fault in the latter of these writers. We can conceive that the large and undoubtedly pious class of writers, whom he condemns for their distinctions, have, some of them, refined, too much, in these distinctions. But as a class, we have never been able to see, between him and them any essential difference. "The writers of the New Testament," says one of this class, "although allowed to exercise their own memory and understanding, as far as they could be of use, although allowed to employ their own modes of thinking and expresssion, as far as there was no impropriety in their being employed, were, by the superintendence of the Spirit, effectually guarded from error while they were writing, and were at all times furnished with that measure of inspiration which the nature of the subject required." Professor Gaussen, if we understand him, does not go beyond this; for while he insists that the words and modes of expression are so guarded by the controlling power of the Holy Ghost, as to exclude error and wrong statements, he at the same time freely admits the personal agency, and mental and moral action of the inspired writers. He does not, like some of these writers, whom he condemns, attempt to show what was the measure of inspiration necessary, and furnished, for different portions. He thus avoids the contradictions of some of these writers. In this respect going no further than the facts of the case justify. The whole Bible is spoken of as the word of God; as given by inspiration; it is spoken of as profitable to the perfection of human character, as the word of truth. This is one great fact. The other great fact is, that of the personal agency and instrumentality of these

writers, meeting us upon every page of the inspired word. Putting these two facts together, we have the conclusion of which we have spoken; an infallible record of truth, couched in human phraseology. Whether this part was dictated, that suggested, or that supernaturally remembered, as God has not clearly said, so it may not be safe or wise for us to attempt to say. It is enough for us to know that whatever may be the degree of the human element, the promise ensures a sufficiency of the Divine to preserve us from error. It is the utterance of man. But it proceeds from God. "it is the incorruptible word of the incorruptible God, living and abiding forever." And "*all* of it is inspired, being profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

ARTICLE III.

THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL TEMPERAMENT ON THE EXPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS FEELING.

By the Rev. John N. Hoffman, Carlisle, Pa.

THE marked *diversity* that exists among men in the *expression of religious feeling*, is a matter of general observation. If we investigate the origin or cause of these external religious phenomena, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that they are modified to a considerable extent, by *physical organization*. In consequence of the known natural differences, that occur in the dispositions and tempers of men, a correspondent diversity is presented also, in their exterior religious characteristics, inasmuch as the holy influences of religion, in their *outward manifestations*, assume the aspects of the physical medium, through which they are exhibited. That these differences exist, both in the temperaments of men, and in the mode of expressing their devotional feelings, will scarcely be called into question, although the fact itself, in its important bearings upon the details of practical life, is seldom brought into view or properly appreciated.

In an age like the present; of opposite religious tendencies; of wild fanaticism or cold formality; of contracted bigotry or absolute latitudinarianism; it may not be inopportune, to direct attention to a subject, which, a little reflection will show to be associated with the dearest interests of the church. The

question involves the profoundest principles of mental and moral science; and to elucidate its harmony with the spirit and design of Christianity, most unquestionably merits the attention of the theologian, no less than of the metaphysician.

We are well aware, that we have introduced a subject of such vast importance, so comprehensive and profound; so intimately connected with the most obscure and unexplained phenomena of our nature, as to require high intellectual powers, and great research, in order successfully to grapple with its vast and mysterious attributes. But whilst we freely acknowledge our entire inability to do justice to the subjsct, in any of its relations or characteristics, we may be permitted to offer a few common-place and undigested statements in reference to the general subject, with a view of inducing a more competent mind to give it the attention which its importance deserves.

Here, however, we would guard against a misconception of a very serious nature, to which this subject is exposed. The moment we attribute an undue prominence, a final and determing power to physical nature, we plunge ourselves unavoidably into the vortex of absolute predestination, or even of inexorable fate. A fixed necessity inherent in man, and over which he had no control, would determine the causes and results of ordinary life, by which moral agency would be annihilated, and man would be nothing more than a mere machine, the sport of a supposed arbitrary power or coercive chance. A little reflection, however, will enable us to avoid this misconception without any difficulty, and shew us that our subject does not involve the startling doctrine that makes a man's religious state to depend upon his physical nature. All that is necessary, is the precaution not to identify the *essential principle of religion*, with the *external expression thereof*, through the medium of the *material organization*. To minds capable of the least discrimination, it will readily appear, that it is not religion in itself, in its *essential nature*, or the necessary obligations or moral duties of religion in themselves considered, that are here supposed to be modified by the physical structure of man; but simply the *outward manifestations* thereof, or, *the mode of expressing the feelings*. The principle of religion is under all circumstances the same, immutable in its essential nature; absolute and unchangeable in its obligations and requirements, incapable of any modification to accommodate itself to the mutations of human opinion, feeling and circumstances, and maintaining its original permanence and authority, in the midst of all the external diversity

through which it may be exhibited. Hence, whatever agency physical causes may exert; however diversified the nature and dispositions of men, they do not involve final issues, or absolute causes, and therefore, can have no influence to qualify moral obligation, or to effect the slightest modification in the original character of religious principle.

But whilst the distinction between the *principle of religion*, and the *external expression of devotional feeling*, is distinct and obvious, it is equally evident that the latter corresponds in its variations with the diversity of human temperament. In this respect man is not independent, the denial of which, would be as fatal in its consequences, as the opposite above mentioned. Christianity, in its divine operations, is professedly designed to subdue and sanctify man; and with such an aim it finds its appropriate sphere in this very peculiarity of our being. There can be no difficulty in recognizing the fact, that every individual has his own peculiar *mode* or manner, in every thing he does; and this characteristic extends to feelings and modes of thought, as well as to the outward expression of them in words and actions. The *same causes* are known to produce *different effects*, upon different individuals, even under similar circumstances, and a marked dissimilarity is discovered in the manner in which different persons execute one and the same purpose. This obvious peculiarity in the manner and habit of an individual, *constitutes the man*, and gives a separate and distinct character to his being. It preserves his identity through every external change, and forms the contrast between him and his fellow men. It may indeed be subject to various modifications through external causes, as will hereafter appear, yet the original ground-work or main characteristic will remain, and under all human fluctuations, serve to identify the man. This general feature, is called *temperament*. These facts will explain the causes of the diversity of religious feeling among men. We perceive that the utterings of the immortal spirit, the exterior developments of religion, are characterized by the physical medium through which they are exhibited, as a prism reflects, in colors, the rays of the sun which fall upon it. The spirit is one; religious principle is the same, absolute and unchangeable; but their exterior expressions assume various aspects, because they are set forth through different material agents.

Having thus, as we suppose, sufficiently guarded against misapprehension, we proceed — before we notice the bearing of this subject upon the practical life of religion — to exhibit the manner in which these temperaments have ordinarily been

classified. The various forms in which our physical constitution is developed, have been reduced to four general heads, or temperaments; to which some have added a fifth. The latter, however, seems to be superfluous; for whatever changes may be produced by concurrent causes, one or the other, or the four mentioned hereafter, will generally be found to predominate, at any given time. And whether this classification be strictly correct in all the details of human life, or not, will not in the slightest manner affect the general subject, as the given aspects of each temperament are readily recognized. The modifications occasioned by contingent causes, will be noticed hereafter.[1]

The first of these temperaments is called the *choleric* or bilious.[2] We describe its good and bad features.[3] Its distinguishing trait is great *energy of will and action.* It is the most magnificent of all, possessing an untiring inclination, always to be actively engaged; always acting with vigor and determination; reckless of consequences, it is prepared to endure the severest privation and to make the greatest sacrifices: firm, decided and powerful, it displays the greatest perseverance and inflexibility of purpose. With this power of will, it combines great *vigor of mind*, quickness of perception, acuteness in judgment and a glowing imagination. Whatever the choleric undertakes, he engages in with all his soul. The

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[1] "Bei aller Milderung und Mischung einzelner Personentemperamente, wird daher immer eines von den vier Grundtemperamenten, auch den Character jedes einzelnen bezeichnen." De Valenti Anthrop. p. 79.

[2] *Dr. de Valenti*, in his Anthropology, 1847, maintains the same number of general classes, but instead of making them to depend chiefly upon the "*Grundmischungen der organischen Materie*," he adapts them to his hypothesis of the "*Dreieinigkeit der Menschennatur*," and contends, that the four following "Gemüthstriebe," constitute the "*psychologischen Grund der vier Temperamente*," viz.: *Honor*, *Freedom*, *Love* and *Ecstasy*. Hence, he deduces the following classifications: —

1. *Das Temerament der Ehre*, oder das aristokratisch-monarchische, kriegerische Temperament — Temperament des grossen Blutumlaufes; — unter dem Namen des *cholerischen* bekannt.

2. *Das Temperament der Freiheit.* oder das friedliche, gewerbfleissige, democratische; — Temperament des Venen und Drüsensystems: — unter dem Namen des *phlegmatischen* bekannt.

3. *Das Temperament der Liebe*, oder das phantastisch-romantische; — Temperament des Lungenkreislaufs; — das *sanguinische* genannt.

4. *Das ecstatische oder magische Temperament*;—Temperament des Ganglien- und Pfortadersystems; sonst auch das *melancholische* genannt.

[3] In this delineation of the four Temperaments, we have drawn some of the main features from a small work entitled: *Die vier Temperamente, von Friedr. Arndt, Berlin*, 1839.

most eminent, profound and talented men possess this temperament. They are indeed susceptible, but never sentimental. They may become enthusiastic for objects, in relation to which others remain indifferent, but they never are affected by trifles. Faithful, true and constant in what they are interested, they abhor all deception, falsehood, hypocrisy and slander. Truth, is the spirit that acts and lives in all their thoughts and words and deeds. Nothing but what is sublime and great engages their attention; honor, fame, freedom, science, whilst submission, servitude and slavery would prove intolerable. Hence they may become serious, but never desponding, joyful but never extravagant. Magnificent temperament! Great are its *virtues*—we speak of the virtues of temperament, as those that are inborn, easy to be practiced, and which therefore require no self-denial; but great are also its *vices*.

It will be easily seen that such traits may unconsciously develop themselves in the form of pride, selfishness, vanity and *tyranny*. The individual, possessing this temperament, ever wishes to command, never to obey. Lordly and ungovernable, inflexible and unyielding, all his movements are characterized by rashness and violence. The controlling motive of all his actions, is supreme selfishness, and the glorification of the "*me*," his primary aim. It requires but little to excite his passions to the highest degree, for he can bear no contradiction or opposition. He is easily inflamed by anger, and moved to enmity; and, under resistance he is subject to extreme rage, cruelty and injustice, furious violence and phrenzied madness, ending in total exhaustion and agonizing remorse. To secure his object, nothing is spared, every thing is sacrificed, and he vents his enmity alike upon friend and foe, whilst the violence of his passions increases in proportion to the degree of opposition he encounters.

Such are the lights and shades of the choleric temperament. Its tendencies in the sphere of religion are highly characteristic. In a matter of so much prominence it cannot remain entirely passive. It must take a part, either for or against, for it cannot remain unconcerned and inactive. If such a person unites with the foes of truth, and becomes an enemy to religion,—then, alas! his bitter hatred and reckless mockery of every thing sacred, know no bounds. He becomes the most virulent enemy and daring blasphemer of the truth, and seeks to hinder it by all the means in his power.

And even when they are the friends and advocates of religion, the course of such persons is often highly pernicious, if they have not been previously renewed and *subdued* by divine

grace. When they take a part in favor of the truth merely through their own power and understanding, without having experienced the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, the most terrible and fatal mistakes are rashly committed. "They would convert others to the truth, but how? Not by persuasion and the force of truth; not in meekness and love, but by compulsion, and that, instantaneously. They would reform the church—but how?—not from *within* but from *without;* they would demand the fruits of faith, where faith itself had not yet existed; would apply the Gospel, where every thing is yet under law, yea, where no preparation for the reception of Gospel truth had yet been made; would insist upon reformation of life, where no sense of its necessity, and no desire for it, had existed. By their stern abruptness, they will repel, where mild love might have won and built up the church of God. They would violently break through and annihilate, rather than pursue a conservative and mediating course. And, when in their fiery zeal, every thing does not succeed to their mind, they are ready to abandon all; begin to judge rashly and partially; condemn others or excite them to contention, and end with the despairing complaint of Elias: 'It is enough; take now, O Lord! my spirit from me, for I am not better than my Fathers.'"[1] How many unsanctified professors of religion, will find their own image in the foregoing description!

The Sanguine Temperament. If the choleric is the most magnificent, the sanguine is the charming and happy. Its most prominent feature is *feeling*. It is naturally impulsive, susceptible and sensitive; easily impressed with what is good, beautiful and true; it possesses quickness of perception, is teachable, yielding and pliant; happy in itself, it has time and means to make others partakers of its joy; kind and affectionate, accommodating itself to all circumstances and relations. It is ready to serve others, participating in their weal or woe, and full of natural love to man. It can be happy and resigned under every trial; no affliction can make it melancholy. It may denounce the evil action, but cannot entertain revenge toward the actor. With its great sensibility it is sometimes capricious and changeable, but it soon forgets and forgives, at the first expression of regret or love. Enthusiastic in all its movements, it is always quick to decide, ready to speak and to act; and its characteristic possession is, what the world calls, a *good heart*. Persons possessing this temperament are

[1] Arndt.

distinguished for beauty and grace. They are the witty, the elegant, the gay, the ornaments of social life.

Its *defects* are also peculiar. Its characteristic sensibility renders it as liable to evil as to good impressions. It is marked by *inconstancy* and *mutability*. It promises much and quickly, but is equally apt to forget its promises, breaking its word without remorse. Capricious, absent and changeable in its inclinations, it can in a moment undergo a mutation from love to hatred, from friendship to indifference, from entire devotedness to the most gross desertion, from defiance to heartlessness. Its main characteristic defect therefore is a want of stability of character: and hence its *want of endurance and firmness*, which marks all its actions. It wishes to do every thing at once and in a hurry, and therefore does nothing right, nothing radically. Rash and superficial in its judgments, its words are often nothing more than empty vaporings, whilst its actions, proceeding from lame conclusions, are often thwarted before they are half executed. Its course is mainly dependant upon the praise or blame of men. No other temperament is so generally determined *from without*. No dependance can be placed upon it, for it can keep no secret; and notwithstanding all its promises and even oaths, it will disappoint and deceive, not so much through design and with evil intent, as through its natural instability and want of reflection. *Levity* and *vanity* are also prominent. It loves the incense of praise, and seeks after it with undue eagerness. Love of pleasure, sensual enjoyment, indulgence of the appetite, voluptuousness and dissipation, are the sins which characterize this volatile, transient and changeable temperament.

In religion, such persons resolve every thing into a matter of feeling and fruition. They love that kind of preaching only, which powerfully operates upon their hearts and excites their emotions. They are soon interested in religion, easily warmed into emotion, and melted into tears. Under such excitement, they promise every thing, are ready to endure all and even suffer death. But—unhappy temperament!—how soon their feelings subside; their glowing visions disappear, and their enthusiasm vanishes. One while, their ardor is kindled into the most unbounded rapture, and the next moment they are the subjects of cold indifference. With all their readiness and zeal in religion, their deep feeling and apparent devotion, none so soon forget their professions, change from ardor to unconcern, and even fall away from the truth altogether.

The *phlegmatic temperament* is characterized by *composure* and *thoughtfulness*. It is never rash or hasty in thought,

decision, word or act. It requires time to accomplish its aims, and generally succeeds in the end. It loves to adopt a middle course, and avoids all excess and onesidedness. Prudent, collected and cautious, it generally escapes perplexity and embarrassment, through outward events and circumstances: it loves distinctness and truth, order and cleanliness. Patient and persevering, ingenious and efficient in practical life, constant and faithful. Unyielding in its love of justice, trustworthy and constant above all others. It may be difficult to bring such a person to decide, but when he has once made up his mind, he can be relied on, and his courage fails not. He knows but little of excitement, whilst his firmness is unyielding, and his attachments constant. He is free from excesses and disinclined to vanity and levity, but cheerful and good-humored. If the choleric is the most magnificent, and the sanguine the most lovely, the phlegmatic is the most practically efficient among all.

On the other hand the very term indicates tardiness, indifference and sloth. In proportion as the understanding predominates, *it is destitute of feeling*. The phlegmatic is tolerably *indifferent* to every thing, to the good and evil, to love and hatred, to joy and sorrow. It is difficult to disturb his composure. He is averse to profound thought; his views are ordinary, his opinions superficial, and his conversation dry and tedious. He shuns all serious effort, and is fond of what costs him no mental or bodily exertion. He will attend to those duties only which are easy, and belong to ordinary propriety. It is exceedingly difficult to move him to action, for he is always prepared with his excuses, difficulties and hindrances. He is always the last, and begins when others have finished. He moves slowly, and loves rest and sleep; as his physical nature assumes the ascendency, he is dull, heavy and without sensibility. He loves what is old, and is opposed to all innovation. His practical nature awakens in him, the vices of penuriousness and love of wealth. He is subject to vulgarity and revenge, to jealousy and suspicion. He is capable of practising the most cunning artifice, the most atrocious cruelty.

In regard to religion, it is extremely difficult to bring the phlegmatic to a correct *knowledge of himself*, or to a radical conversion. In the most important concerns of life, as in every thing else, his views are superficial. He relies chiefly upon natural goodness of heart, and is disposed to deny human guilt and corruption. He loves to dwell upon the love and mercy of God, whilst the divine justice and holiness are kept out of mind; and thus, too, he is attracted by the hu-

manity and benevolence of Christ, but his divinity and holiness are never considered. Heaven and happiness are to him pleasant subjects of thought, whilst he cannot endure the representations of hell and punishment. You cannot convince him of sin, or of the necessity of sanctification; and if he is at last operated on by these solemn considerations, he is but too apt to become gloomy and ascetic.

The *melancholy* temperament is the most internal and *profound*. It is mainly turned upon itself; and as the eye is closed against that which is without, and the external world becomes, more or less, an object of indifference, the more the empire of the soul and of the mind is open to his view.—Such a person loves to penetrate into the deep things of nature, and is profound in his thoughts, investigations and decisions. His imagination is soaring, his memory acute, and his attention fixed and constant. He is fond of investigating that which is mysterious and super-sensuous; and that which is occult in the universe, which is sublime in nature, science and art, powerfully attracts his attention. He is *industrious* and *patient;* can endure hardship and privation, ready to make the greatest sacrifices. Above all, he loves *solitude* and retirement. In seclusion—there he can be so happy! There, he is not disturbed by the bustle or vague enjoyments of the world. There, he can riot at pleasure, in the lovely creations of his exuberant fancy; can become absorbed in his dearest feelings, in his sweetest meditations. There, the bounding longings of his soul, which nothing gross or earthly can satisfy, can find appropriate nourishment, in that which is unearthly and mystical. This temperament is therefore rich and full in internal, active *self-engagedness*, and needs no impulse from without. It is characterized by depth of feeling, energy of action, firmness of purpose, constancy and perseverance.

On the other hand, this temperament, distinguished by so many eminent qualities, presents in general a dark and sombre aspect. A melancholy shade is thrown upon all its utterings and actions; all its emotions seem veiled in darkness. Hence, that which is most eminent and sublime, easily degenerates under its magic sway, into agony and despair. It courts *sadness* and *gloom*. Hence it is secluded and cast down; dissatisfied and bitter toward God and man. You cannot please such a person, do what you will, for he has always some fault to find, something to blame. He makes his own life disagreeable; is a burden to himself, and has therefore more to endure than other men. Mistrust, suspicion, envy, jealousy, anxious care, parsimony, obduracy, selfishness, tyranny, hatred, re-

venge, cruelty and insanity — such are the terrible features of the melancholy temperament.

In the sphere of religion, this temperament is exposed to peculiar dangers. The fondness of such a person, to be engaged with the invisible world, may become a source of evil, if he is not guided and restrained by the grace of God. He is ever disposed to pry into the mysteries of eternity, and to tamper with the secret things of the spiritual world; to yield to adventurous dreams; to believe in forebodings, auguries, visions and trances, and to assert intercourse with spirits. — Hence he is inclined to severe bodily mortifications, penance and undue abstinence, to the rigors of a secluded hermit, or to monastic severities; to mysticism, to the most excessive self-righteousness and to the wildest fanaticism. The influence of a melancholy person on others is peculiar. No one can have intercourse with him, without soon being unmanned by the gloomy visions which he indulges. The ground of this strange power is the fact that this is the *deepest*, the most profound temperament of all, inasmuch, as in the inmost depths of most minds, there exists a sober feeling, a dissatisfaction, a longing, that recognizes the emptiness and vanity of all earthly good, and that painfully desires something better, more enduring and satisfactory.

Such are the prominent characteristics of the four primary temperaments, as they have generally been classified. And whether this classification is actually founded upon the philosophy of human nature, or whether its psychological presuppositions are tenable, or not, does not in the slightest manner interfere with our subject. Its correctness as a system, has no necessary connection with our present purpose, having introduced it in this form, merely for the sake of illustration. The object that we have in view requires no more than the admitted and undeniable fact, that individuals developing such temperaments actually exist, and that they exhibit the variety stated, both in their natural features, and in their relations to religion. It is, however, equally true, that these general temperaments are subject to various modifications; and those of the same class often present different phases or aspects. This arises from numerous external and internal causes, some of which are obvious, whilst others are remote and concealed. Among the agencies producing such effects, we may refer to early training, neglect or restraint; to the influence of disease, external associations and callings; to age, misfortune, success, with numerous other causes, exerting an influence on the dispositions and habits of man. Yet amid all these modifications,

and diversities of temperament, the distinctive type, the peculiar characteristic, will generally attach to, and serve to identify the individual.

We have already shown how these temperaments are, in general, affected by religion. We are now prepared for a more direct reference to the mode of expressing religious feeling, as exhibited by them. Our space will however, allow us no more, than to add some general statements naturally flowing out of the subject.

1. It may be appropriate, first briefly to inquire, in what light we are to view the existence of these peculiarities of human nature, and the relations they sustain to the expressed will and purpose of God. There are those who utterly reject all human sympathy in the sphere of practical Christianity, as a necessary sequence to that system of religion, which makes all divine influences absolute and irresistible. But independent of the fact, that such a view cannot be reconciled with the idea of a moral government of God, or with his revealed plan of legislation, it is evident that a mere religion of mind, would not harmonize with the compound nature of man, or accomplish any salutary result in his external relations of life. On the other hand, the Gospel is not only designed to enlighten the *understanding*, but also to renew the heart and sanctify the *affections;* and according to this view the Gospel is adapted to qualify man, for all the purposes of existence in time and eternity.

Whatever then may have been the nature of man in an unfallen state, and whatever change in the physical, mental and moral organization of our race may have occurred through the fall, it will be readily acknowledged, that both the wisdom and goodness, no less than the power of God, are glorified through the existing diversity in the dispositions and tempers of men. Nay, more: these diversified human natures, — being corrupted by sin, — constitute the appointed and appropriate sphere, in which the glory of the divine grace, in its subduing, changing and sanctifying influences, is continuously exhibited. Those passions and propensities of our nature, which, by the influence of original degeneracy, assume an undue power, prompt to pernicious exercises, and result in vicious acts and habits, are to be renewed, that they may be led back to their original offices, restrained in their legitimate functions, and become healthful and pure in all their operations. By the same divine agency, the nobler traits of our nature, that seem to slumber in the depths of the soul, or are kept in bondage by the predominating power of corruption, are to be set free,

qualified for holy exercises, and made instrumental in promoting the glory of God. The change which is thus produced in the inmost depths of the soul, is the work of divine grace; for whatever agency physical causes may exert upon the outward expression of religious emotion, God alone, through means specially appointed by Himself, can renew and sanctify the soul.

As therefore true religion is professedly adapted to the purposes of practical life, and as the Creator has so constituted human nature, that the affections are mainly the spring of men's actions, it is evident that true religion, in a great measure consists in the exercise of the sanctified affections.[1]

We suppose however that the external distinctions which are manifested in the exercise of these affections, as they originate in causes entirely foreign to the element and principle of religion, will, under divine control, in some measure, lose their contradictory and antagonistic character. In proportion as man advances in sanctification, he will enter into the general life of the church, and under the influence of similar motives, means and aims, sustain the most fraternal relations with the "body of Christ," thus heightening the beauty of the spiritual superstructure, by its very variety. Amid all the essential distinctions that will still exist, the points of direct contrast will be softened down; antagonisms will become less bold and abrupt; and whilst such differences will even afford occasion for the practice of higher virtues, Christians will unite in a spirit of forbearance, harmony and love, and blend and mingle spirit with spirit, affection, prayer and effort in promoting the glory of God.

2. In the preceding delineation of the various temperaments, we recognize the basis of the distinctions that exist among men in their external religious manifestations. Without pretending to examine the constitutional structure that gives rise to such peculiarities, and without entering into any metaphysical abstractions at all, we content ourselves with the *facts* themselves, as they are set forth in actual life. Nor can we follow the subject in its endless details. Some few general statements, in the form of comparisons, will answer our purpose, to exemplify the constitutional tendencies under discussion.

We will suppose an individual possessing an ardent, sensitive temperament, in which hope and joy naturally predomi-

[1] Edwards on the Affections.

nate, and one under the influence of a melancholy temperament, which is distinguished by hesitancy, fear and gloom. In mutually *commencing* a religious life, they will already be found to vary in their outward forms of development. The *former* is inclined at once to lay hold on the promises of the Gospel, and without hesitancy or delay, to accept its conditions, so as to realize peace and joy, in believing. His natural readiness, also here displays itself, and without any calculation about results, he is prepared to comply, trust and hope. The *latter* will pause before he complies; he will hesitate and doubt, oppressed by conscious guilt and fearful of the result. And only after much anxious thought, trembling and fearful, will he hope that he is accepted.

The same diversity will appear in the *progress* of their Christian life. The *former*, under the strong impulses of his nature, thrusts himself into public notice; he wishes all men to behold and learn from his example. He will boldly and joyfully proclaim to the world, his overflowing joys and glorious hopes. On all occasions he will display great ardor of feeling, and manifest the most active engagedness. His full heart overflows with emotion, and a certain restlessness marks all his religious offices. The *latter* on the contrary, seeks retirement in his devotions; he ever wishes to be alone, that he may withdraw his thoughts from the external world, and concentrate them upon the sphere of the soul. He strives to avoid public observation, to shun the praise or censure of the world. And with all his deep and sincere impressions, he has little confidence in his own constancy, and prefers *to live his religion* in seclusion.

The *one* aims to *enjoy* religion, and often displays an entire abandonment to his emotions, looking upon a high degree of feeling, as evidence of advanced piety. Joyful and impulsive, he is ever foremost in acts of devotion and charity; confident and assured, he pursues his active way, with the happy skill of making every thing subservient to his spiritual fruition. The *other*, no less sincere and consistent, remains calm and quiet, disinclined to attract attention, and unostentatious in the discharge of Christian duty; but his hopes are humble; a certain shade of sadness invests his life of religion; he hopes to be saved amid many fears.

But when the calm current of life is interrupted by afflictive events, the contrast is equally marked, but it appears reversed, a change that is founded upon the deepest elements of the soul. Let us suppose a severe illness or some other painful besetment. The highly sensative and sanguine, now finds —

what had before never entered his mind, — that the full gushing of his joyous feeling, nay, the whole manifestation of his Christian character, *had been dependant upon, and conditioned by the integrity of his nervous system.* Its normal state now being impaired, his activity and energy, his joys and hopes, have all at once greatly subsided. He, being now not able to pursue those religious engagements which constituted the source of his *delight*, becomes restless and dissatisfied. Disturbed in his self-selected devotional acts, he is now unable to practice the virtue of patience, which had never before entered into the sphere of his experience; and, the victim of disease and disappointment, becomes nervous and irritable, repines at the occasion which interrupted his freedom, and impatiently wishes and prays for relief.

The melancholy person, on the contrary, who during health and prosperity seemed to have less religion in *appearance*, now exhibits, it in its most attractive and lovely character. In his former retiredness and inwardness, he had become more familiar with the duty of *self-denial.* Having ever been accustomed to struggle against the constitutional gloom of his nature, he is not now disturbed by affliction, or overcome by suffering. He is prepared to endure with patience. He is ready for every trial, because habit and experience have given him firmness and constancy, and he remains unaffected by those great alternations of feeling which agitate the former.

Such distinctions are visible even among true believers. — And yet, both are influenced by the *same principle.* Notwithstanding the difference in the external *expression* of their feelings, they cherish the same divine Spirit, are controlled by the same motives, strive to obey the same precepts, and trust for salvation upon the atonement of the *same Redeemer.*

These distinctions between true believers, in reference to all the different temperaments, might be traced to an unlimited extent. But the foregoing example may serve for illustration. In this manner will not only every separate temperament, but every modification thereof, exhibit its own peculiarities, both in the beginning and in the progress of evangelical life.

3. These constitutional tendencies also show us, how little we can rely upon the mere outward expression of religion, independent of its internal principle. It will not be denied that the simple impulses of animal feeling, are often substituted for the operations of the Holy Spirit. Nor is such a misconception at all a matter of surprise, for it entirely corresponds with the nature of the unsanctified heart. The natural man — being supremely selfish, and originally averse to the self-

denying and mortifying requirements of religion, and yet anxious to possess some form of Christianity, that in his opinion will quiet his conscience — naturally seeks for some substitute more in harmony with his graceless affections. If such persons happen to possess susceptible natures, and are ardent and excitable, they will easily yield to the warm impulses of their souls, transfer their lively affections into the sphere of Christianity, and invest them with a religious garb, though still unsanctified both in their source and exercises. As the play of strong emotions is agreeable even to the unregenerate, they will give themselves up to their enthusiasm, and that with the more zeal, because they falsely suppose that it is a religious obligation. Their attention is so fully directed to their feelings, and they are so entirely absorbed by them, that excitement becomes essential to their existence, the idol of their hearts. They are never satisfied without their favorite fruition. They pursue the same aim in all their pious offices. They love that mode of worship only, which powerfully affects the feelings, and measure their piety by the degree of their excited emotions. Under the dangerous supposition, that such enthusiasm is identical with genuine religion, the enlightenment of the mind is kept out of view; the understanding has nothing to do with their religious system. The sermon, which addresses the reason, which is designed to furnish instruction, and which opposes error, is regarded by them as cold, formal and fruitless. The *preaching* of the Gospel is tedious unless it arouses emotion. With *doctrine* they have no sympathy; their doctrinal *faith* is imaginary, and their general views of religion are limited, vague and erroneous. *Truth*, in its essential character, is treated with indifference, and they are not only often ignorant of the primary doctrines of Christianity, but actually regard it as matter of no moment what they believe. Thus, subject to the natural tendencies of their hearts, they frequently become the victims of the rankest fanaticism. They are no longer submissive under a regular form of church government. They wish to show off their religion; break through all salutary restraint, and become captious and dictatorial. They are now ready to unite with any sect that encourages their pride, and promises the most entertainment for their morbid feelings. When they are wrought up into a high state of enthusiasm, they call it *power*, though they have actually *heard nothing but error and heresy!* And whilst some, under wrong feelings, abandon the church, become sectarian and fanatical, we have known not a few, who, after they had passed through the whole process of animal feeling,

rejected the Gospel altogether, and became confirmed infidels. They had become sufficiently honest, to confess that their former professions were false, but made the terrible mistake of going to the other extreme, in drawing the conclusion, that because they had been the subjects of deception, religion itself must be without foundation.

As therefore all external manifestations of religion, *may be* entirely independent of gracious influence, and as many powerful motives exist, which may induce a feigned exhibition of religious character, we perceive not only, what direful results are produced, when individuals follow the promptings of an unsanctified temperament in all its natural tendencies; but also, how little we can depend upon mere outward expressions of feeling, as indications of true piety. It is not therefore the amount of *pleasure* men may realize, or of joy they may feel, or of emotional excitement they may exhibit in the services of religion, that constitutes the test of earnestness and sincerity in religion, but rather the conscientious perseverance in the discharge of Christian obligation.

4. Greater attention to this subject would furnish important aid in the work of self-denial and self-government. The inscription on an ancient temple — *know thyself* — contains an obligation of deep import, and corresponds with the Scriptural duty of self-examination. No one can successfully strive against the outbursts of his nature, or guard against the force of violent passions, who is unacquainted with the peculiarities of his disposition. Men are often ignorant of the prevailing features of their own nature; and the strongest passions often slumber in the depths of the soul; and whilst their existence is not suspected, men are thrown off their guard, and in an unexpected hour, they burst forth in all their violence. The consciousness of their existence and nature, would have induced a suitable watchfulness, and prevented results so productive of evil. When man is acquainted with his own nature, and knows the predominating traits of his temperament, he will be able to guard his weak points, and use the required means to resist and overcome the improper tempers and appetites of his being. It is indeed a profound, a mighty work; a task of mystery and difficulty to study oneself; for the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Who can follow the windings of a deceitful spirit? And yet it is a noble and a necessary study. If we cannot fully understand all the phenomena of our complicated nature, we can at least become acquainted with the most prominent and governing traits, so as to adopt measures and pursue a course calculated

to restrain the vicious propensities of the heart, and encourage the display of virtuous affections.

Lastly, the study of this subject would be of vast moment to the instructor in morals and religion. Although he could not account for the various distinctions, which daily meet his view in the religious manifestations of men, nor understand the oscillations of human selfishness, the *primum movens* of human actions, yet a little attention to the study of character, would enable him to form a tolerably correct idea of the general temperament, and of its most prominent features. In each temperament when distinctly placed before his view, he would find that a different course of procedure would be required in order to be successful. In the choleric he would discover features, which are either concealed or entirely wanting in the phlegmatic, whilst in the sanguine he would meet with constitutional tendencies in direct contrast with those of the melancholy. His experience, too, would soon teach him, that in some, existing affections need restraint, control and direction; in others, these affections must first be excited and called forth into action; that the means and appliances of religion which would be most likely to operate upon the one, would have no effect upon the other, and that it truly requires great wisdom, to become all things to all men, in order that he may gain some.

But we cannot pursue this subject in its various ramifications. Adhering to our main object, we have given some general and detached statements, with a view of exciting attention to it. We are not aware that we have said any thing new. Though much has been said and written on the separate features of this subject, yet in regard to the special relations of the human temperament to religion, the ground has never yet been fully occupied. Some of our views may be found untenable, yet, of one thing we are certain, that is, that no one can give this subject a proper and mature consideration, without being amply repaid for his labor.

ARTICLE IV.

THE NECESSITY AND AUTHORITY OF APOSTOLIC TRADITION.

By Rev. M. Loy, Pastor of the Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

Not the least, among the many unspeakable blessings which we derive from the glorious Reformation of the 16th century, is the unrestrained use of the Bible. It is a treasure which the devout mind "prizes above all price," and with which, for worlds, it would not part. But this, like every other blessing, is liable to abuse; and that it has been wretchedly perverted, is no secret to those conversant with the history of theological controversy, especially in the present age. The evil is not one, however, which belongs exclusively to our own times; it manifested itself frequently and sometimes alarmingly in the past; and the papal prohibition of the Bible, which, in the preamble, declares it to be "*manifest by experience*, that if the use of the holy writers is permitted in the vulgar tongue, more evil than profit will arise, owing to the temerity of man," is not of yesterday. Although the divine command to "search the Scriptures," shows the author of the prohibition to have been mistaken in his private judgment of the relative amount of evil and profit arising from the common use of the Bible; yet, when the strong inclination of readers to mere curious and faithless speculation upon the word of Him, who bids us "not to be high-minded, but fear," and their frequent irreverent trifling with its sacred contents are considered, there certainly appears, in the light of natural reason, some plausibility in such a ground for forbidding its general use entirely. Instead, however, of destroying life to heal a disease, as is evidently done by such procedure, viewed in the light of revelation, the humble believer, "bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ," will seek for a removal of the abuse, which he deplores, in God's own appointed way, in the mean time possessing his soul in patience.

That the evil of unbridled licence in the interpretation of Scripture, by which it is wrested to suit each one's individual whim and fancy, loudly calls for a remedy, especially now, when the turbid stream has become a river, those who have been most jealous for the honor of God, and have contended most earnestly for "the faith once delivered to the saints," feel

most deeply; and every admirer of the "old paths" sincerely prays, that their vigorous opposition to the licentiousness, which the latitudinarianism of the age, by a common misnomer, styles liberty of conscience, may not be like writings in the sand. But this is confessedly a delicate question. To say a word in disparagement of the much-vaunted, absolute right of private judgment, which is claimed upon the principles of the Reformation, seems like treason against Protestantism; but of teaching or practicing that which is now ordinarily understood by this term, the Reformers certainly were entirely innocent. To contend, that the highest point in their faith was, that each individual has a divine right to think as he pleases and pass off his flimsy cogitations for the word of God, betrays an utter ignorance of their spirit and work. The mere formal acknowledgment of the Bible, so far from being the test of all orthodoxy, is rather the basis of all heresy; and the lamp of our feet and light of our path becomes thus the innocent occasion of many a sect and society, whose opinions are as far from the Apostolic faith as pole from pole.

It cannot, however, be called in question, that man has a right to exercise his reasoning powers in matters of religion; and in this view the plea of individual resposibility has some title to respect; for we have the assurance of the infallible word, not only that the use of our mental faculties in judging is our privilege, but also our duty. We are commanded to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" to "try the spirits whether they be of God;" and other passages occur of like import. (1 Thess. 5: 21; 1 Jno. 4: 1; Acts 17: 11.) But when it is contended that, because each man is accountable to God for his own faith and works, he may ignore the original faith of the Church — the "*one faith*" — and make one for himself, which is to be imputed to the Bible, the plea borders on the ridiculous. Rather should we feel the obligation to respect the appointed ways of God and the ancient faith of His people increased by the consciousness, that we are answerable for the errors and sins into which we are led by proud independence.

When we read such precepts as St. Paul's, "judge ye what I say," and apply them to ourselves, the question arises: by what criterion are we to judge? That there is no such criterion given us by nature whereby we may pronounce judgment upon the supernatural in revelation, but that it is derived through tradition from the Apostles, we shall endeavor to show. The necessity of such tradition will be evident from our na-

tural disability tojudge correctly, and its authority is a necessary consequence of its apostolicity.

The idea that reason is the legitimate judge of revealed truth, upon its own natural principles, seems to be based on the assumption that revelation can contain nothing specifically different from the contents of natural conscience. This will be found untenable ground for Christians, whose use of their natural powers can consistently be only formal, not material, when employed about things revealed. It is true that man's natural knowledge will allow of no absolute contradiction, so far as it is certain knowledge and not mere opinion and conjecture; for, as the original revelation of God in conscience has the same source as the law which was given by Moses and the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, they cannot be really antagonistic. That which we know intuitively, cannot be made to give place to any professed truth subsequently, which is seen to be inconsistent with the first; because the mind uses its certain knowledge as a test of the truth of any future perception, which, if it is found to clash with the antecedent certainty, is rejected at once, as necessarily false. Whatever stands clearly in conflict with that which is known, will not receive the mind's earnest attention, much less its assent. The reason of this can be found only in man's original constitution; our Maker designed that it should be so and not otherwise: proofs will be found in every man's experience. We cannot have intuitive or demonstrative evidence of two things, which stand in unmistakable contradiction to each other; and if one be received upon such evidence, which is in its nature irresistible, the other, no matter how strongly fortified by probable evidence, will be unhesitatingly thrust aside. It may be admitted, then, that if a professed revelation taught things contrary to the certain knowledge, which we possess upon intuitive and demonstrative evidence, it could naturally, upon evidence of the moral kind, not be received; although it might be insisted that faith, which by no means rests upon mere deductive evidence, whether demonstrative or probable — that which does so being at best but human certainty about natural things, or opinion about supernatural — but on a species of intuition which is of mightier force in procuring assent than any merely natural, would receive the objects inconsistent with natural knowledge, upon its own evidence, if it had attained to the strength exerted by it in the full-grown man in Christ Jesus before they were presented for its apprehension, rather than the contrary on the evidence of

sense or consciousness. But this we do not believe to be required, not only because it would tend to excite in us distrust of all evidence and give enthusiasm the place of reason, as well as exert a repulsive influence upon those that are without, upon babes in Christ and upon all, in general, who are not "filled with the knowledge of His will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding;" but also and especially, because we have direct Scriptural proof that our natural knowledge may be relied upon, at least in some of its forms, as true (Rom. 1: 19, 20.); "for *God* hath showed it unto them;" and the trustworthiness of those kinds of intuition, which have no direct assertion of Scripture to prove them reliable, is abundantly evident from indirect proofs, with which the Scriptures abound. Our natural knowledge may therefore be taken as absolutely true in its own sphere. And no one has ever succeeded in pointing out contradictions in the Bible, to such knowledge in its own province. The inconsistencies which infidels have endeavored to fasten upon the Scriptures, are always relative, not absolute; and mostly are they attributable, when they possess even the least plausibility, to the opponent's neglect to take into the account his own fallibility, on account of which the force of many circumstances may have been underrated, and his ignorance, on account of which many others may have been hidden from him entirely, which, if they had been known, might materially have altered his judgment. And when there are apparent contradictions to our natural knowledge, the rule of interpretation, by which we are instructed to place these in our mistaken exposition, which must consequently be abandoned, not in the word itself, from which we may not swerve, is to be applied; and this rule is by no means rationalistic; for it is dictated not by an unwillingness to give reason over as a captive to faith, but by a jealousy for the honor of God, who will not deceive us. Yet this test can hold only when both objects, which are alleged to be contradictory, are in the same sphere, i. e. when revelation professes to instruct us more fully in regard to natural things, of which we have some knowledge in a natural way, not when spiritual things, which are not akin to carnal, are, by the carnal mind, supposed to contradict the natural. All being granted, then, which can be fairly required, still nothing is proved for the supposed right of judging revelation upon natural principles, the only way in which the natural man can judge it; for the identity of revelation with natural knowledge by no means follows. The truth in our possession may rule out every contradiction, for the sake of retaining known truth; but it may not exclude an

additional truth, which in no way disurbs that which is already acquired. For in the latter case it would be necessary to assume, in addition to what we have granted, that our natural knowledge is the absolute sum of all that may be known, so that every pretended addition would be, ipso facto, contradictory to it; which must of course be denied by every believer. Faith, on the contrary, sees in the Gospel revelation not only a complement of the old, which we possess by nature, but the bestowal of something new in the way of supplement, which, being different from, cannot be judged by comparison with the old.

Among the heathen—to whom we have the more reason to refer, as the question is not concerning man's power of judging correctly after the truth is once known, wholly or partially, but his power in the natural state—a despair of ever attaining, in a natural way, the truth which was felt to be needed, is testified both by word and practice. The alacrity with which men, at all times and in all places, have received pretended revelations, and the assiduity with which legislators provided them as sanctions of their laws, not only show the general sense of man, who, notwithstanding the fall, still "lives and moves and has his being" in God, as to a want felt, but also that he was ignorant of the specific nature of the object by which the want would be supplied. A human longing is thus proved, which merely human resources failed, even prospectively, with definiteness, to gratify. Some of the ancient philosophers, of earnest spirit, expressed their hopes of a revelation, at some future period, to enlighten the world's dense darkness; but to have pretended knowledge of it in detail would have been a manifest contradiction to the expectations expressed. Their aspirations contained not in themselves the things after which they aspired; they were the thirst which prepares for cooling draughts, but furnishes not the water. These yearnings of nature, in the sultry midnight, for the morning's dawn, contained not the Gospel in its germ, but prepared the way for its coming and its welcome. In view of the facts which we have before us in the history of Pagan nations, few will have the boldness to assert that the glorious system of mediation by God Incarnate, for the restoration of our race to peace with God and holiness, could ever have been discovered in an *a priori* way; for the highest effort of nature is to produce a code of moral laws, beyond which it never reached; as is shown by the history of heathenism everywhere, as well as by that of modern Naturalism and Rationalism. The Gospel is so far from being a mere logical development and ex-

plication of that which is in man, without introducing any thing new into his consciousness, that the contrary is generally felt, by infidels as an objection, by believers as a confirmation of their faith. If it contained nothing beyond the reach of natural certain knowledge, our natural powers would be its legitimate judge; but then of what service could a revelation be? The idea of the latter is rejected thus entirely. But if it does contain anything over and above our certain natural knowledge, how is this to be a certain criterion for its judgment? If we are unbelievers, the criterion of our private judgment and the rule of our interpretation will be our natural knowledge; if we are believers, whence our faith? The bearing of this upon the necessity of a reliable tradition will be readily perceived. And what is thus stated is not mere opinion. The Scriptures are quite explicit on the point touching the authority of natural reason, not only in showing us that the children of Israel were unable to pierce the veil on Moses' face in their blindness, even though, in the law, they had an advance upon conscience; the veil being taken away only when they shall turn to Christ, (2 Cor. 3: 13–16.) but still more clearly when they assure us, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor. 2: 14.)

The interpretation of Scripture made in accordance with natural principles, will necessarily bear the impress of subjective thought and feeling; indeed, the Bible will be nothing more to the interpreter than the occasion of developing some idea of his own. This accounts for the existence of many a pretended exposition which wholly obviates the text, and places a private opinion in its place. The Holy Scriptures, abused in this style, cannot otherwise than breed spawns of pestiferous sects and heresies; not because the seeds of these are really contained in them, but because they exist in the brain of the interpreter, who stands in no connection with the faith once delivered to the saints, and for which the Church has earnestly contended ever since. It will avail nothing to say that the Scriptures are clear and perspicuous, and that to be understood they need but be read; they are clear in saying that if the "Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost" (2 Cor. 4: 4.). They are perspicuous when appropriated by faith; but the light is darkness to the blind. A book on a very abstruse science may be written with great clearness, yet it will be clear only to those capable of mastering such subjects; and gross injustice would certainly be done the author, if every novice,

upon the plea of the right of judgment, should dabble in it as an interpreter. Much greater is the outrage when unsympathizing spirits, under the same plea, presume to expound the word of God, the subjects presented in which are not only exceedingly abstruse, but also, on the very threshold, exceedingly unpleasant to the natural man. Hence, the old theologians of our Church speak of the perspicuity of the Scriptures as "non absoluta, sed ordinata." When it is said, that all that is necessary to understand the Bible, is to approach it without prejudice, and in the right spirit, we may admit this; but precisely here lies the difficulty. No person, who comes not in faith, can come without prejudice and with the proper disposition. The natural man has prejudged the whole case; he is intent, of course, upon finding what is acceptable to him, and will not, under such influence, fail to find it. Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually, and this is the test to which Scripture will naturally be subjected, and the rule by which it will be interpreted. Unless we admit the theory of the identity of revelation and reason throughout, thus admitting, according to Naturalism, the utter uselessness of the former, the latter can on its own principles be no judge in the case. It is an interested party, and violently prejudiced, and is therefore, unqualified for passing judgment; it must first be purged itself before it can be rightfully employed in things pure. That the influence of natural impulse and passion upon reason is not inconsiderable, is well known. "The arguments for a favorite opinion are always at hand, while we often search in vain for those that cross our inclination. The mind, taking delight in agreeable circumstances or arguments, is deeply impressed with them; while those that are disagreeable are hurried over so as scarcely to make any impression: the same argument, by being relished, or not relished, weighs so differently, as in truth to make conviction depend more on passion than on reasoning."[1] The very letter of Scripture will be denied to serve a preconceived system; and such a system will always exist, although, happily, it will not always require such contradiction in order to be upheld. An example of such procedure we have at hand in the system of Universalism, of which it is evident, to all who hold the ancient faith, that "the wish was father to the

[1] *Kame's El. of Criticism*, 83–4. "Opinion and belief are influenced by affection as well as by propensity. The noted story of a fine lady and a curate viewing the moon through a telescope, is a pleasant illustration. I perceive, says the lady, two shadows inclining to each other; they are certainly two happy lovers. Not at all, replies the curate; they are two steeples of a cathedral." Ib. 88.

thought." Thus the revelation of God's good will to man will be distorted into a scheme of subtle Epicurianism, as evidenced in various sporadical sects, which ever and anon disfigured and pestered the Church, like so many blains, in the course of her history; or, at least, where conscience is less blinded and blunted, into a system of Rationalism, whose expositions will be a full realization of Kant's "Moral Sense" theory of interpretation. Nor is this a thing so difficult as those who are constantly haunted by the idea of the Bible's perspicuity imagine. On the contrary, it is extremely easy; for the modus operandi is perfectly natural. Some fact or precept will be received as a starting-point, which is selected to suit the fancy of the interpreter; and when we remember the influence of the evil that is in man, we will not be astonished if a mistake should be made in the meaning of the passage thus chosen, so as to make it quadrate more readily with the subjective position of the chooser. The rest all follows as a matter of course. The interpreter becomes forthwith a stickler for the "proportion of faith," which is given us, by Apostolic authority, as a sound rule of interpretation. The abomination in the matter is only, that the rule so made will be a proportion of the individual's carnal opinion, or anything rather than the analogy of the Church's faith.

In opposition to all such judgment, by which the contents of the Bible are emptied out and the shell taken as a receptable for our own whims, which are forthwith, on the formal reception of the Scriptures, promulgated as articles of faith, the Church held anciently, and, therefore, still holds, that the faith must precede the correct understanding and interpretation of God's holy word; for to the wisdom of this world it is but foolishness, the natural man not receiving it; whereas, by the Spirit which is of God, the things freely given by Him are known. (1 Cor. 2: 12). The requisition of faith previous to inquiry was a common objection against the Church of old, and not only admitted, but defended by churchmen. And it should be so still, and must be so if there is any distinction to be made between faith, as an operation of the Holy Ghost, and conviction, as a product of ratiocination. An infidel, in spite of all our appeals to his common sense, is seldom, perhaps never convinced of the truth of Scripture by the formidable array of external and internal evidences of Christianity, which may be presented. These are by no means useless; for our faith is no mere superstition, incapable of a logical basis — else there would be nothing to distinguish it from the scores of superstition prevalent in the world, which it is also pre-

tended to receive on faith—but may be satisfactorily proved to all, who are sufficiently free from prejudice to appreciate the proof. Such are believers, and believers only; for prejudice against things divine is the natural bent of the mind, from which no education will free it except that of the Spirit by faith. Natural evidence will enable us to perceive the superiority of the Bible's claims upon our belief over those of the Koran; but whilst it induces us to reject the latter, it by no means produces faith in the former. In hours of temptation, when our faith wavers, it will come, with whatever power it possesses, to our assistance; but it only assists the faith already existing, without producing it where it exists not already. The idea that we must be convinced, in a quite natural way, of the divine origin of Holy Scripture, and then believe whatever is said, because God has said it, is, we are persuaded, utterly untenable; for, besides its making faith altogether a human act, and thus denying that it is a gift of God by the Spirit, or making it useless if it is, such natural belief upon evidence is entirely insufficient to uphold Christianity in the world. The proofs adduced in favor of the divine origin of the Bible may be very strong; but in the minds of some the reasons why, e. g., they cannot believe God to have instituted so disagreeable and painful a rite as circumcision, when any thing else would have answered as well, or why He would not have performed the miracles recorded in Scripture, may be more cogent still.[1] Hence the orthodox theologians of our church have always laid especial stress upon the witness of the Spirit as the main ground for believing the Bible, subordinating every evidence to this, as the one which alone gives force to others. Thus much certainly is clear, that any interpretation of Scripture, which is made without faith on the part of the interpreter, however plausible it may be to the mere grammarian, cannot be *faithful.*

And that faith should have the precedence of reason is by no means unreasonable. "We are not ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, that the highest point in our wisdom is, *believe.* That which is true and can neither be discerned by sense nor concluded by natural principles, must have principles of revealed truth on which to build itself, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended."

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[1] "Trench, on the Miracles of our Lord, pp. 66, 68, second edition, has shown that there can be no satisfactory evidence for them, unless men possess that *predisposition* to believe of the Gospel scheme, which is among the first gifts of *preventing* grace upon the soul." *Wilberforce on the Incarnation*, 373.

It is only by this means that the higher truths of revelation can be received into our consciousness as realities at all, and that the stock of reason's materials can be increased by the admission of things beyond its reach in any other way. If in the sphere of physics it is quite reasonable that sensation should precede perception and the formation of a judgment concerning the things perceived, it is quite as rational to acknowledge the precedency of faith in the sphere of the supernatural; for faith is the "substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." (Heb. 13: 1). Reason has its own rights and its peculiar province, within which its authority is granted to be supreme; but just in proportion as it is qualified to rule well in this province, it will regard its bounds and respect the rights of powers beyond it. Just as fair and right would it be for reason to reject the evidence of sense on the ground of its inability to understand the nature of things so apprehended, as, on such ground, to reject the evidence of faith; for both simply furnish the mind with material, which is not there originally, together with the evidence of its reality in the apprehension itself; and what is thus received, reason can only take as it is and comprehend as it may, not thrust aside or take up, as false or true, at pleasure. Arguments may be urged against the truth of objects apprehended by sense as well as by faith; e. g. it may be urged, as has been done, that no being can act except where it is, and that therefore it cannot act upon a distant object: hence material things can have no real existence apart from the mind, which is acted upon, i. e. there is no matter at all, but that which seems so is all idea. This is specious enough; many might feel unable to contradict the premises or the correctness of the conclusion; yet no one, in spite of this, would, with his wits about him, deem a person irrational for choosing to trust his senses rather than his logic after all. Objections may be urged to the reality of things believed, in the same way; but the believer acts just as reasonably as the other, when he chooses to follow his faith in spite of logic. The only difference is, that the credibility of sense is more generally acknowledged, because more generally experienced; the certainty of faith being a matter of experience only to the chosen generation. Nevertheless it *is* the evidence of things not seen. "According to the sentiments of the two greatest doctors of the church, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, these three principles of our knowledge, the senses, reason and faith, have each their separate objects, and their own degrees of certainty."[1] And as faith is the prin-

[1] *Pascal, Prov. Letters*, 384.

ciple of our knowledge of supernatural things, it not only, like all principles, carries with it its own proof, but must be received before any reasoning upon its objects can be at all proper, or before any pretensions should be made to their comprehension.

It is evident, then, that an unbeliever has no right to meddle with the Scriptures as an interpreter, since to his wisdom they must be foolishness. He, who would understand and expound them faithfully, must have faith; and since the perversions, to which they are exposed when handled by natural reason, are to be guarded against in the very start, it being too late to set up a safeguard when the carnal mind has once poured its own foul contents into them, he must have faith from the commencement. But whence is this faith, which is of course inseparable from definite contents, to be derived? Sectarians and new lights of every description start back at the very mention of tradition; but how do they proceed? — They certainly would not receive it as a compliment if it were said, that they all commence their investigations with carnal-mindedness. But if they have but a remnant of true faith to begin with, whence is this? And why do the children tread in the footsteps of their fathers, seldom varying even in matters confessedly indifferent? Do they study the Bible thoroughly and come, by independent investigation, precisely to the same conclusions as their fathers? Far from it. Some have perhaps never read a dozen chapters, with even a grammatical understanding of their contents, who are yet among the most enthusiastic sticklers for the peculiarities of their sect. How is this? Did they receive their convictions by immediate inspiration? So think some; but evidently they do "err, not knowing the Scriptures;" for such inspiration is different, formally and materially, in almost every sect, so that whatever spirit inspires them, it is clear that it is not the Holy Spirit. And if the matter directly revealed to the mind is identical with the written word, it makes the latter useless or is itself of no service; and history accordingly shows that where this view is held the written word is treated with little respect. If it is different, we are strictly forbidden to receive it, even though brought by an angel. (Gal. 1 : 8). If by such illumination, however, nothing more be intended than an enlightenment by the Holy Spirit through the written word as the means, the idea may be admitted, but then, like holiness, it comes through faith. But whence this faith? The truth is, we are all, unconsciously perhaps, influenced by tradition; and when the authority of an Apostolic tradition is treated with scorn, it is

generally only to give the greater force to some span-long tradition of a sect of yesterday.

The fact is undeniable, that Luther and his coadjutors had no design to construct a church anew from the Bible, without admitting the existence of a Christian church, with a Christian faith, from the beginning. If they established a new society, instead of reforming the church, Protestantism has as much right in the world as Islamism, and little more. But their humility forbade any such proud thought. As far as Luther is concerned, a contempt of the ancient truth, as brought down to his time by tradition as well as the Bible, is entirely out of the question. His language is strong and explicit: "This testimony of all the holy Christian churches, *(had we even nothing more,)* should be alone sufficient to make us adhere to this article, (the real presence in the Eucharist,) and not to listen to, or be led by any fanatical spirit; for it is dangerous and frightful to hear and believe anything contrary to the unanimous testimony, belief and doctrine of all the holy Christian churches, as from the beginning and with one accord they have now taught, for upwards of fifteen hundred years, throughout the whole world. Had it been a new article, and not from the foundation of the holy Christian churches; or had it not been so unanimously held by all churches, and throughout all Christendom; then it were not dangerous or frightful to doubt it, or to dispute whether it be true. But since it hath been believed from the very origin of the church, and so far as Christendom extends; whosoever doubts it, doth as much as if he believed in no Christian church, and not only condemns the whole Christian church, as a damned heresy; but condemns even Christ Himself, with all the Apostles and the Prophets, who have laid down this article, which we utter, 'I believe in one, holy Christian church,' and have vehemently proclaimed (as Christ Himself, Matth. 28: 20.) — 'Behold, I am with you every day until the end of the world'; and (as St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3: 15). — 'The church is the pillar and ground of the truth.'"[1] So also frequent reference is made, in his works throughout, to the harmony of his doctrine not only with Scripture, but with "the faith," in proof of its correctness.

And Luther did not, in these views, stand apart from his coadjutors. The Ev. Lutheran Church never ceased, in contradistinction to every sect that received the Bible only form-

[1] *Letter to Albert of Prussia.* The translation from *Möhler's Symbolik,* p. 400.

ally, without any definite contents, to hold fast to a certain form of sound words, as delivered to her, in accordance with which the Scriptures must be interpreted. That this is her principle is evident from the arrangement of her Catechism, in which the substance of her faith is taught, not in extracts from the Bible, placed in subordination to some favorite individual idea, as the centre and sum of all, but in the Apostles' Creed, to the truth of which Scripture bears testimony. In like manner, the Symbolical Books throughout, every where, presuppose the reception of the ancient creeds, and in some passages distinctly express their coincidence in faith with them.[1] Had the Reformers had no respect for Apostolic tradition, as a guide to the faithful exposition of the Bible; and had they received the Apostles' Creed, of which the subsequent ecclesiastical confessions are merely a further development, only *after* they had perceived their agreement with holy Scripture: we doubt whether they would ever have received them at all; for we have seen how unlikely it is that persons, who commence interpreting Scripture without faith, with certain definite contents, will ever find an agreement between their private interpretations and the ancient faith. No; they received the Creed, as Apostolic tradition, on its own evidence, applying the criterion of Scripture afterward, which to them bore testimony to its truth, *because* they had faith, whilst to a heretic, who holds not the original faith, these same Scriptures generally testify against it.[2]

That the ancient Christians had a certain form of sound words long bejore the canon of Scripture was fixed, which was applied as a test of truth to all doctrines subsequently advanced, is as clear as any historical fact can be; and that this form was the Apostles' Creed is unquestionable. "The Creed

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[1] "Tantum ea recitata sunt, quae videbantur necessario dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit, in doctrina ac ceremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra scripturam aut ecclesiam catholicam, quia manifestum est, nos diligentissime cavisse, ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent." *Conf. Aug.* p. 69. See also p. 47, and Form. Conc. p. 568 (Müller's ed.)

[2] When the Reformers rejected the masses of human tradition, which were afterwards inflicted upon the Roman Church, it was not because they clashed with their notions of Scripture, as explained by natural reason, but because they lacked internal and external evidence of apostolicity, as well as denied the faith derived from known Apostolic Tradition, and Scripture as seen in the light of that faith; for assuredly they wanted a better argument to prove the apostolic origin of a doctrine than that of Peter a Soto: "quarum observationum initium, auctor aut origo ignoratur vel inveniri non potest, illas extra omnem dubitationem ab apostolis traditas esse." (Quoted by *Schaff, Princip des Protestantismus*, p. 64.) In this way tradition would indeed be, as Chemnitz remarks, a Pandora's box, "cujus operculo omne genus corruptelarum, abusuum et superstitionum in ecclesiam invectum fuit." Ib. p. 48.

was commonly called by the ancients the Canon, and Regula Fidei, because it was the known standard or Rule of Faith, by which Orthodoxy and Heresy were judged and examined. If a man adhered to this rule, he was deemed an orthodox Christian, and in the union of the Catholic Faith; but if he deviated from it in any point, he was esteemed as one that cut himself off, and separated from the communion of the church, by entertaining heretical opinions and deserting the common faith. Thus the fathers, in the council of Antioch, charge Paulus Samosatensis with departing from the Rule of Canon, meaning the Creed, the Rule of Faith, because he denied the divinity of Christ. Irenaeus calls it the unalterable[1] Canon or Rule of Faith, and says this Faith was the same in all the world; men professed it with one heart and one soul: for though there were different dialects in the world, yet the power of faith was one and the same. The churches in Germany had no other Faith or Tradition than those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or Egypt, or Lybia. Nor did the most eloquent ruler of the church say any more than this, for no one was above his master, nor the weakest diminish anything of this tradition. For the Faith being one and the same, he that said most of it could not enlarge it, nor he that said least, take any thing from it. So Tertullian says, there is one Rule of Faith only, which admits of no change or alteration, 'That which teaches us to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world, and in Jesus Christ His Son,' &c. This rule, he says, was instituted by Christ Himself, and there were no disputes in the church about it, but such as heretics brought

[1] When the fathers speak of the Rule as unalterable, as others beside the author quoted in the text are known to do, we conceive it to be a gross misapprehension of their meaning to affirm, in consequence of this, that the Church has no right to give an account of her faith in any other form. The meaning will be best explained by one who uses a similar term, and who wrote early enough to have known what was generally intended by it: "If it be asked, whether, in saying that the Christian doctrine is immutable, I maintain that Divine doctrine can make no advances in the Church, let me answer at once, that I maintain just the reverse. Who indeed is so niggardly towards mankind, so abandoned by God, as to try to forbid it? However, it must be such an advance as is truly an increase of the faith, not a change. That is, it is the property of an increase, that each particular part has its own development; but of a change, that some part or other becomes what it was not before. Doubtless, then, there should be in successive ages an increase, a great and effective improvement, in the understanding, the knowledge, the wisdom of all Christians, and of each of them, of the individuals and of the whole Church, but only in the same form, that is, in the same doctrine, the same meaning, the same expression." *Vincent of Lerins*, in *Newman's Records of the Church*, No. 25, 7. This view is held in our Symbols even down to the Form. Conc. where we read (p. 568): "Mentem nostram invicem corde et ore ita declaravimus et jam declaramus, quod *nullam novam aut singularem confessionem* fidei nostrae conscribere aut recipere in animo habeamus."

in, or such as made heretics; to know nothing beyond this, was to know all things. This Faith was the Rule of believing from the beginning of the Gospel, and the antiquity of it was sufficiently demonstrated by the novelty of heresies, which were but of yesterday's standing in comparison with it. Cyprian says, it was the law which the whole Catholic church held, and that the Novatians themselves baptized into the same Creed, though they differed about the sense of the article relating to the church. Therefore Novatian, in his book of the Trinity, makes no scruple to give the Creed the same name, *Regula Veritatis*, the Rule of Truth. And St. Jerome after the same manner, disputing against the errors of the Montanists, says, The first thing they differed about was the Rule of Faith. For the church believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be each distinct in his own Person, though united in substance. But the Montanists, following the doctrine of Sabellius, contracted the Trinity into one Person. From all which it is evident, that the fundamental Articles of Faith were those which the Primitive church summed up in her Creeds,[1] in the profession of which she admitted men as members into the unity of Body by baptism; and if they deserted or corrupted this faith, they were no longer reputed Christians,

[1] It is scarcely necessary to observe, after what has been said in the preceding pages, that we make the extract in the text, not for the sake of the author's conclusions, but for the summary of historical facts which it contains. With regard to the erroneous view which is intimated, that the Apostles' Creed is a product of the Church, in quoting Irenæus such passages as: "Ecclesia per universum orbem usque ad fines terrae seminata *et ab apostolis* et a discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem, quae est in Verum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem," &c., where the Creed follows, with slight variations from the present form, as is natural in quotation from memory, when the form is of no consequence to the subject in hand, might have merited a place, as well as the remark from Tertullian, which is given, that the faith was *not* made by the Church, but "received from the Lord." We invite attention to the following passage from Rudelbach: "This view, which underlies most of the modern conceptions of the symbol, endangers the integrity of the confession in the highest degree. For even if we pass by the pertinent question: "*When* was this done? *When* was such a formula of faith, which is binding upon *all* Christians, received?" and content ourselves with the nugatory answer: "that it arose by degrees to ward off errors;" the main question still remains unanswered: By what authority have you done this? The Church could not, even if she ever had been fully represented, create the ground-confession, (whose first tones are heard in Matth. 16: 16—18), upon which she herself rests. Nothing would, therefore, remain but the idea, that individual Church-Fathers or Communions had made the symbol; which would, however, as much transcend their authority, as it contradicts the *unanimous* testimony of the most ancient Fathers. For according to their doctrine the confession is derived from the Apostles, to whom the Lord says: "Whosoever heareth you, heareth me." Teachers and congregations may build gold, silver and precious stones, or wood, hay and stubble upon the foundation, which is laid from the beginning; but the foundation itself must exist when the building is commenced." *Einl. in die Augsb. Conf.* p. 3.

but heretics, who break the unity of the church by breaking the unity of the Faith, though they had otherwise made no further separation from her communion. For as Clemens Alexandrinus says, out of Hermes Pastor, Faith is the virtue that binds and unites the church together. Whence Hegesippus, the ancient historian, giving an account of the old heretics, says, They divided the unity of the church by pernicious speeches against God and His Christ; that is, by denying some of the prime fundamental Articles of Faith. He that makes a breach upon any one of these, cannot maintain the unity of the church, nor his own character as a Christian. We ought therefore, says Cyprian, in all things to hold the unity of the Catholic Church, and not to yield in anything to the enemies of Faith and Truth.[1]

The ancients, then, had a confession, the authority of which none but heretics presumed to deny. It was the symbol used everywhere at Baptism. It was not made, but received by the church from the Apostles. It was fixed and unalterable. It was the test of orthodoxy. "This is the message," says Irenaeus, "and this the faith, *which the Church has received*, and which, though dispersed through the whole world, she sedulously guards, as though she dwelt but in one place, believes as uniformly as though she had but one soul, and the same heart; and preaches, teaches, hands down to posterity, as harmoniously as though she had but one mouth." It was not viewed as a mere tradition springing from fallible man, but as having an Apostolic origin, and therefore binding upon all Christians, at all times and in all places. There is no right of private judgment to pronounce it false and unscriptural, and set up in its stead some interpretation of Scripture which suits individual fancy better.

With regard to the Biblical argument for the Apostolicity of the Creed, we can do no better than translate it, as lucidly presented by Rudelbaugh. "This Rule of Faith,[2] which the an-

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[1] *Bingham's Antiquities*, quoted in *Oxford Tracts*, *Vol.* 3, *pp.* 504, 505. (See Records of the Church for translations at length of the principal passages referred to in the extract.)

[2] "Our great systematic theologian, John Gerhard, also considers the confession as the rule of faith, inasmuch as he expresses himself thus with reference to Rom. 12: 6: 'Articuli fidei, quos per *πίστιν* Apostolus hoc loco intelligit, quorum cognitio omnibus ad salutem necessaria est, verbis claris et perspicuis in scriptura traduntur, quorum summa in Symbolo Apostolico, quod Patres *regulam fidei* saepius vocant, breviter repetitur. Contra *hanc fidei regulam* nihil quidquam in Scripturae interpretatione proferendum, ac proinde, si vel maxime non possimus proprium cujusque loci sensum, a Spiritu Sancto intentum, semper assequi, sedulo tamen cavere debemus, ne quidquam contra fidei Anologiam proferamus.

cients also directly called 'Apostolic Tradition,' is our baptismal confession. If it should be inquired, however, what warrant this Confession finds in the Holy Scripture, we present the result of our examination in the following sentences:

"1. As, in general, the πίστις, the *objective* faith, is presupposed, in the instruction of persons to be baptized, as the foundation (Heb. 6: 1), so all the members of the Apostolic Symbol occur in the New Testament as *fundamental*, i. e. as the ground upon which the doctrinal theses stand, and the whole organic development of the Christian faith is built. This can manifestly be nothing accidental, but shows most clearly that these articles of faith were bequeathed to the churches by the first preachers of Christianity, the Apostles.

"2. Whenever the Apostles refer to these articles of faith, they presuppose the totality of their contents — the *Gospel*, in its objective sense, (Gal. 1: 8; 1 Cor. 15: 1; 2 Cor. 11: 4)— as well as the individual members, as something well known to all Christians. Hence St. Paul does not prove in extenso that the Lord died for our sins, that he was buried and arose again, but merely says: 'I delivered unto you that which I also received;' and what the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews calls the foundation, he, with a term quite as significant, styles, τα πρωτα, the alphabet, the elements of Christian doctrine, (1 Cor. 15: 2). In the course of this address he proves the resurrection of the dead, but only by showing, on the one hand, the intimate relation which this member sustains as well to the resurrection of Christ, as to the whole structure of faith, and, on the other, by adding various circumstances, which he received by revelation from the Lord, and which he therefore designates as a mystery (1 Cor. 15: 51). The same Apostle can, therefore, call upon the Christians, as wise men, to judge what he says (1 Cor. 10: 15); for they had the rule of faith and its living interpretation. In precisely the same manner, St. John exhorts Christians to prove the spirits whether they be of God (1 Jno. 4: 11), and presents a test which evidently bears a reference to the Confession of Faith, namely, the Incarnation of Jesus, which, as it always was a shibboleth between a true Christian conviction and the ψευδώνυμη γνώσις, was so especially against the Gnosticising Antichrists, who, as the Apostle says, had then already gone forth into the world. The Apostle Peter *reminds* Christians of the Apostles' commandment, which was also that of our Lord and Saviour (2 Pet. 3: 1), and St. Paul, in the same sense, *reminds* the Church of the principal articles of faith (1 Cor. 15: 1). Every teacher's work is built upon the foundation, but the foundation itself

is Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 3 : 11), and the preaching of the faith which, as the word of God, endureth forever (1 Pet. 1 : 25).

"3. This *objective* faith, as the test, was made the basis of the probation and appreciation of every gift of the Spirit (Rom. 12 : 6; 1 Thess. 5 : 21); for whatever harmonized not with this could have no claim to be an element of Christian edification, the edification of Christ's Body, no matter how great the appearance of spirituality which it assumed.

"4. It is undeniable, finally, that several members of the Apostolic Symbol are presented together, although in a free apprehension, in various passages of the Apostolic Epistles, especially in the important passage 1 Pet. 3 : 18–22, where Christ's passion, death, descent into hell, resurrection, ascension into heaven, session at the right hand of God, and, in the midst of the whole organism, Baptism, as the answer of a good conscience toward God, are mentioned. Here every thing wonderfully harmonizes."[1]

Surely, if any tradition is to exert an influence upon us, as we are convinced that it must, if we would escape the danger of interpreting Scripture in the spirit of unbelief, none is so worthy of reception as that of the Apostles. And it is a pleasant thought, that we stand thus in union with the "glorious company of Apostles" and the "noble army of martyrs," prepared to confess with the Holy Church, as she develops her first confession in its true spirit, not only in the Nicene and Athanasian Symbols, but also, following her in her progress onward — for the Lord is with her every day — in the august "symbolum nostri temporis."

ARTICLE V.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PROPERLY DEVELOPING THE RESOURCES OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

By the Rev. Simeon W. Harkey, D. D.

THE grand object of the Church of Christ is the enlightenment and salvation of the whole human race. The conquest of the world is hers. She is appointed of God to carry the light, liberty, hope, and blessings of the Gospel to the ends of the earth: and her work is not done until the Cross is planted

[1] *Sacrament-Worte*, pp. 43—45.

in every soil, the banner of redemption unfurled in every breeze, and the wretched and dying of all lands are pointed to "the Lanb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."

In this glorious work there is need of the most powerful and zealous efforts of all the different branches of the Redeemer's kingdom. It demands the faith, prayers, benevolence, and energies of the entire sacramental host of God. And in the battle against sin, ignorance, idolatry, and unbelief, the people of God should unite and make common cause. Like a great army, composed of different regiments and companies, under different leaders, and in different uniforms, they should still present one undivided front, contending for the destruction of the same enemies, and the triumph of the same heaven-born cause.

At the same time it is perfectly clear, that to particular portions of the church, and even to particular individuals, the Master has given *special* fields, and a special mission. It has been so from the beginning. Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, as Peter was of the Jews. Who can doubt, that the Reformers, for instance, and particularly Luther, had a special mission and a special work? Or that the Puritans, the Moravians, and other divisions of the church, were raised up for a particular purpose? And is this not the case also with our own beloved Zion? Has not the Lutheran Church had, and has she not still, a special field and a distinct work of the utmost importance? Without going to the Fatherland to inquire what she has done, or has yet to do there, I think all must admit, that she has a special field and mission in this country. Else why has God sent to this western world so many of her own children, and scattered them to the north and south, the east and west?—sent them hither in such multitudes that we have almost ceased to number them, and given them such influence, wealth, and power, that the whole nation begins to feel it? And the cry still is, more than ever, "they come! they come!" They come hither mostly destitute of the means of moral and religious culture, and yet with such strength of attachment, not to say prejudice, to the language and customs, the church and faith of their fathers, that it is impossible for the English churches of this country to do much for them. They must lose their entire nationality, almost strike out of existence their former life and early training and habits, and undergo a complete and unnatural transformation, before they can be fully indentified with any other than a Lutheran Communion. And then God has en-

abled them and their descendants to organize the church here, according to the faith and customs of their own land, "on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," which has grown with their growth, and strengthened and spread with them, until it is fully adequate, if its resources are properly developed, to minister to their spiritual necessities. In view of these facts, is not our duty as a Church clear? Who will say that here we have not a distinct work and a special mission? Whilst we are to obey the command of our risen and ascended Lord, and to vie with other denominations in going into all the world and preaching the Gospel to every creature, our particular work, our special field, at the present time, is most manifestly among the vast multitudes of our own destitute people now in this country and constantly coming into it — among the *Germans* and their descendants, and other Lutheran emigrants to these United States. This is the portion of our population which we are to educate, enlighten, sanctify and save. Here are the intellectual, moral, and pecuniary resources which we are to develop and make efficient for God. How shall we best succeed in accomplishing this great work? This is the subject I wish to discuss in the present article.

How can the immense resources of the Lutheran Church of America be properly developed? And how can she be made to fulfil her high mission in this country?

I use the word *resources* in its most enlarged sense, as including not only our wealth, but also all our other means, intellectual and moral.— The question is, how can the dormant energies of the Church be properly aroused, concentrated, and brought into the most vigorous and powerful exercise for God and human enlightenment and salvation? How can the mind, the heart, and the money of the church be made most efficient? This is evidently *the* great question before us at the present time.

And first I proceed to show *that our Church has immense resources.*

It has great *intellectual resources.* Among these may be reckoned the capabilities and powers of the German mind— the unequalled wealth and value of the literature which we may claim as our own — our educated men, literary institutions, and general facilities and means of education.

I surely need not detain here to prove the capabilities and powers of the German mind. The WORLD has too long felt the mighty influence. In native vigor and ability to rise to

the highest intellectual eminence, the Germans and their descendants are unsurpassed, perhaps I might say unequalled. And this is true, not only of the *learned* men of the nation, the favored few, but of the mass of the people. There is no nation on the globe that is capable of rising higher or more rapidly. All their past history proves this. No man could desire a more glorious and inviting field, or one that is richer in promise, than we have here. And it is "white unto the harvest"—yea the harvest is perishing. Where are the reapers to thrust in the sickle, and how can it be most successfully gathered?

And who does not know that the Germans have the richest Literature, especially in the departments of Theology, Philology, History, and others, that the world ever saw? All nations, who make any pretentions to learning, are at this time drinking from these fresh and copious fountains. How much the periodical press and the book-makers of our own country are indebted to Germany, is known to all who are informed upon the subject. Many of the best works now published in the United States as well as in Great Britain, and of the ablest articles in the Reviews of both these countries are either mere translations from the German, or are mainly indebted to German research and learning for their contents. Many of the ablest English and American pulpits give utterance to German thoughts, often without knowing it, and always without acknowledgment.

Now what I contend for is, that the German field and interest in America belong mainly to the Lutheran Church. This is the intellect which we are to educate, and these immense stores of German Literature are our inheritance. We are suffering ourselves to be robbed of these treasures, I know, and most deeply lament, but still they are ours. And the German mind is the same in America that it is in Europe, and capable of the same things. We have intellectual wealth and power sufficient here to move the world, if properly developed. And surely there is nothing in the institutions or character of this country to dwarf the intellect, or prevent the German mind from being enlightened and elevated. On the contrary, our glorious liberties, sublime destiny, bracing atmosphere, lofty mountains, majestic rivers, extended plains, immense territories, and restless and exciting spirit of enterprise, must be calculated to fire and bring out every latent energy of the soul. Do any of us believe, that the descendants of Germans in this country are capable of less than their fathers were in Europe?—that the children of Luther can accomplish less here

than they did there? If any man believes this, I can have no argument with him—I shall leave him alone in his glory! But if the contrary be our faith and feeling, then what is our work, our duty, our inheritance? Shall we not educate this mind? — develop these powers of intellect? — and bring out these treasures of literature? Why should not the Lutheran Church place herself at the head of the literature of this country, as in Germany she is at the head of the literature of the world? Why should we not have such a literature of our own here—such Institutions, and such scholars as we have there? Why should we not establish Colleges, Seminaries, and Universities in this country equal to those of Germany? Does any one reply that it requires *time* to do such great things? I grant it. But must not a beginning be made, and is it not time to *begin?* Is it not time that we should awake to a consciousnes of our strength, our duty, our mission in this country, and exercising a proper fore-thought, should devise plans, lay the foundations, and begin to build for the future? To do this while yet we may — before, by our miserable neglect and tardiness, we suffer others to despoil us entirely of our inheritance? One of the greatest difficulties in our way is that so many of our ministers and people have so little consciousness of our strength or our work—have such a miserable contracted field of vision—lay no large plans, and undertake no great enterprises. They are satisfied with *little things*, or with nothing! Would to God, I could say something that would extend the intellectual vision of our men, that would induce our Church to shake off her "swaddling-bands," and arise to a consciousness of her maturity, her strength, and her dignity!

But I shall advert to this branch of the subject again, and shall therefore, now, direct attention to our *moral resources.* By these I mean the faith, piety, holiness, and activity of the Church. And here let me say, that the moral power, the power of faith, prayer, holiness, zeal, and self-denial among German Christians, when properly brought out, is greater even than the intellectual. It is eminently apostolic and martyr-like. I know indeed, that some ignorant people sneer at German piety; and in consequence of the sad prevalence of infidelity in Germany during the last half century, are ready to conclude that there is no such thing as vital godliness among Germans, that there never has been. Hence even the Reformation has been spoken of as rather a political move, or a change in the externals of religion, than a revival of genuine godliness! But such stupidity is rather to be pitied, than for-

mally to be refuted. On the contrary, I ask, where has faith ever been stronger; piety deeper or more sincere; devotedness and self-sacrifice in the cause of Christ more disinterested and entire; labor and toils more abundant, persevering, and successful; prayer more prevailing; and zeal more ardent and godlike, than among German Christians? Among what degraded people of the globe have not some of these men labored and wept? On what frozen shores or burning plains have they not endeavored to plant the Cross? In the sun and winds of what land are not their bones bleaching? The books which German piety has written, the institutions which it has founded, and the sacrifices which it has made for the redemption and elevation of the human race have never been surpassed. Who were such Reformers as Luther and Melanchthon? Who did more by their writings and efforts for the promotion and spread of vital piety than Arndt, Spener, and Franke? We ourselves are the children of the Orphan-house at Halle, and its influence will be felt to the end of time. And where have there ever been greater or more apostolic missionaries than among the Germans? Need I do more than mention the names of some of them? a Ziegenbalg, a Schwartz, a Rhenius, a Gützlaff, a Count Zinzendorf, and the Moravians? a Mühlenberg, and the fathers of our own Church in this country? Has the world ever seen more of the real power of faith and piety than in the example of these men? Now I ask again, have we not this same moral power in our Church in this country — or rather, is not our Church here still capable of the same things? Are not our people descended from these noble ancestors, and has not the mantle of the fathers fallen upon some amongst us? I contend that we yet have the elements of the same moral power— that the Lutheran Church has not lost all the spirit of its former days of glory, though I know it has lost much, — that our people are yet capable of the same things; yea and of much greater things than have ever yet been achieved among us. All that is necessary, is that this power be properly developed, which, alas! is not now the case, as I shall have to show presently.

I remark in the third place, that the Lutheran Church in this country has *immense pecuniary resources.* It is true that she does not embrace the aristocracy of the land, and never will, yet she does embrace much substantial wealth. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Maryland, and parts of other States, she includes much of the farming interest. It has even grown into a proverb, "that you will find the Ger-

mans where the good lands are." They always aim at obtaining homes of their own, and in a few years, by their industry and frugality, the poorest among them succeed in this, while the more favored amass immense fortunes. I know many neighborhoods, and even whole countries, where nearly all the most valuable landed property formerly belonging to others, has gradually passed into the hands of the Germans and their descendants; and this is destined to be much more extensively the case in time to come. There is enough of the Lord's money among our 200,000 members to sustain three times as many ministers as we now have, and to establish all our Institutions and educate fifty beneficiaries, and send out fifty missionaries for every *one* that we now educate and send out. O what a glorious work we could accomplish if these resources were properly developed!

But this is the great difficulty. These resources are not developed in the Church, and never have been; and what is worse, neither our ministers nor people, that is, the great majority of them, appear to have had, or even now to have, any just conceptions of what is a proper development of them. Neither our intellectual and moral, nor pecuniary means and strength have ever been properly brought out. To this point I beg now to direct the reader's most earnest attention for a few moments.

Our *intellectual* resources have never been properly developed—the mind of our Church in this country has never been properly educated. I do not here refer so much to our ministry; for on the mere score of education our eight hundred Lutheran ministers in the United States will, I think, compare favorably with any similar number of men in any denomination in the land. But on the score of enlarged views and liberal plans of usefulness for the building up and extension of their own Church, I am grieved beyond measure that the truth compels me to say, that the above remark does apply to our ministry in all its force. *The Lutheran ministers in the United States have never undertaken and carried out any thing really great and important!* Will my Brethren here pounce upon me and cry slander, slander? I appeal to facts. What institutions have they founded—what books have they written or even translated—what missions have they established—or what enterprises have they set on foot that really deserve to be called *great*? For seventy-five years from the first establishment of our Church on these shores we had not even a Seminary for the education of ministers!—not a College, nothing done for beneficiary education, nothing

for foreign missions, little or nothing for home missions, nothing done for the general enlightenment and education of our people, or to elevate and make them liberal and bring them up to duty! The cities and great centres of influence were neglected until, in many of the most important places in the Union, our Church has almost died out. Numbers of our ministers had *four* or *six*, and some of them even *eight* or *ten* churches under their care, and seemed to be well satisfied just to keep their people together, and get their pittance of a salary from them. And in many of the most important and wealthy portions of the Church this awful state of things still exists!

And how is it in regard to our people? Of course, we have some intelligent laymen in almost every congregation, who understand the wants of our Church, and they are our main dependence; but the great mass of our membership is not elevated intellectually to what they ought to be. In fact, they cannot be said to be educated at all! I know large and wealthy sections of the Church, where many of our people literally roll in wealth, in whose houses you will find no papers, no books of any sort, and where in fact, not a single member of the family can be said to be able to read! The children have indeed been sent to some wretched country school for a few months during the winter season, until they had learned to spell and stammer out a few sentences in the way of reading, and then they had "finished their education!" Our farmers have taught their sons "to raise fat oxen and drive big teams;" but given them an education they have not. What an absence of a taste for reading is there not among our people! How few books are published and read among us! How limited is the circulation of our periodicals. I venture to assert, that all our church-papers put together, and there are some eight or ten of them in three different languages, have not *fifteen thousand* subscribers, out of a membership of *two hundred thousand!* How few of our men are found in the learned professions, or in those stations of influence and profit for which education alone can qualify men! How small the number of students in our literary Institutions; and our Female Seminaries, where are they? We have some six or eight Literary Institutions, scattered over our widely extended territory, (and we ought ro have more than double the number adequately to meet our wants, and put us on an equality with other denominations), and I do not suppose that all of them put together have over eight hundred students, all counted! *Eight hundred* students out of a population of *two mil-*

lions of souls!—that is one student out of every *two thousand five hundred people!* And this is intellectual development!! Or take another view of this subject. We have at present perhaps one hundred and fifty students at all our institutions north, south, east and west, who have the holy ministry in view. That is, out of every *thirteen hundred* of our members, we find one who is willing to serve God in this office! We have about *two thousand* congregations, and accordingly it takes *thirteen* of our congregations to furnish one student for the ministry! If we allow these men a six years' course of study on an average, we will be adding, from this source, twenty-five ministers a year to our ranks! Half this number die and are disabled annually—and this is our hope of a supply! O Lord, have mercy upon us as a Church, and awaken us to our duty and interest! Truly, Lord, the harvest is plenteous, and the laborers are few! O thou great God of the harvest, send forth laborers into thy harvest!

That the *moral* resources of our Church are not developed, I need not stop to prove. This is abundantly evident from the facts exhibited above. If the piety, faith, and laboriousness of a Luther, a Franke, a Schwartz, of which we are capable, existed among us, they could not be concealed. They must be seen and felt. But large portions of our Church, ministers and people, have for many years been suffered to sink down into a cold, formal, lifeless condition, and therefore, until the Spirit of God breathe upon these dry bones, they cannot live. True, there has been a great improvement in the last fifteen or twenty years. Large portions of the Church have been awakened, and many extensive and powerful revivals of religion have been enjoyed, and the spiritual life of many churches has been greatly advanced. But still how large a part of our Zion is yet dead! How short of our duty do we yet come! How little real spiritual life and strength yet appear among us!

Still less are our *pecuniary* resources developed. It is a well known fact, that our people do not support their ministers as they ought. Many of our most laborious Pastors, who have worn themselves out in the service of wealthy churches, have barely obtained bread for themselves and families, while some of them have come to want in their declining days. Our rich men have supposed, that they were doing well if they gave their minister five or ten dollars a year, while some gave only one or two, or even less! And there are many wealthy charges amongst us which have never given any thing, or at any rate so little that it is a shame to name the sum, to

the cause of benevolence. Let me enter into some calculations. For some years we have been striving to do something for beneficiary education and the cause of missions, home and foreign. The *whole Church* has, for the last five years, been giving to these three great objects, perhaps *ten thousand* dollars a year. *Two hundred thousand* members have given this amount — that is, they have been giving *five cents* a piece a year to fulfil the Savior's last command, two cents to the education cause, and one cent and a half to home, and one cent and a half to foreign missions!!! It is indeed true, that some of our churches and people have done better than this — have come a little nearer to duty — for the ten thousand have been given by comparatively a few, while the great majority have given nothing at all—but I am now speaking of the Church as a whole. I can find *two* congregations among the Presbyterians, who have, in the same time, given as much to these objects as our *whole Church*—as our two thousand congregations!! Could not our two hundred thousand members give on an average one dollar a piece a year to these three great objects, or at least *fifty cents* a piece, and this would give us from one to two hundred thousand dollars a year for education and missions. Then we could do something that perhaps might be called *great.*

And how is it in regard to our Institutions? For nearly *thirty years* we have been laboring to establish the Seminary and College at Gettysburg, and though we have had important aid from Europe, from other denominations, and from the State Treasury of Pennsylvania, these Institutions are not yet fully established! Not a wealthy man among us has given a donation worthy of the name! A few legacies of several hundred dollars each have been received — but the highest subscriptions have been $100, $50, $20, $10, $5, and this by our *rich* people! Just giving as many *cents* as the wealthy men of other denominations give dollars! When Andover Theological Seminary was started, a number of years ago, three men, namely Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Norris gave each $10,000; and Mr. Bartlett subsequently gave a great deal more, so that it is thought, that in all, his donations to this Institution did not amount to less than the princely sum of $200,000!! And Thomas Dick, (Dick's Works, vol. 6, p. 244), says of Mr. Bartlett, "he did not receive his wealth by inheritance, but by his own energies. He was first a shoemaker in Newburry, and became in the end, for talents and success, a first rate merchant. He occupies a good house,

but lives in a very plain style, and has evidently more pleasure in bestowing than in consuming his property. And is it reasonable to suppose, that this gentleman is less happy than others, because he has parted with so great a proportion of his wealth for the good of mankind? On the contrary, I am certain, he enjoys a serenity of mind, and a satisfaction infinitely superior to the groveling mortals, who either hoard their wealth for no useful purpose, or who waste it in gratifying a taste for worldly splendor and extravagance."

The wife of the Rev. Dr. Lindsey, of Nashville University, has lately made a donation of $15,000 to the Theological Seminary at New Albany, Indiana, in addition to $15,000 by her former husband, the founder of the Seminary. Benjamin H, Punchard, Esq. late of Andover, has bequeathed to that town $60,000 to endow a free public High School, besides large sums given to other objects.

I might give scores of other examples of a similar nature of numbers of other churches; but I cannot mention a single case where any thing so handsome has been done in the Lutheran Church! And why is this? Why do wealthy Lutherans not give like the wealthy people of some other churches? (For in portions of the Lutheran Church there is as much wealth as among any people in this country.) What reason then, can be given for this want of liberality among our rich members? It must be owing to their training, or rather the want of proper training, and the fault must ultimately fall back upon the ministry! And how is it now in regard to our *western Institutions?* According to reliable data, I am prepared to give it as my deliberate opinion, that we have at this moment, in the valley of the Mississippi, a Lutheran population of *one million* of souls, scattered over a vast extent of country of a thousand miles square. Tens of thousands are annually added to the number. Immense multitudes of these people are under the worst kind of influences, and as far as our Church in this country is concerned, are actually perishing for want of the bread of life. We have done next to nothing for their intellectual and moral cultivation. And now, when all these facts are spread out before our Church, and it is known that we have no means under the heavens of meeting the wants of this people, unless we can rear up institutions amongst them to afford them the means of education, and provide them with a ministry, what is the result? Do some of our rich men nobly come forward, like the rich men of other churches, and give their ten thousand dollars to accomplish this great and glorious work of God? Nay, verily,

for this we look in vain. The louder the cries of the perishing are sounded in their ears, the tighter do they draw their purse-strings! Some even among the ministers oppose the effort altogether, and do all in their power to keep the agents out, so that the people shall hear nothing and know nothing about it, and not even be *asked* to give! A few are found willing to give a little, a dollar or two, or at the most five or ten, just to ease the conscience, and get rid of the unwelcome agent! Now and then a man is found to give twenty-five or fifty—but these are

> "— — Like angel visits,
> Few and far between!"

And thus an agent has to spend months and years in the most laborious, toilsome, and unpleasant efforts to collect a few thousand dollars! Thus some of the noblest hearts that ever beat for the welfare of the Lutheran Church are crushed — their hopes perish—and in gloom and sadness they sit down to weep over the desolations of Zion.

But what is to be done? Shall we yield to discouragement and give up in despair? Can our immense resources not be developed? Can our people not be elevated and induced to come up to their duty? Can we not educate them, enlighten their minds, bring them nearer to Christ, and make them more liberal? If this were impossible, then we might indeed despair, for without this, our Church must ultimately go down. But I think it has already been satisfactorily shown, that this can be done—that the German is and ever has been a most inviting and important field. We have abundant evidence in the history of our Church in this country that the intellectual and moral powers and energies of our people can be developed—that they can be made more pious, liberal, and devoted.

But *how* is it to be done? By what means shall we accomplish so great and glorious a result? This is the grand inquiry, and to it I must now address myself most earnestly. O, for grace and wisdom, to do it justice!

And first, I would say, *we must aim higher, undertake more, lay ourselves out to do the whole work which God has given us.* God has called us to a high position in this country and in the world—has given us a work of the utmost magnitude and importance — and we dare not shrink from the responsibility. This call we have not heeded. We have not done our work. We are not half doing it now. Our Church, in her ministry and people, has, to a very great extent, lost

her consciousness of her true position and work. We have so long been operating on so small a scale, that we hardly know what it is to undertake great enterprises. Our vision has been so long circumscribed by our horizon, that, like children, we have imagined that the earth and sky came together there, and that there was nothing of the world beyond. We have just gathered enough to keep us from starving, while our great harvest field was left to perish unreaped. We were satisfied with educating one man for the ministry where we ought to have educated twenty — with sending out one missionary, where we ought to have sent out a score — with giving one dollar to the cause of God, where we ought to have given fifty or a hundred. Hence it is, that we have become *a fip-penny-bit* people — that we are not half supplied with an efficient ministry — that we have to a great extent *lost the cities* and strong points — and that tens of thousands of our best members have been permitted to leave our Church. Even until quite recently some of our wisest men advocated the absurd notion, that *one* literary institution was enough for us in the whole United States, if not for all America "and the rest of mankind!" But a few days ago a good brother in the ministry intimated to me, that it was not best for us to attempt to establish churches in the cities, because it cost so much! And another thought "that in the days when St. Peter's church at Rome was built, there was not as much collecting as at the present day!" Now we must get out of these miserably contracted notions — this pitiable way of doing nothing, or very little, and being therewith satisfied—and we must come up to the work of the Lord manfully, and aim at doing our duty. Our contributions and efforts must be increased a hundred-fold. We must undertake such great and noble enterprises, that our people shall see that there is something worthy of our name, and worthy of their most liberal assistance. I know indeed, that we are not to "despise the day of small things;" but are we *always* to have small things and aim at nothing more? This has been a very long day with us, this day of *small* things. Shall its sickly sun never set? We are not to despise the efforts of an infant; but when we see a *man* contenting himself with the work and playthings of an infant, we expect that he will be laughed to scorn. I contend, that our Church is no longer in her infancy in this country, and that we have a right now to look for the efforts of mature age. We must therefore, no longer be satisfied with our day of small things—our small number of students, few missionaries, and trifling contributions. But we

must try to occupy higher ground — undertake more — enter every open door — go in and possess the whole land which God has given us. The church must be awakened to her full duty. She must establish her institutions well, and enough of them to supply our wants, and afford all our people, in every part of our widely extended Zion, the means of education. We must seek out all our young men who ought to study for the ministry and educate them—none who are truly pious and have other suitable qualifiations *dare* be turned away for want of funds. We must send missionaries into every city, town, village, and neighborhood in the Union, where we have materials, and enter vigorously upon the great work of evangelization among the heathen. Then God will bless us.

Another means of success in the development of our resources as a Church is *union*. "United we stand—divided we fall." "In union there is strength;" and in division there is weakness. Hence, if we ever wish to be strong in this land of sects and divisions, we must be united. The strength, efforts, and resources of the *whole* Church, German and English, north, south, east and west must be brought out and concentrated. For one, I have all along believed and felt, that the great body of our Church in this country was sufficiently united in *doctrinal views* for all practical purposes, and with many others I have gloried in this. I must confess, however, that recent developments have somewhat shaken my faith on this point; and I am grieved at the thought, and tremble for our Zion. If angry controversies are pushed a little further; and especially if the exclusive and intolerant spirit manifested in certain quarters shows itself a little more, the results must be most disastrous. Let all who truly love our Church labor and pray for "the peace of Jerusalem." There has been a great want of confidence in regard for each other in different portions of the Church—a lamentable want of brotherly love and union of effort. The German interest has been, to some extent, arrayed against the English and the English against the German. Old and new measure parties have been formed, and in some instances, have been considerably imbittered against each other. Old and new Lutheranism is advocated. The different Institutions of the Church have recently been regarding each other's movements with suspicion. The different Synods, instead of uniting in the great work of Home Missions and Beneficiary Education, have each been acting independently, each doing a little, and none anything worthy of our name. Different interests have been created; different Hymn-books, Liturgies, and ceremonies have been intro-

duced; and in some instances different men and parties have fiercely denounced each other. Now, this is a most lamentable state of things, and will not only prevent the proper development of our resources, but must ultimately prove our ruin, if not remedied. We must give up this miserable spirit of mistrust and opposition, and come up to the work of the Lord together — every Synod, congregation, minister, and member. We are all one great family in name, and why not be united in love, sympathy, and effort? Are not the real interests of our Church the same, whether in the north, south, east or west? Why should we oppose each other? In the midst of the multitude of sects and parties in the United States, why should the great Lutheran family be divided? "A house divided against itself cannot stand." O, for God's sake, let us seek to be one at least in love, sympathy, spirit, and effort.

Again, *we must come up to the work of the Lord as a Church.* There ought to be no necessity for separate Missionary and Education Societies. Each congregation is already such a society. This is the great business for which the Church is organized—to publish the Gospel to the ends of the earth. The Pastor is the president, the Elders and Deacons are the officers, and every man, woman, and child in the congregation is a member of this great society. And the Synod is the representative of the whole within a certain district. What a miserable excuse for a minister, or elder, or deacon he is who does nothing in this great work! What a useless barren fig-tree that church-member is, who gives nothing for the establishment and building up of our Institutions, and the cause of education and missions amongst us! He is a drone in the hive—a withered, dead branch in the living vine.

Our people must adopt *a regular system of contributions*, weekly, monthly, or yearly, and never fail. They must give from *principle*, from a *conviction of duty*, and not merely from impulse, because they have heard a "rousing sermon," or address on the subject. It is as much Christian duty to give as it is to pray, read the Scriptures, or attend public worship, and it ought to be as regularly and systematically performed. This is the Scriptural mode of giving. Paul not only recommends it, but gives it as a *command.* "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." 1 Cor. 16: 1—2.

We must train up our children in this work. The reason why this duty of giving goes so hard with many of our members is, because they have not been accustomed to it from their youth. Now if we would rear up a generation of Christians qualified to do the work which God has given them in the conversion of the world, we must begin in childhood. And the precept of the Bible never applies more fully and forcibly than here: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Children should be furnished with the means, and taught to contribute regularly to the cause of God. This is a necessary part of their education. Thus they would become acquainted with the wants of the Church and a perishing world, and would be early taught to know and do their duty.

Again, in order properly to develop the resources of the Church, *our ministers must faithfully discharge their duty.* Here is the great defect with large portions of the Church. The people are to a good degree, under the influence of the ministry, and "like people, like priest." They could be enlightened, liberalized, and induced to give, if properly instructed and urged to duty. But in many instances they never hear anything of the wants of the Church and of a dying world, from year to year, and are not even *asked* to contribute. Now, if the *leaders* of the army hold back, how can the soldiers go forward, or the Lord's battles be fought? I know well that in many instances it is a great cross for ministers to preach on this subject. Some miserable miserly members will become offended at it, and threaten to leave the Church or withdraw their support, if the minister faithfully discharges his duty in this matter. But if the Pastor be a man of God, who wishes to stand acquitted at his judgment bar at last, he must turn a deaf ear to all this — bear it as best he can, and go forward in the conscientious performance of his whole duty. I am perfectly satisfied that most of our ministers have failed here. They have not preached the whole truth on this subject. They have suffered their lips to be sealed by the complaints of their people. They must rise above this worldly influence and seek to enlighten and elevate their people, show them their duty in regard to the wants of the Church, convince them of the necessity and importance of education and of raising up and sending forth a sufficient number of able and faithful ministers to gather the whole of the Lord's perishing harvest—to "go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." They must endeaver to circulate among them the books and papers of the Church—hunt up

students and send them to our institutions—and make regular efforts to induce every member, rich and poor, to contribute, according to ability, to our various benevolent operations. Thus the resources of the Church would be developed.

Again, *we must employ agents* in this work until our people are properly trained. The agency-system is indispensible in the present state of the Church. The experience of all the great benevolent societies of our country abundantly proves this. Not one of them, with all their influence and power, could prosper, if it could live, without agents. Just look at the American Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Societies! What institutions of our land have such a hold upon the hearts and affections of the American people as these great National Societies?—and yet they find it necessary to employ scores of agents, and to send them year after year into every "nook and corner" of the country, and without their incessant efforts and toils even these great societies would languish and die for want of support. The same is true of the benevolent operations of every denomination in the United States. The work must either be carried forward by means of agents, or it is not done at all. And can *Lutherans*, who are so far behind many others in these matters, expect to accomplish their work without agents? Most assuredly not. I know that there are objections to the system of agencies, and I freely admit, that, if the Church did her duty, they would not be necessary. But I do not know a single Lutheran congregation in the United States that does anything like its duty in the work of benevolence! I know some individuals who do; but not a single church. It is said, people do not like agents. Truly, they do not, as I can testify! But why? For the same reason that many will stay away from church on the day that a collection is announced! They do not wish to give, and therefore, they do not like to be asked. And must they therefore, be left alone to keep their money, that it may perish with them?—that they may remain in ignorance of their duty, and the wants of a dying world?—that their souls may be blinded and cursed by the love of gain, until they are beyond the reach of hope and mercy, and the cause of God be left to languish and die in the world? People whose hearts are right in the sight of God, never object to agents. They love to hear of the wants and triumphs of Zion, and to aid in pushing forward the chariot of the Gospel. Said a devoted Pastor to me once, "I do not care how often you send agents among my people—they have never hurt themselves

giving — and it does them good to have the truth spread out before them, and to be asked to aid the blessed cause of God."

It is objected too that agencies are expensive; that the salary of an agent eats up a part of his collections. But suppose it does. If he does not collect the money, hundreds of churches and ministers will do nothing at all; and the people remain in total ignorance on the subject of benevolence. They hear nothing, know nothing, do nothing. They either hoard up their wealth or squander it, and in either case it is a curse to them for time and eternity. Hence to do without agents, is to neglect the work of God, and injure the people. If the agent be the right sort of a man he may do an immense amount of good, by preaching the truth, and enlightening the people. He can present facts and arguments to the congregation which the pastor may not have in his possession, and which many reasons might induce him to withhold, even if he had. So that the good which an intelligent and judicious agent does, by spreading information before the people, which otherwise they would not obtain, is worth infinitely more than his services cost. And there is no man who *earns* his salary more dearly than a faithful agent. It is a work of immense toil, exposure, and self-denial.

Again, *we must educate more*, if our resources are ever to be properly developed. It is because our people are not educated that they have so little taste for reading, send so few students to our Institutions, and contribute so little to the cause of God. But this part of the subject has already been sufficiently presented in this article, and hence, I need do nothing more here, than most earnestly to urge upon the reader to use his utmost efforts to promote the cause of education among us, in every possible way, and by all lawful and honest means. Let us all exert ourselves to promote it at the fire-side, in the Sabbath School, the Common School, and the Colleges and higher Seminaries of learning. We must advance in this repect, or we are a doomed Church.

And lastly, *we must labor to promote vital piety among our people.* The breath of the Almighty must be breathed upon "the dry bones," or they cannot live. The soul of true godliness must animate the body of the Church, or it will be dead and inactive. It is only when persons are themselves truly converted to God, that they will feel a sincere desire for the conversion of others. When the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts they will love the souls of others, and labor, pray, and give to save them.

And now I will hasten to a conclusion, by presenting some MOTIVES and ENCOURAGEMENTS to urge us all to greater diligence in our efforts to develop the resources of the Church.

And the first motive that I shall mention, is, *love to God and the souls of men.* The spread of the truth and the extension of the Church are the cause of the Redeemer and human salvation—the cause for which he came into the world and suffered and died, and for which he now intercedes on high. It is dear to his heart, and ought to be equally dear to his people. To this we owe our all for time and eternity. The Gospel has made us what we are—has raised us to our present high position among the nations of the earth, and is designed to raise us individually to glory. We owe it as a debt to the destitute to give them what has been given to us—"Freely ye have received, freely give," says the Master. Love would induce us to feed the bodily hungry, and clothe the naked, and how much more should we be concerned for their souls? Is this not a great, noble, godlike work? The intellectual and moral elevation of the human race—the consecration of the human mind, heart, and money of the Church of God? What will not men undertake for love of the things that perish?—honor, gold, and worldly emoluments? For love of country and fame, men will rush to the field of battle and death in multitudes—will cheerfully lay their bones in a foreign land:—for this the nation will pour out its blood like water, and its treasure by millions, and even hundreds of millions. For love of gain our people will seek for gold in California—will traverse every sea and land upon the globe. And shall the love of Christ and souls lead men to do less? Shall Jesus have no soldiers to fight his battles?—none to labor, toil, and give for him? Here heavenly honors are to be obtained—laurels to be won for Paradise—monuments to be reared for immortality—riches to be gathered for glory! A lost world is to be saved—its darkness dispersed, its idolatry destroyed, its sins blotted out, its woes healed, its tears wiped away, and the Gospel published everywhere,

> "Till like a sea of glory,
> It spreads from pole to pole."

O, are there not motives here to stir every heart and move every hand!

Shall not love to the Church move our ministers and people? For this is the only way that our Church can rise. Our resources, intellectual, moral, and pecuniary must be developed, or we are doomed forever. Without this, we may as well at once write ICHABOD upon our walls. Our glory must depart, and our sun set in eternal night. Our people will sink

down into ignorance, infidelity, and ruin. Others will do the work of God, and take our crown. O ye, that profess to love the Lutheran Church, consider that she is *worthy to rise*, and has a great mission yet to accomplish in this land, and in the world. I have endeavored to direct your attention to her work and mission in a former part of this article. She is the oldest born of the Reformation, the mother of Protestantism, and should lead the van in all that is great and good. Look at her doctrines? Where is the word of God more correctly set forth — more clearly, fully, plainly taught? Look at her faith? Where do you find it stronger, purer, more divine than in the lives of some of her people? Where is there more freedom, more tolerance, more good feeling and liberality towards all who love our Lord Jesus Christ, than in the evangelical portion of our Church? Our motto is, "In fundamentals, unity; in doubtful matters, liberty; and in all things, charity." Look at our system of Church-government! Where do you find it more Scriptural, simple, beautiful? — more in accordance with the Republican Institutions of our country? Our congregations all independent in the management of their own affairs, and yet fraternally united in Synods, with a lay-representation equal to that of the ministry, and the ministry all of equal rank, so that "one is our Master, even Christ, and we are all brethren." I ask the reader to look at our Church, as she is in her proper development, and say, is she not worthy of our love, and of our efforts to raise her to her true position, that she may accomplish the work which God has given her? Her worship, how simple, reverent, beautiful! Her piety when properly cultivated, how deep, sincere, apostolic! Her prayers, how prevailing! Her zeal, how ardent! Her perseverance and courage, how enduring and unconquerable! Her Materials, how abundant and valuable! Her field, how extensive and full of promise! —how "white unto the harvest!" Her prospects, how glorious, if her resources can be developed! — and her conquests, how peaceful! O, ought not *such* a Church to rise? — to have her immense resources developed—her Insititutions well established, and to be fully supplied with an able and efficient ministry? Where can efforts in the cause of God accomplish more, or be certain of a more speedy, sure, and glorious reward? Why should any ever leave such a Church, or refuse to aid in her establishment and extension? — Consider also that *the prospect is most encouraging*. You have seen how very imperfectly our resources are developed, and yet there has been great advancement among us, during the last

fifteen or twenty years: what might we not accomplish if our whole strength were brought out? Some of my readers will be able to recollect the time when we had but *one* Synod in the United States; now we have *thirty:* 100 ministers; now we have 800:—some 300 or 400 congregations; now we have probably 2000:—25,000 communicants; now we have 200,000:—when we had not a College or Seminary to our name, and in fact scarcely an Academy; now we have 6 Colleges, 5 Theological Seminaries, and a number of Classical Academies:—when there was not a single paper in the Church; now we have 4 in English, an equal number in German, and two small sheets in the Norwegian language:—when there was nothing done for foreign missions, nothing for beneficiary education, and little or nothing for home missions; now we sustain 7 ordained missionaries in the foreign field, some 30 or more in the home field, and are educating some 40 or 50 beneficiaries. This, though it is but a beginning and as nothing compared with what we are able to do, and ought to do, shows advancement, and all things considered, great advancement, and the most of it has been accomplished in the last twenty years. It is encouraging and should greatly stimulate us. O, if our ministers and people could but be generally aroused to anything like their duty, what a most glorious work we could do! What a day of triumph would be at hand! What a millennium would dawn upon us!

And shall we not awake to duty and interest? Our lives are short and rapidly passing away. We shall soon have done laboring and giving, and be called to render in an account of our stewardship. O, let us work while we may! Great events are at hand. God is moving among the nations in the majesty of his power, preparing the way for "Messiah's conquering car." Mighty moral earthquakes are upheaving the foundations of society in the old world. Thrones are tottering, ancient systems of error are crumbling to ruin, prophecies are fulfilling, mountains are leveled, valleys filled up, rough places made smooth, obstacles are removed, and the latter day glories seem to be dawning upon us. Surely we can sleep no longer! O, would to God that this country, and especially the Christians of this country, fully knew our mission!—fully understood the important part we are to act in the emancipation and christianization of the world! The world will rise or fall with the rise or fall of this country—of the Christianity and liberties of this country. O, that God may breathe upon us as a Church, and upon all his Churches, that we may come up fully to the work of the Lord, the work of the Lord against the mighty! Amen.

ARTICLE VI.

WORKS OF MELANCTHON. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

Corpus Reformatorum. Ed. C. G. Bretschneider, Philos. et Theol. Doctor, etc. Philippi Melanthonis Opera quæ supersunt omnia. Vol. I—XVI. Halis, Saxonum. Apud C. A. Schwetschke et Filium. 1834—1850. 4to.

No uniform edition of all of the writings of Melancthon is yet in existence. To supply so great a desideratum Dr. Bretschneider commenced the issue, in the year 1834, of the edition which we are about to notice, and which as far as it extends is incomparably superior to any which has preceded it. Now that the history of the Reformation is beginning to absorb the minds of all genuine theological scholars, we feel satisfied that a notice of the contents of the volumes of this important work that have appeared will be acceptable. Only fifteen volumes had been issued at the time of Bretschneider's death. The edition of Walch's Luther having been exhausted, and the work having passed into the hands of Schwetschke, he proposed again putting it to press under the direction of Bretschneider. That distinguished divine, conscious of the serious defects in Walch's work, persuaded the publisher to embark in the publication of a "Corpus Reformatorum," or complete body of writings from the hands of the great fathers of the Reformation, not only those of the first rank, Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle and Calvin, but those also of a lower order who flourished previous to 1555 as Hutten, Oecolampadius and others.

These were to be issued in accurate, uniform, and cheap editions. "These are writings," says Bretschneider in the first advertisement of his plan issued in 1827, "which are worthy of most thorough reading and re-reading by all students of history, all cultivators of Sacred Literature and piety," worthy of attention not only from the great features of intellect and of character of their authors, but as the fountain of the history of the Evangelical Church, and a store-house of the arguments which are still in force, against objections superannuated but not abandoned. His plan was to issue the *complete* works, some of them from manuscripts which had not previously been brought to light. These were to be issued in every case in the language in which they were written: no

change being made in the German works except the modernizing of the spelling. The writings of each author were to be classified; the letters, for instance, or the sermons to be placed together, but chronologically arranged in each class. A biographical and literary sketch of each author was to accompany his work. The first authors to be issued were Melancthon and Calvin, not because they naturally took the first place, but because Luther's works were issued in multiplied editions; and Zwingle's, under the care of Schulthes, were passing through the press, whilst the collected works of Melancthon and Calvin were rare, dear, and imperfect. Approaching the third centennial Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, it was thought that no nobler monument could be reared to the "*Preceptor of Germany*," than a new edition of those immortal works, which the idolizing devotion to Luther, had for three centuries tended to obscure.

The French Revolution of 1830, and the ravages of the Asiatic Cholera delayed the issue of the first volume, until six years had elapsed; but the delay was richly recompensed, by the additional letters of Melancthon which were found.

The *First Volume* contains an account of Melancthon's letters, early editions of them, and of the MS. collections of them to which the Editor had access. Then, annals of Melancthon's life from 1497—1529, and his letters of that period.

Volumes *Second to Tenth*, embrace the rest of his letters, with the annals corresponding to each part. With these are connected his prefaces, counsels, judgments, and academical fragments, the letters and judgments of Cruciger, and many letters from the hands of others which are illustrative of Melancthon's life. To the letters are appended some writings on Melancthon's life and death, which appeared at Wittenberg, 1560, and the funeral oration delivered by Heerbrand, at Tübingen. Then follows a key to the allegorical names, by which Melancthon was so fond of designating persons in his familiar correspondence. Then come six copious indices to the letters, rendering easy a reference to any name found among them. Then, his poems in four books. Then his orations, academical questions, short addresses, and more elaborate declamations. These last are continued in *Vol. Eleventh*, and concluded in the *Twelfth*. They are followed by Propositions which were presented for public discussion at Wittenberg. In this volume a new division (the writings relating to profane history and philosophy), commences with the "Chronicon Canonis."

In the *Thirteenth* volume we have the rest of this division. II. Liber de Anima. III. Initia Doctrinae Physicæ. IV. Elementorum Rhetorices Libri Duo. & V. Erotemata Dialectica (Questions in Logic).

In this volume we have also the first part of his exegetical writings on the Holy Scriptures. 1. Commentary on Genesis, 2. 3. 4. Arguments to Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, 5. Commentary on Daniel, 6. Argument to Haggai, 7. Commentary on Zachariah, 8. Explications on the first part of Malachi, 9. Comments on the Psalms. The Commentaries are mostly on detached passages, and regard them generally with reference to their dogmatic use.

The *Fourteenth Volume* finishes the Commentaries on the Old Testament, (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes), and with the *Fifteenth* embrace those on the New Testament. These comprise Annotations on the Gospels for the year, Annotations and Lectures on Matthew and John, a second Commentary on John, Annotations on Romans, and a Commentary on the same Epistle, an Exposition of the same (three distinct works), Commentaries on Corinthians, Colossians, Philippians, 1st and 2nd Timothy.

With this volume the labors of Bretschneider closed. At his death H. E. Bindseil, of Halle, undertook the further issue of the work. One volume (XVI, 1850) has appeared under his editorial care. The philosophical, ethical and Aristotelian, and classic writings of Melancthon are embraced or commenced in it, as the following list of its contents will show: I. Scripta Melanthonis ad ethicen et politicen spectantia, et dissertationes iis annexae: 1. Philosophiae moralis epitomes libri duo; 2. Ethicae doctrinae elementorum libri duo; 3. Enarrationes aliquot librorum ethicorum Aristotelis; 4. Commentarii in aliquot politicos libros Aristotelis; 5. Quaestiones aliquot ethicae, de iuramentis, excommunicatione et aliis casibus obscuris; 6. Dissertatio de contractibus; 7. De arbore consanguinitatis et affinitatis sive de gradibus dissertatio. — II. Libri Melanthonis, in quibus enarravit auctores classicos. A. Annotationes in plures *Ciceronis* libros: 1. Prolegomena in Officia Cic., 2. Argumentum et scholia in Officia Cic., 3. Annott. in Laelium Cic., 4. Scholia in Cic. de Oratore dialogos tres, 5. Scholia in Cic. Oratorem, 6. Scholia in Cic. Topica, 7. In partem Oratoriarum Partitionum Cic. commentarius, 8. —22. Annotatt. in 18 orationes Cic.

The second volume of the continuation (XVII), as we learn from the editor,[1] is in press, and embraces under the title:

[1] Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur. Halle, August, 1851.

Libri Melanthonis, in quibus auctores classicos aut enarravit aut interpretatus est, the following works: A. Annotationes in plures *Ciceronis* libros: 23. Argumenta et scholia in Cic. epistolas ad familiares, 24. Scholia in Cic. quatuor orationes in L. Catilinam. B. 25. Annotatt. in *Porcii Latronis* declamationem contra Catilinam. C. 26. 27. Annotatt. in *Sallustii Crispi* libros de coniuratione Catilinae et de bello Iugurthino. D. 28. Annotatt. in epistolas ad C. Caesarem de republica ordinanda. E. 29. Commentar. in *Cornelii Taciti* Germaniam. F. 30. Paraphrasis *Plinianae* praefationis. G. 31. Enarratio libri X. Institutionum Oratoriarum *Quintiliani*. H. 32 — 37. Interpretatio latina aliquot orationum *Demosthenis*. I. 38. Interpret. lat. orationis *Aeschinis* contra Ctesiphontem. K. 39. Interpret. lat. orationis *Lycurgi* contra Leocratem. L. 40. 41. Interpret. lat. duorum opusculorum *Luciani*. M. 42. Interpret. lat. orationum ex *Thucydide*. N. 43. 44. Interpret. lat. orationis et narrationis ex *Xenophonte*. O. 45. Interpret. lat. quaestionis *Plutarchi* de nota Pythagorica, et duorum aliorum eius locorum. P. 46. Interpret. lat. epistolae *Lysidis* ad Hipparchum.

The XVIIIth volume will embrace the remaining translations of Greek and Latin Classics, and his notes on them, and the volumes thereafter to be issued will contain his confessional and theological works, his controversial writings, and miscellanies. Throughout, a comparison with all the collected and the distinct works will be made, the various readings will be indicated, and nothing be left wanting to the purity of the text.

The first collection of Melancthon's works, appeared at Basel, 1541, with the preface of the author, in five volumes, folio, embracing not only his theological, but also his philosophical, philological and other writings.[1] A collection made at so early a period, had it been as perfect as was then possible, would, of course, now appear very meagre.

The *Ist volume* contained Commentaries on Genesis, Proverbs, some of the Psalms, Matthew, John, and 1st Corinthians, the 'Oratio Didymi pro Luthero,' Defence of Luther against the Parisian Sophists, Judgment against the Anabaptists, on the Lord's Supper, the duty of princes, the right of Christians to go to law, the grades of consanguinity, on the Church, on the promotion of the Gospel.

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[1] Operum Philippi Melanthonis Tomi V. quorum Catalogos sequentes paginae indicabunt. Cum praefatione Autoris. Basiliae, apud Ioan. Hervagium, Anno M. D. XLI.

The Second volume embraced, a Commentary on Romans, Summary of the Scripture doctrine on Justification, Outline of Epistle to the Romans, Scholia on Colossians, Loci Communes.

Volume Third embraced the Augsburg Confession and Apology, Catechism, Method of Preaching, Plan for studying Theology, Disputations, de tribus votis, and a Letter to Count John a Vueda.

The *fourth Volume* comprised his work de Anima, Comments on Aristotle's Ethics, Epitome of Moral Philosophy, Comment "on politica Aristotelis."

The *Fifth* included Latin and Greek Grammars, IV Books of Logic, II of Rhetoric, Remarks on Hesiod, of Measures and Coins, and a mass of Epigrams.[1]

The Second Collection of Melancthon's works was made by Peucer, his son-in-law, and embraced only his writings in Theology. It was issued at Wittenberg, 1562—1564, in four volumes, folio. As this collection was made after the death of Melancthon (1560) it, of course, was greatly more comprehensive and satisfactory than that of Basel.

The *first Volume*, which is dedicated to Maximilan king of Bohemia, opens with a preface by Peucer, who shows in it his want of truthfulness, as for instance, in his assertion that the change of 1540 in the tenth article of the Confession was made by Melancthon, at the command, and with the supervision and approval of Luther.[2] The preface proper was written by Melancthon, on his sixty-fourth birth-day, about two months before his death. The volume embraces the confessional writings, a Catechism, Augsburg Confession, the original and the varied, Confession of the churches of Saxony, last edition of the Loci Theologici, Exposition of the Nicene Creed, and five other Treatises.

The Second volume embraces an Epitome of Doctrine, treatises on preaching and teaching Theology, various writings on the Lord's Supper, the Church, the Word, Repentance, several polemical writings against the Romanists and "Stenckfeldium," and Commentaries on the Old Testament.

The third and fourth volumes contain his writings on the New Testament, and the latter volume closes with his Pro-

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[1] Joach. Camerarii De Vita P. Melancthonis Narratio. (Strobel & Noesselt) Halæ, Gebauer, 1777. p. 504, 505.

[2] "Mandante, recognoscente, et approbante Luthero." The former possessor of the copy from which we quote has written an indignant "*non*" on the margin.

positions, and his various writings connected with the Colloquy at Worms, (1540), the Convention at Ratisbon, (1541), Smalcald, (1533), Council of Trent — Colloquy at Worms, (1557), his answer to Staphylus, his counsel on moderation in religious disputes addressed to the French, (1535), his letter to the Senate of Venice, (1539), and to Henry VIIIth, (1539). The general title is: "Omnium Operum reverendi viri Philippi Melanthonis *(Pars prima etc.)* in qua quæ scripta contineantur, sequens pagina indicat. Addita est ad finem copiosus index rerum et explicationum praecipuarum. Cum gratia et privilegio ad annos quindecim. Wittebergae, excud. Io. Crato, 1562, etc.

This edition contains a full length likeness of Melancthon, by Cranach.

It is desirable in the notices of books to give, where it is possible, the prices. These may vary so much in the case of old books that only a proximate statement can be made.

The Basel edition (1549) was offered by Nutt, at about $12 00; by Bohn (1541), at about $22 00.

The Wittenberg edition was offered by Nutt, at about $40 00; by Bohn, at about $34 00: by Weigel at $28 00. The copy in possession of the writer of this notice, cost $14 75 at auction.

The publisher's price for the first fifteen volumes of Bretschneider's Corpus, unbound, is $48 00. The copy of the writer (from Müller, in Gotha), was $28 50.

There is hardly a minister in our Church whose means are so limited that he might not purchase the annual volume of Melancthon, as it appears. It is a melancholy fact, that so much of the income of clergymen which they invest for food for the mind, is wasted on newspapers, magazines, and a class of religious writings, very well in their way, but which give him no pleasure, and yield him no benefit after a first perusal. Let a minister kindle his mind by communion with the highest order of intellect, and cultivate his Christian affections first by drinking at the great fountain of divine life, and next by habitual intimacy with the *greatest* exemplars of Christian faith and holiness. Better, far better to be "a man of one book" if it is the best of its kind, than to possess and in some loose way to pass through cart-loads of the insipid trash which ever, under the name of religious literature, plays into the hands of infidelity, by reducing what is sublimest in our faith to pious twaddle, and enervating the mind, under pretence of improving the heart, of preachers and people. Many "Manuals," "Theological Sketch-Books," "Preaching

made Easy-s," "Books of Skeletons," (for the benefit of the hearers' spirit and the preacher's flesh), "Wreaths around the Cross," are the merest swindles, picking the buyers' pocket, and emasculating his soul.—Buy "Books that are books," and among these, if the judgment of more than three centuries, expressed up to this hour by every species of witness, can be trusted, are the works of those men made by God expressly for the work in which they were employed, and whose character rises as high above all other characters in human history, as the revolution they accomplished was sublimer than any other in the annals of the race. A second race of Apostles, proclaiming the Everlasting Gospel, did we dare to place any writings *next* to the word of God, it would be their's. But we dare not do so. For the very life and power of their immortal works was connected with their feeling, that not only was no book equal to the Bible, but that none could be *next* to it. But no student of Theology or of the History of the Church can afford to be in total ignorance of their writings. But if any man prefer quails to the "Angels' food"—let him eat them till they "come out at his nostrils;" but let him blame no one but himself if he finds that the Lord "has sent leanness into his soul."

"Of Melancthon," says Erasmus, "I have formed the highest opinion, and cherish the most exalted hopes, as a youth who, it is Christ's will, shall longer hold a place in men's memories than ourselves. He will cast Erasmus completely into the shade."

"Philip Melancthon, beside his vast erudition and rare eloquence, possessed a certain grace, derived more from his spirit than his intellect, which made it his destiny, not only to find favor with all candid persons, but to disarm the hatred even of adversaries."

"What hopes, immortal God, does not that Philip Melancthon, youth, almost boy, though he be, excite in regard to himself, admirable as he is in both branches of learning? What acuteness of invention? what purity and elegance of style? what memory of the most abstruse facts? what a varied reading? and what a charm invests his modest but thorough princely mind." This was the language, which the greatest man of letters of Melancthon's time, applied to him when he was but eighteen years of age.

"Our Philip Melancthon," says Luther, "is a wonderful man, having scarcely a single quality in which he does not surpass all other men." "Rich in learning, rich in Greek, young only in years, familiar with all books in every depart-

ment, acquainted not only with the Classic tongues, but possessed of their treasures—and not a stranger even to the Hebrew tongue." "Though I be a Master of Arts, of Philosophy and Theology, I give up my opinion, at the dissent of this 'Grammatist,' as Eck calls him, I have done it often, I do it daily, for the sake of that divine treasure which God has so largely poured into this earthen vessel, which Eck despises. It is not Philip I honor, he is the creature of God, and is nothing, it is the work of my God in him I revere."

"Erasmus has style without substance, Luther substance without style, Carlstadt has neither, Melancthon has both." "The whole Christian world is his debtor, and the Papists, thank God, fear him and those he has taught, more than all the rest of the learned together." "He who does not recognize Philip as his teacher, must be a complete Donkey and ignoramus, eaten up with self-conceit. Whatever we know in the Arts and true philosophy, we owe to Philip. He is indeed a poor Master, but he is a teacher above all teachers. In the wide world, the sun shines on no man who has such gifts as Philip. Let us, therefore, highly esteem the Man. He that lightly esteems him, must himself be a man lightly esteemed before God."[1]

Winchester, Va. C. P. K.

ARTICLE VII.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D. D.

(Continued from page 435, Vol. III.)

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, D. D. Pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa.

Dec. 17th, Saturday. Wrote, read and meditated after the manner we might expect from a youth of between 60 and 70 years. Pastor Rabenhorst and my sick wife took medicine.

"Heile mich, o Heil der Seelen wo ich krank und traurig bin,
Nimm die Sorgen, die mich quälen und den ganzen Schaden hin,
Den mir Adams Fall gebracht, und ich selbsten mir gemacht:
Wird, o Arzt, dein Blut mich netzen, wird sich all' mein Jammer setzen."

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[1] Camerarius (Strobel) and Seckendorf give the Extracts from Luther and Erasmus quoted by us.

In the evening a number of children of the negro slaves who live on the plantation came to Pastor Rabenhorst and wished to pray, which afforded me heartfelt joy; they prayed the evening-prayer in Dr. Luther's Catechism, and recited the beautiful Scripture passages, and as baptized Christians they repeated the renewal of their baptismal covenant. Where the seed of the living word of God is sown we may hope that at least some will spring up. At our evening devotions we had reached the prophet Jonas, who affords rich instruction.

Dec. 18th, 4th Sunday in Advent. In the morning Pastor Rabenhorst and his dear wife took me with them to Zion. I preached from the prescribed text. Pastor Rabenhorst preached in the afternoon, heard the children and youth repeat their lessons, and afterwards catechised from the Epistle of the day in a very profound, intelligible, simple and lively manner so that old and young could be edified. To catechise profoundly, affectionately and edifyingly is a gift of grace rarely possessed, but gratifying and useful wherever found. God be praised, that He has conferred it upon Mr. Rabenhorst. The congregation sings most delightfully, even the most difficult of the Halle melodies. This is to be ascribed to the late Mr. Boltzius.

Dec. 19th, Monday. To-day I must commence again to write a second time my plan for a congregational constitution, and know not yet whether I shall succeed with it or not? If the Lord do it not and help not, then all labor will be in vain, and Satan triumph.

Dec. 20th 21st, Tuesday and Wednesday. Wrote day and night at the plan and only finished on Thursday, Dec. 22d. O, that the Lord would add His blessing to the success thereof, and trample Satan under His feet, and that of His faithful! It is difficult to succeed with untamed, selfish and puffed up, nominal Christians, if the Lord aid not extraordinarily, exceeding our prayers and comprehension. My wife's sickness, which has increased latterly, adds to my other cares and troubles. "Wenn mein Gebrech mich vor Dir niederschläget, &c. —Mein Salomo &c.

Dec. 23d, Friday. Wrote, read, and visited an old Saltzburger, George Schweiger, my wife and Mrs. Rabenhorst accompanying me.

Dec. 24th, Saturday. Parson Triebner and Mr. Flörl came for me and conveyed me to the town of Ebenezer — I lodged with Mr. Triebner.

Dec. 25th, Sunday and holy Christmas. A heavy and cold rain prevailed the whole day. I preached in the morning in

Jerusalem church, from the appropriate Gospel: of the appreciation of the Savior—how He was appreciated, 1st, by the commissaries of the Emperor Augustus; 2d. by Mary and Joseph; 3d, by the angels; 4th, by the shepherds; 5th, by the race of Judah; 6th, by God, his heavenly Father; 7th, and how he is appreciated by us. Dined with Mr. Triebner. In the afternoon I heard Parson Triebner catechise from the Epistle of the day. Pastor Rabenhorst held public worship and the Lord's Supper in Goshen. In the evening Esquire Treutlen brought my daughter home to her mother.

Dec. 26th, Monday, second day Christmas. The sun shone again, and I rode in company with Rev. Triebner five miles to the church in Bethany. I preached in the morning from 2 Cor. 8: 9; of Christ's meritorious poverty in his state of humiliation. Dined with John Michael, a trustee. Rev. Triebner catechised the young and the old in the afternoon, from the Epistle of the day, quite methodically and edifyingly. Towards evening we returned to Ebenezer. I received three letters from Charleston, a) of Mr. Michael Kalteisen, dated Dec. 20th, 1774; b) of Mr. John Kemmel, dated Dec. 21st, inst.; c) of Mr. Nicholas Martin, dated Dec. 21st, 1774, in which they communicate 1st, that on the fourth Sunday of Advent, in the evening, Dec. 17th, a fire broke out in Queen street, near Mr. Kemmel's house, and reduced to ashes six large houses, kitchens and back-buildings, and a number of other houses were torn down to arrest the progress of the flames; 2d, that Mr. Daser, who intended going to London, to obtain Episcopal ordination, did not arrive there, but returned with the vessel, which was injured by a storm; 3d, that they had discovered that Daser, in former days, had cut out 32 leaves from the Church-records, and when they took him to task concerning it, he answered, that he had cut out and burned only 2 leaves; 4th, that they wished me to return soon to them, and help them in their difficulties.

Dec. 27th, Tuesday. Parson Triebner rode 25 miles up the country to marry an English couple, by license, and returned in the evening. In the mean while I visited Mr. John Caspar Wertsch, read to him my plan, now composed the second time, heard him relate many things of former days, dined with him, and requested him to give me my bill for a roquelaur which I bought on credit in his store, the weather being wintry—but he would not receive anything for it. In the evening I concluded that it would be necessary to extract from my Journal the protocol of Nov. 22d, ult., and have it subscribed by the ministers and trustees at to-morrow's meeting,

and witnessed and acknowledged by two Justices, so that in case my plan for a church-constitution should not succeed to-morrow at the public meeting to which the ministers, trustees and deacons are invited, I might have something at least by which our reverend Fathers, if necessary, might legally demand and obtain the greater part of the moneys they collected for this place. I dread the coming day very much, for it is an exceedingly difficult and critical matter to introduce a Constitution or discipline, where there are two parties, and where strife is rooted, and the ministers are of different temperaments and spirit, and the American air is variable, and men are unbridled, and the stratagems of the enemy of mankind are manifold. Parson Triebner found several objections to my plans in advance, which were not agreeable to him, for example; 1st, "that I would not declare the Jerusalem's church to be the parent and principal church, and the Zion's church the collegiate."—Answer: I found in the Narratives, that Jerusalem and Zion churches were sisters from the beginning, but not mother and daughter—that Ebenezer village was yet too small to be a Rome or mother—still less dare I declare Jerusalem church to be the principal one, or mother, because the ground and appurtenaces were yet under the jurisdiction of the Episcopal canons, &c. and would drag their collegiates with them, &c. 2d, "He thought the seven vestrymen last elected must be deposed, because they were his enemies," &c. —Answer: It could not be done without anew disturbing and inflaming the congregation and splitting it into parties, and moreover, it was scarcely three months till Easter, when according to usage new vestrymen would have to be elected. 3d, "He thought it a case of conscience, that *he* should make the *Church-rules*, as the reverend Fathers had given him instructions to that effect." — Answer: We could compare our credentials, and if his contained greater authority than mine, I would willingly withdraw and leave the honor to him alone—and if his credentials were older than mine, then he had had longer time and opportunity to introduce the rules, and I could the more suitably have remained at home. When we confer thus with another, we both get a little red or pale, as if the coffee-pot at the fire was about to boil over. But if it be only lifted off a little it soon settles again. 4th, "He thought it dreadful that Mr. Rabenhorst should preside in vestry meetings," &c. — Answer: A vestry without a sensible, experienced and patient minister to preside over it, would be like a six-horse-coach without a coachman on the box—moreover, the honor and burden might rest upon him in time to

come, when he became the first or oldest minister, inasmuch as the rules must be observed likewise in future. 5th, "He thought I should then declare that that minister should preside in the vestry who had served longest in office here, but I should not exclude the second minister entirely."—Answer: That might be proper. That minister who had faithfully served longest in a congregation must necessarily be best acquainted with and experienced in its external and internal relations, and can preside more usefully in the vestry than a newcomer from Europe, although appointed first minister and the most learned and esteemed Doctor of Theology, because, at first, one would be a minor and inexperienced in American matters, and like a child. And if he thought that the second or younger minister should also be at the vestry meetings, then he could attend as Secretary and keep the protocol, to afford him an opportunity of learning wisdom and patience. 6th, "He thought it dangerous that I had inserted, that in some places in Europe the vestry, consistory or church-collegium consisted of persons from the educational, military and industrial classes—it might be dangerous if persons in authority were elected and suffered in the vestry."— Answer: During the time of Rev. Pastor Boltzius, magistrates in the congregation were almost continually among the elders and deacons, for example, Esquires Flörl, Kieffer, Meyer, &c. and they are more beneficial than injurious. They are worthy of double honor, if their walk and conversation is correct, and they attend faithfully to their duty. 7th, "He thought it would be better if the two ministers were to officiate alternately in all the churches, viz.: Jerusalem's, Zion's, Bethany, and Goshen and Savannah; everything would thus continue in greater harmony."—Answer: Yes, of a truth better, if ministers and colleagues were all of one heart and mind in Christ. But if, during the absence of one minister, the other slanders and contemns him and tells the congregation that he is unconverted, &c.: then the alternate services must be greatly injurious. The wound is yet too new, and the skin grown over it is yet too thin, and until our reverend Fathers arrange it otherwise, it is best that each one have his appointed labor nearest to his residence, and where he is most loved. Pastor Rabenhorst has from his dwelling 2 miles to Zion's church, to Goshen 5 miles, to Savannah 20 miles, to Jerusalem's church 5 miles, and to Bethany 10 miles. Pastor Triebner has only a few steps to Jerusalem's church, to Bethany 5 miles, to Zion 3 miles, to Goshen 10 miles, and to Savannah 25 miles, and to the present day is a dread and horror

to the congregations in Zion among the plantations, in Goshen and Savannah, on account of his imprudence, violence and world-known unfortunate strife. These wounds must first be radically healed by degrees, with ointment from above, and the one learn to esteem the other more highly than himself. 8th, "He thought it would injure him in his ministry, if he were called the younger, and another the older minister. The simple people would think that what the older performed was better than what the younger did." &c. — Answer: No one can add a cubit to his stature. I dare not call old young, and young old. A father is older than his son, and the son younger than his father. The members of the body of Jesus Christ serve each other according to the gift they have received. 9th, "He said, such and such a one among the new vestrymen is one of the most dangerous, &c. men, concerning whom pastor Boltzius is said to have complained and to have been afraid, already in his time."—Answer: The more need to seek to win such with wisdom, love, patience and meekness. When a servant wishes to catch, kill, pluck and roast pigeons or other birds for his master's table, he does not throw clubs among them. Matth. 10: 16. 10th, "He said, that in the protocol of Nov. 22d, which I intended to send our reverend Fathers, two things were objectionable to him: *a.* where it is said: "From this it appears, that pastor Rabenhorst did not arbitrarily constitute himself the chief superintendent of the mill establishments, on the contrary, was authorized to do so."—This applied to him because he had charged this against him. That Rev. Lemke and the congregation had no power to confer this authority upon pastor Rabenhorst without consent of the reverend Fathers, and Rev. Senior Urlsperger had enjoined it upon him [Triebner] that he should superintend the mills."—Answer: Pastor Lemke assigned, under his own hand, and in writing, the authority to pastor Rabenhorst, *even as* he received it from pastor Boltzius, and pastor Boltzius declared expressly in his Original Document, that he *solemnly, in the name of God and of the reverend Fathers, assigned the chief superintendence to Mr. Lemke.* What can be more plain and sure? If the authority belonged to you [Triebner], then it was necessary that you should have been here during the lifetime or at the death of Rev. Lemke, and be called not Christopher Frederick Triebner, but Christian Rabenhorst. *b.* "In the protocol of Nov. 22d, ult., it is also written: Pastor Triebner promised to copy the instrument of writing of the late pastor Boltzius, dated, May, 1756, concerning

the 100 acres of land adjoining the saw-mill, or upon which perpaps the saw-mill shall be erected, and to place the Original in the Archives of the trustees, and to give the copy to Miss Boltzius." "It is true, I promised it in the meeting, but I acted precipitately, and promised more than I ought."—Answer: I wrote in the protocol what actually occurred in the meeting—and what was done I cannot undo, and it must remain true. This is the first confession which my worthy, conscientious brother Triebner makes to me concerning his precipitancy, because said precipitancy might affect his private interest, and he might not obtain a part or the whole of the saw-mill from Miss Boltzius if he placed the document in his hands in the Archives of the trustees, and the congregation should have prior right to buy the 100 acres connected with the saw mill!

Dec. 28th, Wednesday. In the morning, at ten o'clock, I went to the meeting at the former dwelling of the late Rev. Boltzius, having previously prayed for grace and help from God. The respective ministers, trustees, old and new vestrymen were assembled. After prayer; 1st, I read the protocol of Nov. 22d, ult., and asked the trustees whether all occurred just so and not otherwise? Answer, Yes. Pastor Triebner remarked that he had acted hastily Nov. 22d, in promising to place the document of the late pastor Boltzius, concerning the 100 acres of land at the saw-mill, in the Archives of the trustees, and to give a copy to Miss Boltzius. He knew not whether Miss Boltzius would be satisfied therewith.—Answer: The document of the late Rev. Boltzius did not belong to his heirs, but to Ebenezer congregation, because in it was promised to the congregation their prior right to the purchase of said 100 acres. 2d, I asked whether minister and trustees would confirm with their signatures this protocol which I intended to send to the reverend directors? Answer, Yes. And accordingly they subscribed it in the presence of two Justices of the Peace, who afterwards acknowledged it. 3d, I commenced the church-constitution. I prefaced it by saying that the Ebenezer congregation had no external fence or hedge. Ps. 80: 7—16. That all the materials for a hedge were prepared since 1733, but were never erected and united, on the contrary, were scattered about in the printed narratives and pamphlets which I had read in connection and united together, and would now read. After I had read it slowly and distinctly, the Bethany people objected, that they were a strong portion of the Ebenezer congregation, and during the lifetime of pastors Boltzius and Lemke were supplied with divine worship in their church,

but in later times they had been neglected. If they were to be ligitimate and not step-children of the Ebenezer congregation, then they ought to have public worship as often in their church as those in Zion; they thought namely, that Zion and Bethany should each have every fourth Sunday. Those from Zion however, would not agree to this, and said, that Bethany must then divide the Sundays with the town. Those from the town were equally unwilling to concede this, and said, that Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer was in the middle, was the principal one from the beginning, and had divine service every Sunday, and it must remain so, &c. I said, we must erect first the external fence and divide the fields afterwards, and arrange the cultivation of the farm as we best could. Finally they commenced and subscribed the prepared plan or constitution with their signatures; namely, the two ministers, afterwards the trustees and deacons, &c., and adjourned in the afternoon, at 3 o'clock. I ate at Mr. Waldhauer's, and then Mr. Rabenhorst took me with him home again, wearied in body and mind. I learned that an acquaintance would travel to Charleston, the day after to-morrow. As vessels are almost continually sailing from that place to London, I wrote in addition at night some extracts out of the protocol of Nov. 22d, ult.

Dec. 29th, Thursday. Continued at the copy of what was subscribed and acknowledged yesterday in the meeting. Afterwards wrote in addition a sheet from my Journal of what occurred Nov. 23d, in the meeting — dated both sheets Dec. 29th, 1774, and addressed them "to the Rev. Frederick Ziegenhagen," and pastor Rabenhorst sent the packet to Esquire Treutlen, at Ebenezer, who will take it to Charleston.

Dec. 30th, Friday. Pastor Triebner called at our house on his way to Savannah. I requested him to bring a couple of bound blank-books with him, in which to insert the church-constitution, so that each minister might have a copy of the Original. Afterwards pastor Rabenhorst took me with him to the mill-establishment. The two mill-sets and the rice-stamper are both under the same roof, and in tolerable preservation. The saw-mill is separated from them, and stands idle at present. As parson Triebner hinted in the meeting of the 22d Nov., Miss Boltzius was resolved to present him the 100 acres of land, which her deceased father patented, on condition that the saw-mill should not be injured thereby, and, therefore, first executed an instrument of writing, under his hand and seal of May 1st, 1756, to the intent, that the congregation should have the prior right and privilege to purchase the said

100 acres. But if Miss Boltzius, who is weakly in body and mind, through selfish counsel, should present the 100 acres to any one by Deed of Gift, then the congregation cannot have the prior right to its purchase. What is given away is not sold, and consequently the saw-mill forms part of the gift in so far as it stands on the land to which the congregation is entitled to the first right of purchase. "The children of this world are" &c.

In April, 1771, through Mr. Wertsch, parson Triebner's brother-in-law, and intimate friend, the so-called Principal and Parent Church in the village of Ebenezer, together with the parsonages and burial place, was unexpectedly and secretly brought under the jurisdiction of the High Church, and destined for two Episcopal ministers. Soon afterwards Mr. John Caspar Wertsch devised a legacy of £500 sterling, and bequeathed the interest thereof for two ministers, namely, *a.* for Mr. Triebner, *b.* for one who should come hereafter, and for a schoolmaster, (I saw the document with my own eyes). After this the feeble Miss Boltzius hits upon the delectable plan of presenting to her kinsman Triebner, the 100 acres with the saw-mill. As regards the grist-mills and 250 acres of land, it is understood, that as a matter of course, they will remain with the parent or principal church in Ebenezer, or in the lapse of time must be divided by the heirs of the trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Lady's Voyage round the World. A selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1852.

WE have read this book with deep interest. Madame Pfeiffer seems to possess more than ordinary qualifications for profitable traveling. She visited Brazil and Chili; from Valparaiso she proceeded to Canton, where she saw a good deal more than Europeans are often allowed to see: thence she went by steamer to Singapore, visited Ceylon, made extensive journeys in India, traveled by land amid many hardships and dangers, to Mosul, Nineveh, Persia, Asiatic and European Russia: thence to Constantinople and Athens, and at length returned to her home in Vienna; a marvellous achievement for a lady, attended by none but hired guides and guards. Her enterprising spirit, guided by great shrewdness and sagacity, and supported by uncommon courage and firmness, led to the most successful gratification of her long cherished desire to visit foreign lands: her sex appears not only to have

been a protection and safe-guard, but to have often procured her a welcome and kind hospitality, where men would not have been allowed to enter. A close observer, she saw and heard much that will be new to her readers, and her reflections are generally acute and just. Her book, written in an easy and sprightly style, has been well translated, and we commend it to our readers, as full of valuable and interesting information, as well as of entertaining incident and adventure.

Lectures on the History of France. By the Right Honorable Sir James Stephen, K. C. B., LL. D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1852.

This work contains the first series of lectures (in number twenty-four), delivered by the distinguished author at the University of Cambridge. They commence with the decline and fall of the Roman-Gallic Province, and come down to Louis the fourteenth's Absolute monarchy: in the concluding lecture the learned professor compares the growth of the French and the English monarchies. In the use of his very copious materials he has been exceedingly discriminating, cautious and judicious: with clear insight, with large and liberal views, and in a truly Christian spirit, he approaches his great and important subject, and treats it with all the candor and fairness of a dispassionate and impartial historian. He sifts the evidence of native witnesses with keen sagacity and penetration, and thus affords us ample guarantees for the accuracy of his facts: his speculations are strikingly acute, comprehensive and statesman-like; his conclusions are full of practical wisdom; and his entire bearing towards the jealous rival, often enemy, of his country, is throughout frank and generous. His work is probably the most accurate, just, comprehensive and trust-worthy, on the History of France, that we possess in the English language.

A popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By Austen Henry Layard, Esq. D. C. L. Abridged by him from his larger Work. With numerous Woodcuts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

Layard's Excavations and discoveries at Nineveh form an epoch in modern history, and open up to our curious and delighted gaze a long, long vista into the history of hoar antiquity. The value of the results effected by his researches cannot yet be fully appreciated: the monuments of ancient art, which he has transmitted to the British Museum, have a wonderful interest and momentous importance: his discoveries, which he is now, we believe, prosecuting anew, will doubtless, throw more and more light upon sacred and profane history; and we trust, that he will receive such liberal aid, as will enable him to extend them far beyond aught that can now be conceived. To general readers, for whom his larger work may have been too costly, this abridgment, prepared by himself without sacrificing any thing of essential moment, will be most welcome. The well-executed and spirited woodcuts furnish invaluable illustrations to a work, whose interest is beyond expression.

Wesley and Methodism. By Isaac Taylor. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

THIS latest work of Isaac Taylor is worthy of its author. It is written, throughout, in his usual calm, philosophic tone. On whatever subject Taylor may write, he is sure to view it from a stand-point elevated far above the prejudices, partialities and selfish interests, which darken the minds and narrow the hearts of partizan zealots, and polemical bigots. Taylor inquires and thinks for himself, but always, so far as he possesses it, in the light of divine truth. In the statement and investigation of facts and doctrines we have ever found him fair and candid, never seeking to garble or distort; and in his speculations upon them he is animated by a due respect for the principles, consciences and rights of others, and guided by the catholic spirit of genuine Christian charity. We may not always be able to assent to his conclusions; yet we cannot but see, that they are those of an honest and right-minded thinker. For us the present work possesses a deep interest: like his other writings, it is highly suggestive, and fraught with acute and sound reflections on the present and the past, and with sagacious speculations concerning the future. The life, character and active career of Wesley and his coadjutors, are sketched with a vigorous and friendly hand: Methodism, in its birth and life, its works and achievements, its principles and its results, is justly appreciated, and its worth and beneficient influence acknowledged in no niggard strain. Taylor conceives the mission of the methodism of Wesley and Whitefield to be fulfilled, and considers the proximate future as demanding and bringing with it a methodism of another sort. Whatever may be thought of his speculations on this point, they possess, in these greatly excited and distracted times, a deep practical interest. We commend the book to the candid attention of serious and reflecting minds, as one most significant and noteworthy utterance of our age, in which great events are hastening to maturity.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In four vols. Vol. I. N. YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

THE first volume of a new edition of Burns lies before us, and we greet it with heartfelt pleasure. In the former editions, although prepared by kind and affectionate hands, Burns' biography is meagre and unsatisfactory, his poems are thrown promiscuously together, without any adequate reference to the times and circumstances in which they were produced, and his correspondence, however striking and interesting the separate letters are in themselves, is so disconnected, so barren of the needful illustration, as to be often painfully perplexing. These defects are here supplied as far as they ever will, probably ever can be. In the present edition the biography is not only reduced to a closer and more consistent continuity, but enriched with a large amount of additional facts and anecdotes, in ample detail: his compositions are "strung in strict chronological order upon the memoir," and thus "made to render up the whole light which they are qualified to throw upon the history of the life and mental progress of Burns." Robert Chambers, than whom no man could be better qualified for the work, has here performed a labor of love; and so well does he perform his task, that none of the already

existing memoirs of the life and writings of the Great Peasant, however well executed in some respects, can bear a comparison with this, in fulness of detail, connectedness of narrative, richness of illustration, and thoroughly well-informed appreciation of the character and productions of the highly gifted, but unhappy peasant-bard of Scotland.

The Corner-Stone. By Jacob Abbott. Very greatly improved and enlarged. With numerous Engravings. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St.

JACOB ABBOTT'S "Young Christian Series" has been long known and greatly esteemed, not only in this country, but in divers foreign lands. Of this Series we have received the second volume, in a new, much improved and enlarged edition. The design, plan and execution of these works are truly excellent: truths and duties are clearly explained, and effectively illustrated; instruction, argument and persuasion are happily blended; and, altogether, these books are strikingly adapted to win the young to the ways of piety and holiness. Without wishing to find fault any where, we would merely express our regret, that similar books, harmonzing with the doctrinal views and the practices of our own Church, are not written by one or the other of our learned pastors. We have now before our mind's age several, who are admirably qualified for the task. Shall we not have Lutheran books for our children and youth, similar in design, and equal in execution, to the "Young Christian Series?" We would fain hope.

Thoughts on the Origin, Character and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy. In seven Discourses, delivered in the Chapel of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. With Notes. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the Seminary, and of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Columbia College. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

THIS little work vindicates to the prophecies of Scripture the divine origin which is claimed for them, against the idle objections and explanations of unbelievers and rationalistic commentators: it exhibits, in full, its (prophecy's) increasing development, whereby its certainty is more and more established: it sets forth and elucidates the various ways in which prophecy has been communicated; and then it describes, discusses, and illustrates by sundry examples, the qualifications which the interpreter of prophecy must possess, in order that his expositions may be accordant with the divine mind, communicating itself in the written word. The author's distinguished reputation for profound scholarship, and especially for thorough Biblical learning, is well sustained by the present publication, which we cordially commend to our readers, as a most able and lucid treatise on a most important theme.

Sixteen Months at the Gold-Diggings. By Daniel B. Woods. NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THIS is a plain, but interesting and instructive account of the life, hardships, disappointments and successes of California Gold-diggers, by the Rev. Dan-

iel B. Woods, who was himself, for sixteen months, employed in the Gold-mines, where he, at the same time, labored much and usefully in his sacred calling. A book of this kind on California, from a witness so competent and respectable, must prove very acceptable to all who are in quest of information respecting the gold regions, and, as it contains much excellent advice to those who think of going, as well as to those who are determined to go to that unsettled land, in search of wealth, we recommend it to the attentive perusal of all such, as a very useful and entertaining volume.

Women of Christianity, Exemplary for Acts of Piety and Charity. By Julia Kavanagh, Author of "*Woman in France*," "*Nathalie*," "*Madeleine*," *&c.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Compnay. 200 Broadway. 1852.

WE noticed, some time ago, Miss Aguilar's excellent work on "The Women of Israel," with which we had no fault to find, except that it seemed to depreciate Christianity; not directly by harsh and illiberal judgments, but indirectly by an excessive and exclusive glorification of Judaism. To her extravagant claims in behalf of the religion of her fathers, no better reply could be made, than that which is contained in the simple and beautiful narratives of the work now before us. Beginning with the first Christian martyrs, and ending with Elizabeth Fry and Sarah Martin, it places before us, with much skill in delineation and coloring, a great, full and lifelike historic picture, crowded with Christian women from every rank in life; women of whom the world was not worthy, enduring contumely, tortures, and the most cruel death in their Master's name, or engaging, either individually or in associated groups, in the kind offices and abundant charities of our holy religion. How beautiful and glorious does the christian profession here appear in the life of faith, the patience and practice, to the triumphant death of its female confessors, from the earliest times to the present day: how does the doctrine of the cross manifest its power, in spite even of the superincumbent errors and superstitions of Romanism: how does its selfdenying and neverfailing charity shine forth in the selfconsecration to the service of Christ, and the good of suffering humanity, in the ceaseless activity of many who, even in our day, have filled the mouths of scorners with praise. Modern infidels would do well to inquire, whether *their* systems are likely ever to exhibit results, such as we see here presented as the fruits of Christianity alone. For the christian reader this beautiful volume possesses an absorbing interest, illustrating, as it does, by noble examples, the unspeakable excellence of sincere piety and fervent charity.

A Dictionary of the German and Englich Languages; Abridged from the Author's larger Work for the Use of Learners. By G. J. Adler, A. M., Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of the City of New York. In two Parts, I. German and English. II. English and German. NEW YORK: D. Appleten & Company. 200 Broadway. 1852.

WE have elsewhere spoken, in extenso, of the merits of Professor Adler's larger German Dictionary, which, though not all that could be desired, is on

the whole, as we think, the best among those which have been offered to the American public. The abridgment of the first part has been prepared by the auther himself with his wonted care and circumspection: "the second part is nothing more than a reprint of the English abridgment of Flügel." To those who cannot afford to buy the larger work, we recomend the present publication as sufficient for ordinary purposes, and general reading; but our advice, even to beginners, if they design to prosecute the study of German to any really satisfactory extent, always is, to provide themselves at once, with a large dictionary. An abridgment, be it ever so accurate, can never be any thing more than a make-shift. The German and English part of this abridgment is by far the most copious and satisfactory work of the kind with which we are acquainted.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine continues to appear regularly with its usual amount of interesting matter. The numbers for Jan. and Feb. contain a well written memoir of Benjamin Franklin: the March number opens with the commencement of one of Abbott's instructive Franconia Stories.—Of Mayhew's "London Labor and Poor," several new numbers are out.

Recollections of a Literary Life; or, Books, Places, and People. By Mary Russell Mitford, Author of "Our Village," "Belford Regis," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff St. 1852.

In this volume, just issued by the Harpers, we have been rather disappointed, not because it is deficient in merit, but because its character and design are other than we had expected. Since the days of boyhood, when first the beautiful sketches and scenes of "Our Village," afforded us delight, Miss Mitford has been a great favorite with us: we have always admired the purity, the simple elegance, the quiet humor, and the graceful and truly feminine style of her writings; and therefore, when first we saw the title of this volume, we hoped that it would present, in rich detail, the memoirs, or personal recollection, of her own life. Of these, however, there is but little; just enough to make us regret that there is not a great deal more; and we have, instead, her recollections of literary people, men and women, British and American, who have been, or are, her contemporaries, with extracts, more or less copious, from their works. Some of her selections are so rare that she found difficulty in obtaining them, Her recollections are either personal, local, or purely literary; sprightly observations and criticisms are intermingled: generous feeling and warm sympathy animate every page; and, although the book is not what we had hoped, it is a charming volume, full of the agreeable literary gossip of a highly accomplished woman.

A Hand-Book of the English Language, for the use of Students of the Universities and Higher Class of Schools. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S., Late Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Broadway. 1852.

In the first part of this work, the author examines, with thorough and careful research, and discusses, in minute detail, the "ethnological relations of

the English language," its sources and affinities. In the second we have more strictly the "History and Analysis of the English language," its processes of formation and development. The third treats of "Sounds, Letters, Pronunciation and Spelling;" the fourth of etymology; the fifth of syntax: the sixth of prosody; and the seventh, of the "Dialects of the English language." It is a very comprehensive and thoroughly searching treatise on our beautiful vernacular: it throws a flood of light upon its derivations, its strange anomalies and incongruities, its combinations and general principles; it exposes and explodes current and long-cherished inaccuracies and errors, and builds up a great grammatical structure on a broad and deep-laid foundation. It is a work of profound learning—of vast and laborious scholarship, and will not only be found a most useful class-book in Colleges and high-schools, but afford to men of letters a mass of linguistic lore, which is no where else presented so compactly and yet so copiously.

Classical Series. Edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. Eclogæ Ex Q. Horatii Flacci Poematibus. PHILADELPHIA: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. pp. 312.

OF all the productions of antiquity, Horace is the most read, the best remembered, and the most frequently quoted. His practical wisdom, vigorous thought, correct sentiment, his genuine truths, universally applicable to the occurrences of all times, his thorough acquaintance with human nature, and his keen insight into the human heart have secured for him the admiration of all ages. Few authors have enjoyed so wide a reputaion. His writings possess, in an eminent degree, the power to interest all mankind; a value for all men of all times. Of him it may be truly said, in his own language, he has erected a monument *ære perennius*. We are glad to see editions of this classic multiplied, and hail with delight any effort made to elucidate still further the text. Every attempt to bring the works of Horace within the reach of the public, and to introduce them more extensively to notice ought to be regarded with favor. The Clasical Series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, which has acquired a well-deserved reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, we have, on several occasions, commended to our readers. It is an admirable series, such as has been long wanted for the schools. The cheapness and convenient form of the volumes, and especially the character of the notes, which are brief, accurate and pertinent, make them precisely the kind of text-book, which should be placed in the hands of the young classical student. They seem to be better fitted for schools than any others, with which we are acquainted, and every successive volume confirms us in the opinion expressed on those first published. The volume before us we have examined with some care, and it gives us pleasure to say, that the notes are judiciously prepared, in good taste and fully illustrate the text. The work we regard as a valuable acquisition to our Classical library.

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